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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

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*Author of Side Lights on American History, Modern Times
and the Living Past*

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PREFACE

SINCE the first publication of this book in 1904 the main body has been hitherto unchanged. The various new editions were additions bringing the narrative to date. The steady sale of the book, which has increased year by year (the last year being the best of all) has been very gratifying indeed. Some years ago I became convinced that I could make a better book and the publishers were good enough to agree to make new plates.

During the period since the book was first published I have read thousands of pages of history, have many times consulted the sources, and have spent many years teaching history to university and college classes. My viewpoint has been changed or modified in many instances. Also, I have had the advantage of many learned reviews of the book and of suggestions made by kindly-disposed readers.

The present edition greatly resembles the old, it is true. Many paragraphs and some entire pages have not been changed; but every chapter has been thoroughly worked over. Chapter XIII on the framing of the Constitution has been rewritten. Chapter XVI on western migration and Chapter XXX on general progress following the Civil War are entirely new; also, of course, the closing chapters. Most of the battle descriptions have been condensed, more space has been given to institutional growth; but I have kept in view the fact also that the narrative, the general chronological unfolding of the great story, is not only interesting to the reader, but necessary to an intelligent knowledge of the history of the country.

For the convenience of university, college, and high school students, I have added bibliographical notes at the close of each chapter and a selected general bibliography at the close of the book. At the same time I have not failed to keep constantly in mind the wants of the general reader, as well as those of the special student.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

For many years I have contemplated writing a history of the United States in a single volume that should fall between the elaborate works, which are beyond the reach of most busy people, and the condensed school histories, which are emasculated of all literary style through the necessity of crowding so many facts into small space.

In writing this history my aim has been to present an accurate narrative of the origin and growth of our country and its institutions in such a form as to interest the general reader. I have constantly borne in mind the great importance of combining the science of historical research with the art of historical composition. I have aimed also, especially when treating the national period, to balance the narrative and critical features in intelligent proportion. A mere recital of facts, without historic criticism, without reference to the undercurrents that move society, is no longer acceptable in this age of thinking readers.

I have endeavored to write, as stated, for the general reader, but not with a patronizing form of expression, as if addressed to the uneducated, or to children, nor with a burden of worthless incident and detail, nor yet with any effort to please those who delight only in the spectacular. At the same time, knowing that many intelligent people who wish to know something of their country are not fond of reading history, I have given careful attention to style, in the hope that the book might be easy and pleasurable to read, as well as instructive.

I have devoted much space to the life of the people — their habits, modes of life, occupations, general progress, and the like, especially in the earlier period when they differed most widely from ourselves. But in treating the national period I have, however, without neglecting the industrial and social features, given greater space to political and constitutional development, as in this the life of a people who govern themselves is epitomized.

In my treatment of wars and disputes with foreign powers, I am aware that, with all my effort to view a subject from a neutral, judicial standpoint, an unconscious bias may be discerned; but should the book find any foreign readers, I beg them to remember that I have written absolutely *sine ira*.

In treating the Civil War and the great events that led to it, I have taken the utmost care to be fair to both sides; though as a native and resident of the North I no doubt partake of the prejudice of my section, if such prejudice can still be said to exist. I have refrained from using the terms "rebel" and "traitor" to designate those who rose against the government in the sixties, because of my profound respect for their sincerity.

One subject — American literature — I had hoped to treat with greater fullness; but I found that an adequate treatment of this very important subject would require too great a space for the scope of this volume. It is recommended that this phase of our history be studied in separate works devoted to the purpose.¹

The notes at the ends of the chapters are intended to elucidate something that has preceded in the text, to give personal traits of leading characters, to mention matters of too meager importance for the main narrative, or to relate some event of real importance which did not exactly fit in the body of the text.

In preparing this work I have had frequent recourse to the original sources, but make no pretense that the work is based wholly, or even chiefly, on original research. I have freely used the works of other writers. A large number of these have been cited in the footnotes for the purpose of aiding the reader who desires to pursue the subject further, or to acknowledge an obligation to an author whose thought or form of expression has been, in some measure, adopted. Much information, however, has been gathered from sources not herein mentioned.

That the work may be accepted as authoritative throughout, I have exercised the utmost care to secure historic accuracy; but absolute accuracy is not always attainable, especially where points are under dispute, and where such a great number of subjects are to be treated. The pointing out of any errors by the reader will be deemed a kindness.

My thanks are due to many kind friends for suggestions; to various librarians in Philadelphia and New York for special courtesies; to Mr. Stewart Culin, former curator and Indian specialist of the University of Pennsylvania, who kindly read and criticised the chapter dealing with the Indian character. Above all, I am indebted to Professor Herman V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania, who read the greater portion of the manuscript and made many important suggestions. To his thorough scholarship and ripe judgment I have deferred in many instances.

¹ Wendell's *Literary History of America* is an excellent work; so also is Trent's *History of American Literature*.

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of the United States of America is a story of intense interest, not only to the American people, but to intelligent people of all countries. Mr. Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* points out three phenomena, peculiar to the United States, as new in the annals of the world : first, that our great population is the resultant of the blending of numerous European peoples ; second, that besides the predominant white race there are many millions of men belonging to a dark race, thousands of years behind in its intellectual development, but legally equal in political and civil rights ; and third, no other people in history, speaking the same tongue and living under the same institutions, has occupied so vast an area. To these may be added the important and striking fact that the United States government is the first in history in which the federal system has been successful. This great fact is inconspicuous because it is well established, and also because our system has in some measure become general by being copied in part by other nations, notably by Mexico, by various countries of South America, and by Switzerland and Germany. The fact remains, however, that America was the first great nation in history to solve the greatest of all governmental problems — to blend Nationality and Democracy in perpetual wedlock under one government, in such proportion as to secure the benefits of both ; to protect local self-government by the mighty arm of a great nation, which is strong enough to perpetuate its own existence.

The New World, inhabited only in modern times by civilized man, has been divided, for the most part, into a score or more independent republics, and it is very remarkable that one of these republics stands without a rival and without a second among its fellows ; that this one, as a civilizing force and as a potential military power, surpasses all the rest combined.

A study of American history will reveal the fact that many of our institutions, customs, and characteristics are indigenous to our soil ; but it must not be forgotten that most of the best things in our civilization have their roots in the far past, in the centuries that made their record in the world's life long before this Western Hemisphere was known to the white man. In art,

in sculpture, we must still find our models in the old masters of other lands; in music we have only made a start, and are still dependent on the German and the Italian; in literature we have made a noble beginning, but we must still bow to the mother country, whose classic treasures we have appropriated as our rightful inheritance. But in useful inventions we surpass all peoples of all ages. That this one country in a single century gave to the world steam navigation, the electric telegraph, the cylinder press, the sewing machine, the mower and reaper, anæsthetics, the telephone, the electric light, and the electric railway is the most astonishing fact in the history of industrial progress. On the whole, however, the history of our country but illustrates the truth of the continuity of history, the transplanting of Europeans and European institutions to the New World and their development under new conditions. That most of our institutions have grown by evolution from the beginnings made by the early settlers and brought by them from their homes across the sea no thoughtful student of history will deny.

At first glance it might seem that the history of the United States, from its mere newness, must be less fascinating than that of the older countries; and it is true that the stories of royal dynasties, of orders of nobility, of ancient castles, are wanting in American history. But we have much to compensate for all this. We have not only the story of the marvelous development, the unprecedented growth of a vast people and their institutions; we have also the personal story of the barefoot boy, born among the lowly, but untrammelled by the iron fetters of caste, rising by the force of his own genius to the highest rank in the political, the military, or the industrial world. Among the greatest of our statesmen, our commanders of armies, our captains of industry, the great majority have risen from the commonest walks of life; and who can write fiction so fascinating as to compare with the story of such a life?

Again, American history presents one absorbingly interesting feature that is wholly unique in modern annals — the removal of an ancient race that another race might be transplanted to the soil. Behold first the wild man of the forest in his native haunts. See him chase the deer and the buffalo and strive with his enemy in battle. His life is full of tragedy and romance, of rivalry, of hatred, and of human kindness. See him in the vast solitudes of nature living in apparent contentment with his family and kindred, amid the crude surroundings of his home; hear his rude song resound from hill to hill. Now behold a stronger race

coming from afar, and the long warfare between Civilization and Barbarism begins. The wild man at length must yield, or flee before the forces of modern life, or he must die.

Now comes the pioneer with his ax, his cattle, and his plow; the development of a continent begins. The New World becomes the home of the oppressed from many lands. Cities rise where the forest waved over the wild man's home, and the hills and valleys resound with the teeming life of an industrious and ambitious people. Nearly two hundred years pass, when they rise and win their freedom from political bondage. Now are laid the foundations of a mighty nation, and the people grapple with the greatest problem of all — the problem of self-government. The new nation has a thorny road for many years, but it toils upward, surmounts every obstacle, and increases more and more. Three quarters of a century pass. The nation has grown great. But, alas! there is internal strife that now breaks forth into dreadful war. The nation's life trembles in the balance — but it is saved, and the nation is preserved. It rises from the civil conflict with youth renewed and stronger than before; and the men that strove together become friends and brethren. Then begins the latest scene of the wonderful panorama — an industrial development which has no parallel in the world's history.

Few civilized nations have less in common with the United States than has Italy or Spain; yet the history of our country must begin with the story of a Spaniard who was first an Italian.



HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

IN these modern days, when men converse with one another across thousands of miles of sea, when the news of the day from the uttermost parts of the earth lies printed before us the following morning, it seems almost incredible that but little more than four centuries have passed since half the land area of the globe was utterly unknown to the inhabitants of the other half.

EUROPE AND THE ORIENT

A glance back to the dawn of human history reveals to us two struggling nations, Egypt and Babylonia, joined later by the Hebrews of Palestine, developing their early civilization as best they could. So they continued for some thousands of years, when Greece and later Rome attained the rank of historic nations. Even then, two thousand years more were to pass before this Western World should be known to civilized man.

Europe and Asia developed side by side during the early centuries of the Christian era and carried on commerce with each other. Christianity made its way northward and westward and by the tenth century it embraced nearly all Europe.

Meantime a new religion came out of Arabia and conquered by the sword not only much of Asia Minor and Palestine, but also North Africa and Spain. Mohammedanism then moved northward into France and menaced Christian Europe until the Moslem armies were defeated and turned back by Charles Martel in 732, at the epoch-making battle of Tours. Europe was saved, but her trade relations with the East were greatly impaired. Of all the European cities, Constantinople alone retained a flourishing trade with the Orient.

At length, near the end of the tenth century, the Seljukian Turks, a nomadic, half-civilized people of Central Asia, became converted to the religion of Islam, and in their zeal for the new religion and for conquest they soon began to encroach upon the Byzantine Empire. Early in the eleventh century they spread their blighting power over Armenia and Asia Minor, and continued their westward movement. Again the menace to Christian Europe was very real.

Then came the Crusades, a series of mediæval wars beginning in 1096 and covering about two centuries. The primary purpose of the Crusades was to rescue the tomb of Christ from the hands of the Turk and restore to the Christian zealot his time-honored privilege of making a pilgrimage to the holy city of Jerusalem. Although this object was not permanently achieved, the results of the Crusades were great and lasting. They checked the Turkish invasion, they brought about in Europe a diffusion of knowledge of Asiatic lands and peoples, and they greatly increased the demand for Asiatic products.

Meantime the city of Venice became a rival of Constantinople in trading with the Indies; and Genoa became the rival of Venice, allying herself with Constantinople. The southeastern portion of Asia, with the numberless adjacent islands, was known as the Indies; and the term had also a general use by which it included the islands of Cipango, or Japan, and parts of China, known by the poetic name of Cathay.

There were two important routes of trade with the Indies. The Venetian route was chiefly by water, by way of Cairo, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. Genoa took the northern route by way of the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, and thence overland by caravan following various routes. The goods sent to the Orient were chiefly linen, light woollen fabrics, coral, glass vessels, and wine; those received in return and distributed from Venice and Genoa over Europe were silks, spices, ivory, pearls, and precious stones. The routes were long and laborious and fraught with many perils. The goods changed hands several times in the long journey, and few Europeans ever met the people of India. They believed Cathay to be a vast empire of fabulous wealth, of gilded cities, and of mighty rivers.

The rivalry in Eastern trade continued for a long period between these two Italian cities, when one of the routes was suddenly closed by one of the great events of history — the fall

than a thousand years. About the middle of the thirteenth century travelers to the far East reported in Europe that Asia was not a *terra incognita* of boundless extent, but that an ocean lay east of Cathay. A half century later this fact was confirmed in the remarkable travels of Marco Polo, and the oceanic theory again gained prominence.

The Polos were a family of wealth in Venice. When Marco was a boy of seventeen his father, a prosperous merchant, made a trading journey to the far East and took the boy with him. For four years they journeyed over mountains and through deserts, trading as they went, until they reached the famous empire of Cathay. Marco was taken into the service of the great emperor known as Kublai Khan, and was made a high official; and here he remained for many years. At length he returned to the home of his childhood, reaching Venice in 1295, after an absence of twenty-four years. Soon afterward Venice and Genoa entered into hostilities. In a sea fight the Genoese were successful, and Marco Polo among others was taken captive and was cast into prison. Here he became intimately acquainted with a fellow-prisoner to whom he related his travels in the East. His friend wrote the words as they fell from Polo's lips, and afterward they were published in book form as *The Book of Ser Marco Polo concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. It described Tibet and Burmah, and Hindustan, Siam, and China. It told of the gorgeous landscapes, the towered cities, the beautiful rivers. It confirmed also the growing belief that there was an ocean east of Asia.

The book was one of the most remarkable productions of the Middle Ages and, like Raleigh's *History of the World* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, owed its existence to a prison cell. No other book had appeared in Europe that contributed so much to the knowledge of the East as did the book of Polo. In the following centuries various Europeans sailed into China seas, and by the time of the fall of Constantinople it was a well-known fact that an ocean washed the eastern coast of Asia. How natural then, since the earth was known to be a globe, for men to conclude that the ocean west of Europe might be the same as that east of Asia; and if so, a western voyage must bring the mariner to the Indies of the East. This belief rendered it certain that the New World would have been discovered, even though by accident, had Christopher Columbus never lived.

It was true that geographical knowledge during the Middle Ages was meager. For centuries the boldest navigators were

deterred from venturing far into the unknown seas, because popular fancy had filled them with impassable barriers. It was believed that the earth was encircled with a fiery zone where the vertical rays of the sun were unbearable, and where vegetable and animal life could not endure. It was also believed that Europe occupied the top of the terrestrial ball, that the ocean sloped downward in all directions, and that the outer ocean — the Sea of Darkness, as the Atlantic was called — was inhabited by dreadful monsters. Although the theory of the fiery zone and the devouring sea monsters was exploded, and the mariner's compass had come into general use, no navigator was yet bold enough to venture to cross the Sea of Darkness.

It was believed that a route to the Indies could be found by sailing around Africa. Portugal, acting upon the Oceanic theory, took the lead in this great enterprise, and Prince Henry of Portugal was led by Prince Henry the Navigator, who was also a prince in fostering education and science.¹ He inspired many important voyages and among them the famous voyage of Diaz, which took place in 1487, a score of years after the death of Henry, and was the greatest in history up to that time. He sailed down the African coast, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, proceeded some hundreds of miles into the Indian Ocean, and returned to Lisbon by the same route. The entire voyage covered thirteen thousand miles. The fiery zone was passed, no sea monsters were encountered, and the homeward journey seemed no more uphill than the outward trip. Other great voyages were made with similarly reassuring results. After this time no one gave credence to the theories that had so long controlled the popular mind. The fantastic beliefs and superstitions of the sea were gradually giving way before the geographical discoveries of the great mariners of the fifteenth century. Although the distance to the Indies by the African route was very great, thoughtful men of the maritime world cast their eyes longingly toward the unknown West. Here we must introduce the great discoverer, Christopher Columbus.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Genoa, one of the most beautiful of the Italian cities, built against the slopes of the Apennines, on the northern shore of the

¹ Prince Henry was a cousin of King Henry V of England and an uncle of King John of Portugal. He stood among the leading astronomers and mathematicians of his time. He died in 1463.

Mediterranean, was the birthplace of Columbus.¹ Italy was the school of navigation for the world, though her geographical position prevented her from taking active leadership in the discoveries of the period. The Renaissance of the Middle Ages was led by Italy. She became the teacher of Europe and she did for the other nations what Greece had done for her fifteen hundred years before. The greatest of the discoverers of this period — Columbus, Cabot, Vespucci, and Verrazano — were all Italians by birth or descent.

The exact date of Columbus' birth is uncertain — possibly 1436. His father was a wool comber, and it appears that the family for several generations had followed the same handicraft. Christopher had two brothers younger than himself, Bartholomew and Diego. Little is known of the boyhood of Columbus. His education was not extensive nor profound. In addition to the common studies he probably learned Latin, higher mathematics, and astronomy; and in nautical science and cosmography he was a life-long student, acquiring all the learning of the age in which he lived.

Early Life
of Colum-
bus

While yet a child the attention of Columbus was turned toward the sea. His voyages on the Mediterranean began when he was a boy of fourteen, and by the time he reached his majority he was a hardy and skillful mariner. In some of his voyages he was interested in commerce; in others he was engaged in naval struggles between the warring Italian states. On one voyage he commanded a vessel which engaged in a death duel with a huge Venetian galley. The two ships grappled, the crews fought hand to hand for several hours, and at length both vessels took fire. Columbus saved his life by leaping into the sea and swimming to shore, six miles distant.²

About 1470, possibly later, Columbus abandoned his native land and became a resident of Lisbon. He was doubtless attracted to that city by its fame as the chief center in Europe for nautical science and by its great activity in promoting discovery. Here for many years Columbus made his home, supporting himself by making maps and charts. During this period of his life he made occasional voyages down the African coast to the Cape Verde Islands, to the Azores, and once far to the North, touching the coast of Iceland.³

¹ No less than sixteen Italian towns have claimed to be the birthplace of the great navigator. Columbus, however, refers in his writings to Genoa as the place of his birth.

² This story, given by Columbus' son Fernando, is doubted by some critics.

³ The voyage to Iceland is known only by tradition.

He was said to be a man of striking appearance, tall and muscular, courtly in manner, and affable in conversation. His eyes were light gray, his cheeks ruddy as those of a boy, while his hair was waving and as white as snow.¹ He was received in the higher social circles of the city and married the daughter of a noted navigator, whose maps and charts are thought to have been of great value to Columbus.

He is believed to have been in correspondence with the great Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli,² who sent him a map of the earth showing one ocean between Europe and Asia, and expressed his belief that the latter continent could be reached by sailing westward from the former. Columbus was also versed in the writings of Ptolemy, of Roger Bacon, and of Marco Polo. Polo's book, though nearly two hundred years old, made a deep impression on the mind of Columbus and had much to do in shaping his life. He read also the great work of Cardinal d'Ailly, *Imago Mundi*,³ and all these things he pondered in his heart.

The result was that he reached the conclusion — which became the settled conviction of his mind — that the East could be reached by sailing to the West, and that God had raised him up to accomplish this great work for mankind. From this conviction he never wavered to the last day of his life. Henceforth this great thought was the dominant force in the career of Columbus, the ruling passion of his life. He had not the means to carry out his great project, nor did he feel that it came within the province of private enterprise. The work was too important and too vast for the individual; it was worthy of a nation.

Columbus therefore applied to John II, king of Portugal, laid before him his plans, and requested to be sent on the great mission of discovery. The king was inclined to hear; but first he would consult with the wise men of his kingdom. He called them together, and they condemned the scheme as visionary. King John now did a thing that was unworthy of him, for in the main he was a man of probity and justice. He noted the plans of Columbus and sent

Columbus
in Portugal

¹ This description is taken from Las Casas, who knew Columbus. None of the well-known portraits of Columbus is accepted as authentic.

² Vignaud, in *La Lettre et La Carte de Toscanelli*, translated in London, 1902, seeks to prove that Columbus had no communication with Toscanelli. His argument is very strong and leaves the matter in doubt. Columbus makes no reference to the astronomer in his writings.

³ A copy of this great work, with marginal notes in the handwriting of Columbus, is still preserved in the library at Seville.

out a secret expedition to make the proposed discovery; but it resulted in nothing.

Columbus, hearing of this treachery, left Portugal with keen resentment and repaired to Spain. He left his home, his wife, and his children, taking with him only his eldest boy, a child of tender years, whom he left with a relative in Andalusia. This was probably in 1485, and soon afterward he was at Cordova laying his plans before the sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. But it was difficult to obtain a hearing from them at this time, for Spain was in the midst of a long war with the Moors. As the sovereigns moved from place to place to watch the military progress of their army, Columbus followed — to Salamanca, to Malaga, and again to Cordova — and urged his plea with unwearied energy. The sovereigns at length referred him to Talavera, the queen's confessor, who again referred the matter to a *junto* of learned men. Some of them believed in his project, but the majority condemned it, and after several years of incessant toil Columbus had accomplished nothing. He had sent his brother Bartholomew to England to lay the matter before Henry VII, and was now about to quit Spain and apply to the court of France when he made the acquaintance of the Duke Medina Celi. The duke became interested in his plans and took him into his own home, where he entertained him for two years. He sought to interest the sovereigns in the plans of his new-formed friend; they offered to consider the subject seriously as soon as the war was over; but Columbus thought this only a courtly way of getting rid of him, and at last, sick at heart, he again determined to leave Spain.

Columbus
in Spain

For six or seven years he had labored in season and out of season; he had been jeered in the streets and pointed out as a dreamer and a fanatic. But his lofty soul was unmoved. He now turned his back upon Spain, still undismayed, still determined to achieve the goal of his ambition. In his journey afoot he called at the Franciscan Monastery, La Rabida, and while here he again related the story of his ambition. The prior, Juan Perez, who had been confessor to the queen and was greatly esteemed by her, heard and believed. His patriotism was aroused. Why, thought he, should Spain throw away so great an opportunity? Perez obtained an interview with Queen Isabella at the royal court at Granada. He related to the queen anew the story that she had often heard before. He spoke of the grandeur of Columbus' views, and defended the scientific

principles on which they were based. He dwelt on the glory that would come to Spain if the venture should succeed, and the trifling loss should it fail. This proved the turning point in the life of Columbus, and Perez was his benefactor.

Queen Isabella was converted. She sent Perez back with a sum of money for Columbus, bidding him array himself properly and come into her presence. Columbus arrived in time to witness the fall of Granada, January 2, 1492. After eight centuries on Spanish soil the Moslem was conquered at last, and as Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, slowly and sadly passed outside the city gates, weeping over his fallen empire, the Spanish banners were unfurled over the crumbling walls of the Alhambra. Spain was delirious with joy; and as soon as the festivities occasioned by the great victory had subsided, the sovereigns granted a careful hearing to the waiting navigator.

But there were discouragements yet in store for him. When he laid his plans before the king and queen, his conditions were such that they refused to accept them. He demanded that he be made admiral of the ocean and viceroy of the heathen lands he might discover, and also that he receive one eighth of the income from such lands, and one tenth of all the profits by trade or conquest, offering at the same time to bear one eighth of the expense of the voyage.¹ The terms were not accepted, the council broke up, and Columbus for a third time determined to seek aid in a foreign land. He mounted his mule and started toward France. Scarcely had he gone when Santangel, the royal treasurer, rushed into the presence of the queen and implored her with impassioned eloquence not to let the golden opportunity slip away. He spoke of the incalculable gain if Columbus' dream should become a reality, and how deep would be their regret should some rival nation obtain the treasure that Spain had thrown away. The Marchioness de Moya, who had long been a friend of Columbus, added her eloquence, and Isabella was again converted. She dispatched a messenger to inform Columbus that his terms would be accepted. The messenger overtook him when six miles on his way and told him the great news. Columbus quietly turned about and rode back into the city.

The most famous of all sea voyages began on the morning of Friday, August 3, 1492, about an hour before sunrise. After several months of preparation three little ships or caravels had

¹ Pinzon offered to lend this amount to Columbus. The voyage is estimated to have cost a sum equivalent to nearly \$100,000. See Thacher, *Columbus*, I, p. 490.



been fitted out, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina*, only one of which was a decked vessel. A motley crowd composed the crews of these vessels. When it was learned what the destination of the voyage was, the greatest difficulty was experienced in securing a crew. This would hardly have been possible but for the twofold error under which Columbus labored. He believed the earth to be smaller than it is, and that Asia extended much farther to the east than it does.

The first
voyage

Never was there a more fortunate mistake, for had the distance been known, the securing of his crew would have been scarcely possible. Even as it was, the hardest sailors shrank from an enterprise so daring and so uncertain in its outcome. The government was obliged to use force. Men were pressed into the service, some of whom were convicts released from prison for this purpose. At length ninety mariners with a physician, a surgeon, an interpreter of Asiatic languages, a metallurgist and a few others, aggregating in all one hundred and twenty souls, were gathered together, and the voyage was begun. Columbus, who was now an admiral, commanded the largest vessel, the *Santa Maria*; Alonzo Pinzon, a navigator of note, was captain of the *Pinta*, and his brother Vincent of the *Nina*.

With tears and lamentations the friends of the departing ones bade them good-by, for it was generally believed that they were setting out on a journey from which none would return. The sailors, as well as their friends, were fully convinced that a voyage across the unexplored Sea of Darkness was fraught with unknown perils, and their minds were filled with ominous forebodings. Reaching the Canary Islands, the men were terrified by a sudden eruption of Mt. Teneriffe, which was interpreted as an evil omen.¹ But Columbus explained the cause of such volcanic outbursts as best he could, declaring that no particular meaning could be attached to them. The first week of September had passed when they left the last of the Canaries behind and were fairly launched upon the open sea. As the men gazed fondly upon the receding shore, they broke into wails and sobs. Behind them were family, home, and friends; before them was the vast dark sea, whose silent depths seemed the more ominous from their very silence.

Fears of the
crew

Sailors are among the most superstitious of men, and even in our modern days of geographical knowledge, of steam, and of iron-

¹ These incidents are taken from the account of Las Casas, who found them in Columbus' journal, which has been lost.

clads, everything that breaks the monotonous life on the ocean attracts attention and has its meaning. Much more was this true in the time of Columbus. He and his crew had launched out into the region of the unknown; their ships were small and weak, and the ocean through which they plowed was fathomless in its depths and measureless in expanse; never before had it been explored by civilized man and, moreover, in popular fancy it had for ages been peopled with shapeless monsters and unknown terrors. What wonder that Columbus had trouble in allaying the fears of his subordinates!

Day after day the three caravels glided through the waters. The weather was fine almost throughout the voyage, says Columbus in his journal; but fine weather and fair winds had little power to remove the superstitious fears of the sailors.

One of the most alarming incidents of the voyage was the deflection of the needle. It pointed no longer to the north star, but deflected slightly to the northwest. The pilots
Incidents
of the voyage were alarmed; they feared that the very laws of nature were changing. Columbus himself did not understand this variation of the needle, but he affected to have no fears, and explained it apparently to the satisfaction of his followers. The constant blowing of the trade winds in the same direction led them to believe that they would never change, and that the boats would never be able to return home. Indeed, everything possible was construed into a cause of alarm. Columbus alone remained undaunted; he had absolute confidence in success, and he believed himself directly under the guidance of Heaven.

After sailing westward for two or three weeks the voyagers became deeply interested in their outlook for land. Various signs indicated that it could not be far off. Tropical birds that are not supposed to reach mid-ocean in their flight were seen from time to time; floating seaweed sometimes gave them hope. On September 25, Pinzon shouted from the stern of his vessel, "Land, land, Senior, I claim my reward."¹ They all looked to the southwest, the direction in which he pointed, and indeed there seemed to be land. Columbus fell upon his knees and thanked God; the crew sang the *Te Deum*; the night was spent in rejoicing. But lo! when the morning arose the dream was dissolved, and only the unbroken stretches of water lay before them in merciless expanse. They had seen only a mirage or a thin

¹ A reward of 10,000 maravedis per year, probably equal to \$420 of our money, had been offered by the sovereigns of Spain to the one who first sighted land. Thacher, I, p. 490.

stratum of cloud lying low on the horizon. After the voyagers had sailed steadily westward from the Canaries for an entire month without sight of land, the crew became more despondent and restless; they begged their commander to turn back while there was still a chance to reach home and civilization. Columbus was inflexible; he had no thought of yielding to the clamor of the sailors. Now he would point out the honor and fortune that awaited them; again he would threaten to place the leaders in irons, if they persisted.

Columbus, however, was himself puzzled. He had firmly believed that by sailing twenty-five hundred miles to the west he would reach the islands of Cipango, and that the gorgeous empire of Cathay was but a few hundred miles farther on. They had now traversed twenty-seven hundred miles of trackless ocean, and no land yet appeared. He had kept two reckonings of the distance they had come, a true and a false one, the former for himself and the latter to deceive the sailors, as he feared that if they knew how far they were from Europe, nothing could induce them to proceed.

Perplexed as he was, there is no evidence that Columbus wavered in his purpose or was inclined to turn back. Urged by Pinzon, he now decided to change his course. Had they continued westward for a few days longer, they would have reached the lower coast of Florida; but this, of course, they did not know, and the many flights of small birds, always going to the southwest, convinced them that land must be nearest in that direction. They accordingly stood to the southwest, and in this direction they sailed steadily for three days and yet no land appeared.

The crew now felt as if they were in a world of enchantment, where the signs of land were but delusions alluring them on and on to destruction. Old seafaring men were appalled at the thought of the apparent boundlessness of the ocean in which they sailed. But on the morning of October 11 the signs of land were so unmistakable that the most reluctant could doubt no longer. A floating branch of thorn with berries on it, a staff carved by the hand of man, and weeds that grow only on land — all these were picked up from the water on that morning. All were now convinced that land was near, and that it was a matter of but a few days at most when the discovery would be made. The three caravels that night presented a scene of suspense and eager expectancy; not an eye was closed in sleep. About ten o'clock Columbus saw from the top of the castle of his vessel the dim

flicker of a light at a great distance, and its uncertain movements indicated that it might be a torch in the hands of some one walking.

The midnight hour passed and it was October 12,¹ 1492 — one of the prominent dates in history, made so by the work of the men of these three little, lonely vessels so far from the civilized world, with crews so lately despondent, but now so full of expectant gladness. Two hours more passed when suddenly a shout of wild joy arose from the deck of the *Pinta*. It was followed by the firing of a gun as the joyful signal of land. There was no mistake this time; the coming dawn revealed, at a distance of six miles, a verdant shore covered with trees.

First view
of land

Columbus fully believed that the discovery he had made was a new and short route to the Indies, and that the land before him was probably one of the Japanese islands lying off the eastern coast of Asia. Had this been the extent of his discoveries, it would indeed have been a great boon to mankind, and his name would no doubt be remembered for all time.²

The land first discovered by Columbus was one of the Bahama Islands which he called San Salvador.³ Soon after daybreak the three vessels cast anchor, and the admiral, richly clad in scarlet and bearing the royal banner of Spain, left for the shore in a small boat. He was accompanied by Pinzon and a few others. The beach was lined with human beings who had come running from the woods on seeing the vessels, which they thought to be gigantic white-winged birds. As the Spaniards approached the shore, the natives fled in terror, and in a few moments all were hidden away in the forest. Columbus on landing was overcome with emotion; he burst into tears; he bowed himself down and kissed the ground; he thanked God for the realization of the dream that he had cherished so long. He then drew his sword

¹ New style, October 21. The first one to see the land was a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana. Columbus, however, received the reward for having seen the light a few hours before.

² The eastern coast of North America was discovered, 1000 A.D., by the Northmen led by Leif Ericson son of Eric the Red, who had planted a colony in Greenland, and a temporary settlement called Vinland was made. As the vine does not grow north of 47 degrees, the settlement was probably somewhere on the New England coast, but the exact location cannot be ascertained. Several voyages to Vinland were made, according to the Norse sagas, and the voyagers encountered Indians whom they called "Skraelings," inferior men. These pre-Columbian discoveries had long been forgotten by the time of Columbus, who probably never heard of them. They added little to geographical knowledge and left no permanent effect on the world's history.

³ It is not positively known which of the Bahamas was the landing place of Columbus. Most writers believe it was Watling Island. See Adams, *Columbus*, p. 89.

and took possession of the new lands in the name of the sovereigns of Spain, and exacted at the same time the most solemn promise of obedience from his followers. Their attitude had greatly changed; their bitterness toward the admiral for having led them so far into the region of the unknown was now replaced by a feeling of admiration. They surrounded and embraced him, kissed his hands, and promised the most implicit obedience.

The natives, seeing that they were not pursued, and overcome by curiosity, began again to emerge from their coverts. They approached the Spaniards slowly and timidly, bowing themselves to the ground again and again, and showing every sign of adoration. They were especially attracted by the shining armor, the clothing, the beards, and the light color of their strange visitors, whom they thought to be inhabitants of the skies; and the commanding appearance of Columbus in his brilliant uniform plainly indicated that he was the leader. The new race was cinnamon-brown in color, darker than the European and lighter than the African; they had straight, raven-black hair, and they were of excellent physique. Columbus believed himself to be in the Indies, and he called these people "Indians," a name that spread until it included all the aborigines of the Americas.

He cruised for ten days about this island and its neighbors, searching for the Indies. He saw waving forests and crystal streams and bright-plumed birds; but where were the towered cities, the mighty rivers? Where were the spices and the ivory and the gold? He found unclad savages; where were the kings and the princes in their royal robes? Surely he must find Cathay? He bore a friendly letter from the king and queen of Spain to the Grand Khan. Could he return to Europe without seeing the mighty emperor, or even locating his gorgeous dominions? Alas for the limitations of genius! Columbus was groping among these little islands in search of an empire that was ten thousand miles away, and between him and his goal lay an undiscovered ocean far greater in extent than the one that he had crossed.

When the Spaniards asked the natives where gold could be procured, they always pointed to the south. They also told of a rich and populous island called Cuba. This must be Cipango, thought Columbus, and thither he steered. They discovered the Cuban coast, but it seemed much like the other lands they had seen. The admiral sent two explorers far into the interior; they found the most luxuriant groves

The
Indians

Cuba

swarming with bright-hued birds and insects; they found fields of maize and cotton, but no rich cities as Marco Polo had described — only rude villages of huts aswarm with naked barbarians, such as they had seen at San Salvador. Again was Columbus baffled, and he sailed away after a cruise of several weeks and discovered the island of Haiti, which he named Hispaniola (Spanish land).

The autumn weeks passed. Pinzon with the *Pinta* had separated from the other two caravels, no one knew why. On Christmas Day the *Santa Maria* drifted upon the shoals of an island and was wrecked. Columbus now bethought himself of his condition. The world had not yet heard of his discoveries. Only the little *Nina* was left him, and a vast ocean rolled between him and civilization. Suppose she, too, were wrecked! He and his friends must then spend their lives among the savages in these far-off islands of the sea, and who would tell the story of their discoveries? Except as a dreamer and a fanatic, who then would remember the name of Columbus? It is true, they had not found Cathay, nor could they bring back spices and precious stones; but they had discovered strange, beautiful lands beyond the dark sea, and a new race of mankind; and the coast of Asia they thought must be near, and if so, the way to the Indies was found at last — was this not success? This story Columbus wished to bear to the sovereigns of Spain and to proclaim to the waiting world.

Moved by such thoughts Columbus determined to embark for Europe without delay. In a rude building made of the timbers of the *Santa Maria*, forty of the men, who chose to remain, made their home, and the rest embarked on January 4, carrying with them ten of the native Indians. In a few days they unexpectedly overtook Pinzon with the *Pinta* cruising about the Cuban coast, and the two launched out together for Europe. After sailing for some time they encountered a storm of the most violent character. The small vessels labored and struggled for life, lost in the hollow of the waves or riding high on their crest, at length drifting apart to meet no more during the voyage. The crew of each believed the other to have perished.

Columbus almost abandoned hope of ever reaching Europe, and he prepared two carefully written accounts of his discoveries; the one he retained in the ship, while the other he sealed in a ball of wax, placed it in an air-tight casket addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, and threw it overboard, in the hope that, should he

**The return
voyage**

and his crew find a grave beneath the billows, some future wanderer of the ocean might pick up the little token. Thus it might reveal to the world the story of their wanderings, and the name of Columbus might not perish nor the benefits of his success be lost to mankind.

But the storm abated and the little craft was still afloat, and, strange to say, a few weeks later, on the same day and but few hours apart, the *Nina* and the *Pinta*, after their long separation, were moored in the haven at Palos, Spain, whence they had weighed anchor more than seven months before.¹

The people of Palos were wild with joy when they learned that the vessels entering their harbor on that fifteenth of March were the same that had gone on their perilous voyage the year before. The places of business were closed, bells were rung, and all the people gave themselves up to a long fête of exultation. Columbus was the hero of the hour. A year or two before, this same man had been jeered as an adventurer and a madman. One can imagine his feelings at the contrast.

Columbus soon apprised his sovereigns at Barcelona of his return and his success, and they bade him come at once into their presence.² His journey thither was a triumphal march. In front of the procession were six Indians brought from the New World; next were exhibited live parrots, stuffed birds of unknown species, plants and Indian ornaments and trinkets. Columbus rode superbly in the midst surrounded by the choice chivalry of Spain. As the procession entered Barcelona the people abandoned themselves to the most unrestrained enthusiasm. The king and queen sat in state upon the throne, beneath a canopy of gold, erected for the occasion, and surrounded by the highest nobility of Spain. Here they waited to do honor to this civilian, whose achievements had made for them, as well as for himself, a name that would never be forgotten.

Reception of
Columbus at
Barcelona

Columbus had done far more than he knew. He had opened the way to the discovery of a continent, vast in its dimensions, unknown before to civilized man, a continent containing the greatest rivers of the world, lofty ranges of mountains extending for thousands of miles, and mineral wealth that would require centuries to unfold, a continent that was to be the seat of

¹ It is interesting to note that Columbus sailed on Friday, that he left the Canaries on Friday, that he first sighted land on Friday, and that the return voyage was begun and ended on Friday.

² Irving gives a vivid description of Columbus' reception by Ferdinand and Isabella.

mighty empires and the home of millions yet to be born. What would have been the thoughts of Columbus had all this, as the result of his discovery, been presented to his vision?

The sovereigns now decided to settle the question between Spain and Portugal, concerning the right to the new lands, by an appeal to Pope Alexander VI. The Pope thereupon issued his famous bull, May 2, 1493, establishing the "Line of Demarcation." All discoveries east of this line—an imaginary one drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, changed the following year to three hundred and seventy leagues—were to belong to Portugal and all west of it to Spain. It will be seen that this gives all the New World, except the eastern portion of Brazil, to Spain.

The sovereigns soon equipped Columbus for a second voyage. No trouble this time to secure a crew. Young men of aristocratic birth hastened to join the expedition. With a fleet of seventeen ships of various sizes the admiral set out from Cadiz on September 25, 1493, and after a prosperous voyage landed on a small mountainous island which he named Dominica. He then hastened to the island of La Navidad, where he had left the colony. Of the forty left on the island every man had perished, and the white bones scattered about told the sad story. The colony had been destroyed by the natives, and thus began that mortal strife between the white race and the red race that was to continue for centuries and to result in the complete dominion of the former.

Columbus was appointed by the Spanish sovereigns to plant and govern a colony, but he did not succeed as an administrator. Having returned to Spain in 1496, he made a third voyage two years later. In this third voyage he discovered Trinidad and the mainland of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco River. Still believing himself to be in Asiatic waters, he mistook this stream for one of the great rivers mentioned in the Bible as flowing from the Garden of Eden.

The fortunes of the great navigator now took a downward turn. His ill success in colonial administration made him enemies on both sides of the Atlantic. At the court of Spain his critics brought charges against him, represented him as a mere adventurer, and cast aspersions against him as an Italian and a foreigner. They succeeded in poisoning the minds of the sovereigns against him, and an agent was sent to supersede him if

the charges were found to be true. This man not only condemned Columbus without a hearing, but sent him in fetters to Spain. On landing he appealed through a friend to the queen and she bade him come into her presence. He related to her the story of his hardships and she reinstated him in royal favor.

Columbus made a fourth voyage to the New World and discovered the coast of Honduras. Returning to Spain in 1504, he found that his enemies were again in the ascendency. Queen Isabella was dying. A few weeks later she breathed her last and King Ferdinand refused to give further consideration to the aged navigator. Bowed down with grief and disappointment, broken in health, though undaunted in spirit, Columbus died in poverty and want at Valladolid on May 20, 1506, and there his body was buried.¹

Fourth
voyage of
Columbus

With all his admirable qualities, Columbus was very human, and he was not without his faults. That he was deeply religious none can deny, but he did not rise above his day and generation in morals. He was in no sense a reformer. He captured an Indian chief by treachery while pretending to be his friend; he kidnapped many hundred natives and sent them to Spain for the slave market; he advocated the slave trade on a large scale, and inaugurated the treacherous methods of dealing with the Indians that were afterward carried on by Spain for hundreds of years.

But Columbus did a great work for mankind, and the world has rightly chosen to give his name the highest place among the great names of that age of discovery. His greatness consisted, not in his conception of a new thought, for the thought was old, nor in doing for the world a work that no other could have done, but in his willingness to undertake to demonstrate the truth of his theory. He dared to do where others only talked and theorized. In this he stood far above every other man of his times. "He linked forever the two worlds." It is true he achieved more than he intended; but his intentions were great also, and he deserves the highest credit for carrying his vast plan into execution. The fame of Columbus is secure, though, as Winsor has said, "his discovery was a blunder, his blunder was a new world, and the new world is his monument."

It is supposed that he died in the firm belief that he had discovered the eastern coast of Asia and had opened a new route to

¹His remains were afterward removed to Seville, later to San Domingo, then to Havana and again back to Spain (1898). The removal from San Domingo to Havana was made in 1796. But there is some doubt that the body removed was that of Columbus. See Adams, p. 249.

the Indies ; the real grandeur of his achievement could not have dawned upon his mind. What a joy would have thrilled his soul and soothed his dying hours could he have known that he had discovered a vast continent rivaling the Old World in extent, and that his name would be forever enshrined in the human heart as one of the few whose luster never fades !

In the early years of the sixteenth century other navigators rapidly rose into prominence, and the name of Columbus fell into temporary obscurity. But when, in later years, it was known that it was not the East Indies, but a great new continent that had been discovered, his half-forgotten name was revived and he was placed among the immortals.

JOHN CABOT

The continent of North America was discovered first not by Columbus, but by John Cabot, who, like Columbus, was an Italian and a native of Genoa. Little is known of the life of Cabot beyond the facts that he was born at Genoa, became a citizen of Venice, and about 1490 removed to Bristol, England ; that he was a seaman and merchant, and that, next to the Northmen, he was the first white man known to have made a voyage to North America.

For ages there had been a current belief in England, known to legend and song, that there were lands unknown, somewhere, far away, beyond the stormy western sea. When the news reached England that Columbus, whose brother had sought in vain for aid from the English king, had succeeded in his great voyage, this belief was confirmed, and Henry VII felt that the prize which might have been his had slipped from his grasp. Thus, when John Cabot applied to him for a permit to seek western lands, it was readily granted. The grant bore the date March 5, 1496, and was issued to John Cabot and his three sons — Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancto ; but for some unknown reason the expedition did not sail for more than a year later. The start is said to have been made in May, 1497, in a single vessel, the *Matthew*, the crew consisting of eighteen men.¹ They landed in June, probably on the coast of Cape Breton Island, or possibly Newfoundland, or Labrador. They saw no

¹ One account states that there were two ships ; another, five ships with three hundred men — both are of doubtful authority (see Beazly, p. 55). Among the most reliable sources of information are a letter written by Soncino, an Italian of London, to his friend, the Duke of Milan, and another written by Pasqualigo to his family in Venice — both within a few months after Cabot's return. See *Old South Leaflets*, No. 37.

natives, but found their traces, and reported that the natives "used needles for making nets and snares for catching game."

In August, Cabot was again back in Bristol. It was reported that he had drifted three hundred leagues along the coast of the new land; but this is doubted, as the space of time would not have admitted such an extended tour. We are informed that "vast honor" was paid to Cabot on his return, that "he dressed in silk," and that "the English ran after him like mad people." The king granted him a bonus of ten pounds, and later twenty pounds a year. He made a second voyage early in 1498, and followed the coast of North America from Long Island probably as far south as Cape Hatteras, returning to England late in the autumn. He believed, like Columbus, that he had reached Cipango and Cathay. Later it was said that the King of England "had acquired a part of Asia without drawing his sword." Nothing is known of Cabot's career after the second voyage. He is supposed to have died in the year 1500.

For many years it was believed that Sebastian Cabot, and not his father, was the real discoverer of North America; but modern research has dealt a damaging blow to this claim.

Sebastian was a navigator of some note; he spent many years in the service of Spain and of England; but there is no proof that he had anything to do with the discovery of America. It is possible, even probable, that he and his brothers accompanied their father on his first voyage, but no contemporary record, aside from the king's grant, makes any mention of them, and in the second grant their names do not appear. It is now certain that Sebastian Cabot played false to the memory of his father long after these voyages. He led people to believe that his father had died before the first voyage, and that he himself had commanded both. This story was believed for centuries, but no critical student of history now accepts it. The Cabot discoveries created a furor in England, but it was of short duration. The voyagers brought no gold, and interest in the subject soon died away. However, many years later, when the world came to know that a new continent had been found, England laid claim to the whole of North America on the ground of the Cabot discoveries. In this fact lies their chief importance.

Sebastian
Cabot

THE NAMING OF AMERICA

Strange were the fatalities in the career of Christopher Columbus — doubt concerning so many events during his life,

absence of an authentic portrait, indigence and want during his last years, and, above all, the failure of the New World to be known by his name.

For many years it was not known that Columbus had discovered aught than some unimportant islands of the sea. That a great continent was to be opened to civilization, through his initiative, had not yet dawned upon the world. Meantime others were making voyage after voyage over the western seas and bringing their glowing reports of what they had found. Among these was Amerigo Vespucci, or Americus Vespucius, a native of Florence, a resident of Seville. Not much is known of his life; but it is believed that he made at least three voyages to the new lands. On one of these, probably in 1501, he is said to have explored far down the coast of Brazil. It now began to dawn upon Europe that a new continent had been discovered, but this was not connected in the public mind with the work of Columbus, who, it was believed, had discovered only islands and possibly a new route to the Indies. When, therefore, Vespucius wrote a brief account of the "New World," as he called it, he created a greater sensation than Columbus ten years before. His pamphlet was translated into many languages, and he was hailed throughout Europe as one of the greatest mariners of his time.

In 1507 Professor Waldseemüller, of the little college of St. Dié among the Vosges Mountains of Lorraine, published a pamphlet on geography, and in this he first suggested the name America. "I see no reason why," he states, "this fourth part of the world should not take its name from its sagacious discoverer and be called Amerige, or America." The suggestion found favor, and it was not long before the name America found its way on all new maps and globes representing the Western Hemisphere.¹ At first the name was confined to Brazil, but at length it was used to designate all of South America and eventually (about 1541) all the land area of the New World.

There is no evidence that Americus, who was a friend of Columbus, had any intention to defraud the latter of the honor of giving his name to the continent, nor was there any sinister motive on the part of the German professor. The naming of America must be classed as an accident born of ignorance of the facts. One writer puts it thus: "Ethically speaking, there has never been erected a monument so magnificent, enduring, and so cruelly unjust." The "Indies" discovered by Columbus were

¹ This same year, 1507, Waldseemüller made a map of the New World and wrote on it the name America. A copy of the original was recently found in an old library at Wurtemberg.

renamed West Indies, and the name came to be confined to the islands lying east of Central America.

OTHER DISCOVERERS

Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa in 1497 and reached the East Indies by way of the Indian Ocean, returning a few years later laden with spices and ivory. He thus accomplished what Columbus and others were attempting to do by crossing the Atlantic. Caspar de Cortereal explored the eastern coast of the United States in 1500. In the same year Cabral set out for India and in attempting to follow the course of Vasco da Gama, swung too far westward and touched the coast of Brazil. This was a real, though accidental, discovery of America and might have occurred even if the discoveries of Columbus had never been made. These three navigators, Gama, Cortereal, and Cabral, were all Portuguese.

In 1513 a Spaniard named Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a bankrupt and leader of rebels, while traversing the Isthmus of Panama, was informed by an Indian chief that there was a great sea beyond the mountains, and that the lands bordering on it abounded in gold. Balboa ascended the mountains and, casting his eyes to the southward, beheld a vast gleaming sea that seemed boundless in extent. He called it the South Sea. It proved to be the greatest body of water in the world, and came to be called the Pacific Ocean.

In 1519 a bold Portuguese navigator, named Ferdinand Magellan, with five small vessels and about two hundred and fifty men, sailed westward from Spain. Three years later, fifteen of them with one ship returned from the East to their starting point. All the rest had perished, and among them the brave commander, Magellan, who was killed by the natives in the Philippine Islands. This was the first circumnavigation of the globe.

Under discoveries and early explorations may be mentioned the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, with a band of about five hundred Spaniards, and the conquest of Peru twelve years later by Pizarro.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the bibliography at the close of each Chapter, a few references will be given in addition to those cited in the footnotes. Secondary works rather than sources are usually chosen, as the former are more often accessible to the student and to the general reader.

Those wishing to consult more complete bibliographies are referred to Channing, Hart and Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*; Cambridge *Modern History*, Vol. VII; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 volumes; and the various volumes of the *American Nation Series*, 28 volumes, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart.

The reader will be able to find the desired subject in any work by consulting the index or the table of contents.

The best histories of the discovery of America are those by Cheney, *European Background of American History* (American Nation Series); Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. I; Harrisse, *Discovery of North America*; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of the United States*, Vols. I and II; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, Vols. I and II. Fiske is not always critical and scholarly, but his style is always delightful. For the Norse discoveries see Reeves, *Finding of Vineland the Good*. See also the general histories mentioned above.

Among the biographies of Columbus are Markham, *Life of Columbus*; Thatcher, *Christopher Columbus*, 3 vols.; Irving, *Life of Columbus*, written nearly a century ago and still read.

On the Cabots are Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*; Dawson, *Voyages of the Cabots*.

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

WHAT a world of wonder was unfolded to the eyes of the European as he explored the great new continent, with its broad silent rivers, its illimitable plains, its boundless forests! Here he found the most wonderful cataracts of the earth, the longest rivers, the broadest valleys, the greatest lakes; he found a vast mountain system, extending from the Arctic regions through the torrid zone into the frigid climes of the South, almost from pole to pole; he found strange new birds and animals and plants. But amid all the wonders of this enchanting land, the most wonderful thing he found was a new race of his own human kind. Physically the Indian was equal to any other race; mentally he was weak and he was strong. He was a child and yet he was a man. He lived amid the vast solitudes of the wilderness and seemed a child of nature. His breast was filled with human passions; he had his loves and his hatreds, his religion and his hopes. He had not recorded his own history. Where the Indian originally came from, how he came to inhabit America, and how many ages he had dwelled here before the coming of the white man, will probably never be known. Many are the theories concerning the origin of the red man, but all are mere conjectures.

The Indian has been classed as a distinct and separate race of mankind, and indeed he differs as greatly from the Caucasian, the Mongolian, or the Ethiopian as they differ from one another. In fact the various Indian nations differ so greatly as to call forth the opinion that they could not all belong to the same race or stock; but while the Algonquin and the Iroquois differed greatly from each other and still more from the Aztec and the Inca, the difference was no greater than that between the Englishman and the Russian, the Spaniard and the German. Moreover, all the aboriginals of the New World were characterized by certain peculiarities which marked them conclusively as belonging to

the same race. In color the typical Indian was cinnamon-brown, varying in shade; he had high cheek bones, small, deep-set eyes, straight, raven-black hair, and a scanty beard. The race is physically more homogeneous than any other on the globe.¹

RELIGION

The American Indians were all religious. The belief in a Great Spirit who governed the world, who taught the water to flow and the bird to build her nest, who caused the changing of the seasons and the succession of day and night, who gave the sunshine to his children and brought the thunders and the rain — this belief was universal with the aboriginals of America.² The Indian believed in a future life, a happy hunting ground, where he would be accompanied by his dog and would need his bow and arrow and hatchet, and where his occupation would be similar to that of this life, except that all care and sorrow, and toil that wearies, would be removed. The religion of the red man was an ever present consciousness; he prayed when he sat down to meat and when he arose; he prayed when he went on the chase and when waging war upon his fellow-man. He believed that spirits dwelled in animals, in trees, and in everything about him. His imagination peopled the air and the water and the forests with living, invisible creatures, and often filled him with superstitious dread. Many of these spirits were evil, and the Indian felt that he must protect himself against them³ by carrying some charm or by repeating certain secret words. He often propitiated them, as he believed, by offerings and by prayer. He believed in signs and omens and dreams. The rustle of a leaf, the whistle of a bird, or the rolling of the thunder — all had their meaning to the untutored red man. His dreams were revelations from heaven, and he would sacrifice anything to carry out their suggestions.

He worshiped the Great Spirit; he worshiped the sun and the stars, the rivers and the mountains, but rarely did he bow down to that which he had made with his own hands. He offered to his God the firstlings of his flock, the best of his possessions; but only here and there, as among the Aztecs of Mexico, did he engage in the revolting practice of offering human sacrifice.

¹ Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 52.

² Some writers claim that the monotheistic idea was unknown among most Indian tribes until the coming of the Europeans. See Brinton, p. 69.

³ Starr, *American Indian*, p. 80.

HOME LIFE AND CHARACTER

The home life of the American Indian, before it was disturbed by the coming of the white man, was of the most simple and primitive character. It was scarcely above that of the animals that inhabited the forest with himself. He lived in a hut or tepee, perhaps a movable tent, made of animal skins attached to poles, or a stationary one made by bending saplings together at the top and inclosing the space between them with skins or with bark and leaves.¹ He slept with his family on a bed of leaves on the ground, wearing the same clothing that was worn during the day. He often slept or smoked during the day. Sometimes he would sit for hours in absolute silence and gaze on the ground, not giving the slightest attention to the gambols of his children about him or to his squaw by his side busy with her bead work or the dressing of skins. At evening he sat with his family or his friends and told over the legends and myths of his tribe that had been handed down from generation to generation, or dilated upon his own deeds of valor in the chase or on the battlefield. His legends were inexhaustible and included such sublime themes as that of the Creation, when the ocean was boundless, and silence and night were universal, until Hurakan, the mighty wind, or the gigantic bird with its eyes of lightning and the sound of its wings as the roar of thunder, passed over the vast, dark water and produced light and earth and animals and men;² or that of the Heroes of the Dawn, fair of complexion and mighty in war, who had founded their nation countless ages ago and had departed to the East, whence they would come again and claim their power as of old;³ or that of the implacable strife between the twin brothers, Light and Darkness, who, at length compromising, agreed that each reign half the time, and thus we have day and night.

There is in the Indian countenance a serious expression peculiar to his race.⁴ However, the Indian at home seems happy in a great measure. No greater proof of this is needed than the fact that he sings. His musical instruments are few and crude indeed; but he sings in his tent and he sings at play. His games

¹ To this rule there were many exceptions, such as the Aztecs, the Incas, the Pueblos, and the Iroquois, who had houses of a more substantial character and who were far less nomadic in their habits than many of the tribes.

² This was a legend of the northwestern tribes.

³ This was a legend of Mexico and South America, and is considered a remarkable prophecy of the coming of the white man who "wrote the doom of the red man in letters of fire." See Brinton, p. 220.

⁴ Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*, p. 164.

are numerous and he engages in them with his whole heart. The old and the young, the male and the female, engage in many of the plays. But with all this, there seems to be something wanting to true happiness; there is a vein of sadness that pervades all Indian life. In many of his plays there is a self-inflicted pain; many of his songs are in a minor key. This results, perhaps, as stated before, from his perennial fear that is born of superstition.

The Indian is not cruel by nature, as it is commonly supposed. It is true that the main pursuits of his life, the slaying of the wild animal in the chase and of his fellow-man in war, have left their stamp upon his nature and rendered him indifferent to suffering. It is true that he is cruel in times of war; but when his anger is not aroused, when unsuspecting of danger or treachery, there is none among the children of men more kind-hearted or more steadfast as a friend than the wild Indian. He will share his last morsel with the stranger within his gates, and many an Indian has been known to offer his life for the protection of a friend.

Another popular error is the belief that the Indian squaw is a slave to her husband. It is true that the squaw does the necessary work in the home; she prepares the meals, dresses the skins, raises the corn, and gathers the wild rice and the berries; but her husband engages in the more arduous duties of following the war trail and slaying the wild beast. His toil is less constant, but far more perilous and fatiguing than hers. They simply divide the labor and both are content. The fact that the woman carries the tent when moving has shocked many a traveler; but this custom doubtless arose from the fact that it was necessary for the man to be untrammelled so as to be on the lookout for danger.

OCCUPATIONS

North America, when first explored by the white man, was found to be inhabited throughout its entire area by Indian tribes. They were thinly scattered and there were not more perhaps than half a million in the aggregate. It requires a vastly greater land area to support a people who live from the natural products of the country than to support an equal number who live by tilling the soil and raising domestic animals. The Indian lived chiefly from natural products unaided by the hand of art. His serious occupation was twofold — the business of war and a continuous struggle for food. Many tribes raised maize or corn, beans, and a few other products, but their agriculture was crude indeed. Their plow was a split stick with which they scratched the ground. They could keep down the weeds but not the grass.

A whole tribe would sometimes migrate on account of encroaching grass upon their corn patches. Sometimes in winter a tribe would almost reach the verge of starvation; to sustain life they had to eat roots and weed seed. Usually, however, there was an adequate supply of food — wild rice, dried berries, fish, and game. With many tribes "jerked" buffalo or deer meat peeled into thin strips and dried in the sun was a staple food.¹ The great source of the food supply of the Indian was the flesh of wild animals taken in the forest in which he dwelt; to capture these animals with his imperfect means required the utmost skill, and this he acquired in a remarkable degree.

The Indian, spending his life in the depths of the forest, was truly a child of nature and nature was his study. He observed her changing forms with the utmost acuteness, and while he often misinterpreted their meaning, the facts were truly his. The rolling of the billowy clouds, the ever changing color of the sky, the opening buds and the fading leaves, the majestic, silent river, the howling of the winter's storm — these and a thousand other things were observed by this inhabitant of the woods; they spoke to him a definite language. But most important among the facts gleaned from nature was his knowledge of animals, especially of those on which he depended for his daily food. His knowledge of the haunts and habits of animals was astonishing; and not less so his skill and ability in capturing them. He could imitate the gobble of the wild turkey, the whistle of the bird, or the bark of the wolf,² and deceive those creatures in their own abodes. He was almost as fleet of foot as the deer or the hare; he could follow a trail with the keenness of a bloodhound. As he crept through the forest in search of game, no item of interest escaped his notice; his ear caught every sound; he seemed to see in all directions at the same moment, and seldom could the keenest-scented animal escape his cunning and his craftiness.³

THE INDIAN AS A WARRIOR

Let us now take a glance at the Indian as a warrior. It was in this capacity that we knew him first. We have heard from childhood how our grandfathers hewed their way into the deep

¹ In describing Indian character in this chapter I have used the present tense, but my description of customs refers to them in their primitive state as found three hundred years ago.

² McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 6.

³ No Indian, however, could surpass our pioneer hunters in woodcraft. Such hunters as Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, without the training of previous generations, were a match for the keenest of the red men.

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wilderness, where their conquest of the forest and the soil and the wild beast was an easy task compared with that of the savage man with whom they had to contend. We have read of the Indian wars of colonial days — of the horrible massacres and the bands of hideous warriors who roamed over hills and valleys, seeking out the peaceful abode of the industrious pioneer who, with his wife and children, sought to make a home in the wilderness. In referring to the cruel practices of the Indians, as a necessary part of history, it is but fair to add that they were perhaps no more savage and cruel than any other people in the same stage of development. They committed such deeds only when on the war path, and the white men at times were not less cruel than the untutored red men. No massacre by the Indians ever surpassed in fiendish cruelty the Guadenhutzen massacre in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio, in March, 1782, when ninety-six peaceful, friendly Indians, who had been converted to Christianity, were murdered in cold blood by a band of white men who called themselves the Pennsylvania militia.

Incredible as it seems, the savage warrior is the same Indian that we have seen sitting among his children in his wigwam, telling over the stories of his grandfather's days, smoking serenely, accepting his meal, however scanty, without murmur; the Indian who never beats his wife nor strikes his child, who is kind-hearted, who prays without ceasing, and who never doubts that he will enter the happy hunting ground. Such a contradiction of character in the same being may seem difficult to explain.

The Indian was essentially a warrior. His noblest art was the art of war. He inherited his warlike spirit from his fathers. He imbibed it from his mother's breast. It was fostered in his childish plays. It was part of his religion. Murdering women and children was part of legitimate warfare in the mind of the Indian. He practiced it against his own race as readily as against the whites. He killed children and women because they would become warriors or would bring forth warriors. His wars were wars of extermination. In time of peace he was passive and even gentle in his own rude way; but when his war spirit was roused, when the peace pipe was broken, his fury knew no bounds. He became —

in sober truth, the veriest devil

That e'er clinched fingers in a captive's hair.

During the period of our early settlements there were many fierce conflicts between the whites and Indians, and many were the deeds of cruelty recorded against the latter. But it is certain

that they seldom or never practiced their cruelties without some specious ground for so doing, and in truth they were scarcely more to blame than their white neighbors. Sometimes the French and sometimes the English inflamed them against the colonists; and again, there were dishonest American traders who roused their anger by cheating them. Finally there was one abiding cause of strife between the two races. The Indian saw that his lands were gradually being taken from him and that his race was being driven farther and farther toward the West; and at times whole nations rose against the intruders and determined to repossess the hunting grounds they had lost. Hence there was warfare along the frontier, and the Indian could not discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. He was still a barbarian.

It is true that the Indian at times tortured his captive to death, and he would gloat over the dying agonies of his foe. Such practices only prove the Indian to be a man as distinguished from the animals beneath him. It proves that in spirit the man and the brute are not akin and that in the heart of the natural man there is a spirit of evil as well as a spark of the divine.

The Indian warrior surpassed all other men in his power of endurance and his capacity for suffering. He could travel on foot for a hundred miles without sleep or food. If captured by his enemy, he would suffer himself to be tortured to death without exhibiting a feeling of pain, or permitting a cry to escape his lips. He chanted his death song with his last breath.

No special rules of warfare were followed by the Indians. No one was compelled to go to war; but to refuse to do so made one very unpopular, if he were young and able. The chief held his authority, not by law, but principally through his powers of leadership. If he was a natural leader, if he had taken many scalps, if he had encountered great dangers and displayed great heroism, the young men were quite ready to follow and obey him. Even in battle the Indians had no rules nor orders to guide them. Each brave did what seemed best in his own eyes. An Indian battle was not a carefully planned meeting of two armies, drawn up with scientific precision. It was rather a series of skirmishes, personal hand-to-hand encounters, and ambushes. The Indian was courageous, but he was wily and treacherous. He would not fight an enemy openly, if he could surprise him in ambush. He would lurk in a ravine, or dark shadow, or behind a tree until his enemy came near, when he would spring upon him with

ferocity, uttering at the same time a piercing yell that no one who heard it could ever forget.

NATIONS AND TRIBES

The Indians of North America were divided into several great families, distinguished by language, habits, and personal appearance, and each family was composed of many different tribes.

One of the most prominent families was the Iroquois, living for the most part in New York. Some of the tribes, however, extended into Canada, the Ohio Valley, and the South. They built connected log houses, fortified their villages, and cultivated the soil. They were noted for physical strength, courage, and their warlike propensities. Five tribes of the Iroquois, the Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Senecas, were banded together in a confederation known as the Five Nations. When joined by the Tuscaroras in 1714, they were called the Six Nations. In addition to these, the Eries, Hurons, Cherokees, and a few other tribes belonged to the Iroquois. The tribes that occupied the Ohio Valley are supposed to have built the curious mounds found in that locality. The former belief that there was a civilized people known as the Mound Builders who preceded the Indians is no longer held by thoughtful students of Indian anthropology.

By far the greatest Indian family in North America, measured by the extent of territory occupied, was the Algonquin family. They surrounded the Iroquois on all sides, extending from Labrador westward through British America to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and southward to South Carolina. They also extended westward through the Mississippi Valley to the Rocky Mountains. The most important tribes of the Algonquins were the Massachuset, Mohegan, Lenni Lenape (who made the famous treaty with William Penn), Miami, Illinois, Sac and Fox, Ojibwa, Blackfoot, and Shawnee. Most of the famous Indians of our history, as King Philip, Pocahontas, Pontiac, and Tecumseh, were Algonquins. This nation compared favorably with the Iroquois in every way. Both had advanced beyond the state of barbarism and showed an interesting incipient civilization. Their highest accomplishments were the raising of corn and the making of pottery. There are at present nearly 100,000 Algonquins and about 40,000 Iroquois living on various reservations. Many of them are self-supporting, living mostly by agriculture.

The Athabascans were another great family, which extended from the Arctic regions to Mexico, mostly west of the Rocky Mountains. They were divided into many tribes, including the warlike Apaches, the Atna and Kuchin of Alaska, the Navajos of Arizona and New Mexico, the Beavers and Slaves of British America. Other tribes

The Dakota or Sioux family occupied that portion of the United States west of the Great Lakes about the head waters of the Mississippi, the Yellowstone Valley, and the adjacent portions of British America. Among them we find the Crows, Assiniboinés, Iowas, Mandans, Omahas, Osages, and Winnebagoes. About forty-five thousand of them still remain.

The Muskogi family were among the most cultured and industrious of Indians. They built good houses and cultivated the soil. The leading tribes were the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles, occupying for the most part the southern portions of the United States.

The Shoshone family included the semi-civilized Aztecs of Mexico, the Comanches, the Snakes, the Utes, the Mokis, and many other tribes.

One of the most advanced of the Indian nations were the Mayas of Yucatan. An exploring expedition to that country in 1926 disclosed ruins that indicated a civilization and culture which probably surpassed that of any other American Indian tribes. The Mayas had devised a calendar and a rude form of writing and they had made much progress in art, sculpture and architecture.

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CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF EXPLORATION

SCARCELY had Europe caught its breath after the unexpected discovery of a great continent beyond the western ocean when the period of exploration began. Some of the explorers were sent forth by their respective governments; others went at their own expense. Many of the expeditions were of the most daring and adventurous character, and the chief motive forces were a thirst for gold and the spirit of adventure, to which were usually added some pretense of preparing for future colonization and a desire to convert the natives to Christianity.

Spain had taken the lead in discovery; she also took the lead in exploration. Before the middle of the sixteenth century Spanish explorers had traversed a territory in the New World greater by far than the whole of Europe. Having covered Central America and a large portion of South America, they turned their attention to the north.

Of the early Spanish expeditions on the present soil of the United States, the one offering the greatest attractions to the lover of adventure was probably that led through the south-east and the Mississippi Valley by Ferdinand, or Hernando, de Soto, who was himself the most picturesque of all the Spanish explorers of our country. To this expedition and its ambitious leader the main portion of this chapter will be devoted.¹

THE TYPICAL SPANISH EXPLORER — DE SOTO

The pages of fiction can scarcely parallel the strange romance of the career of Ferdinand de Soto. He was born in the year 1500, in the quaint and quiet Spanish town of Xeres — a town

¹ A full account of all these exploring expeditions would swell this volume beyond its intended limits, while a brief summary of each would fail to reproduce in any degree the spirit of those times, and would furnish little to attract the reader. I have chosen, therefore, to present all in simple outline, except one, and of this a larger treatment will be given.

Though it may seem out of harmony with the remainder of this history, the method I have employed in treating this subject has been chosen because I have heard various persons say that in attempting to read American history, they become utterly tired of the subject by the time they have read the dry details of the discoveries and explorations. (A similar method was adopted also, in some degree, in Chapter I.)

of ruined castles and gloomy monasteries. His father was an impoverished nobleman, and being too poor to educate him and too proud to teach him the art of earning a livelihood, De Soto's boyhood would have been spent in idleness, had not a powerful nobleman, Don Pedro Avila, adopted him into his family. Avila gave him a thorough education, including all the chivalric accomplishments of the Middle Ages, and the boy gave early promise of unusual talent.

On reaching manhood De Soto, like many other Spanish youths of the time, made his way to the New World. As a Spanish cavalier he spent many years in Darien, and many were his deeds of wild and daring adventure. It was said that he was the handsomest and most chivalric man in the army and that he surpassed all his fellows as a horseman and swordsman.

In 1531 De Soto joined Pizarro, as second in command, in the infamous conquest of Peru. It is thought that he was far more humane than his heartless chief. He denounced Pizarro for putting the harmless Inca to death; but the fact that he was a member of that band of murderers and shared in its spoils must remain forever a blot upon his name. His share of the Peruvian gold was probably equal in value to half a million dollars.

De Soto
and Pizarro

He resolved to return to Spain, which he had not seen for fifteen years. On reaching his native land he was hailed as the conqueror of Peru and soon he became the most popular and powerful nobleman in Spain. De Soto was unused to wealth, and he spent his money with a lavish hand. In two years half his fortune had melted away. He then bethought himself how he might replenish his coffers, and his mind turned again to America. He knew of Florida and believed it to be a land, not only of flowers, but of gold, and Charles V readily granted his request to conquer and colonize that country.

De Soto embarked for the New World with more than six hundred men in April, 1538. His followers included the flower of the nobility, young men of wealth and station, and a number of veteran soldiers who had served under him in Peru. Gayly over the sea the little fleet swept, the men as light-hearted as if on a holiday excursion and as confident as if the gold they sought were already in view. They disembarked on the island of Cuba, over which De Soto had been made governor by the emperor, and more than half a year was spent in festivities and in preparations for the invasion.

Expedition
of De Soto

In the early spring of 1539 De Soto left Cuba with an army

that, for equipment and richness of uniform, could not have been surpassed by Spain in the most picturesque period of her chivalry.¹ The hearts beat high with De Soto's crew as they launched out from the Cuban coast for Florida. As the blue line in the horizon informed them that they were nearing the flowery land, their joy broke forth into songs and exclamations of delight. There at last was their El Dorado. There was the land of the cedar and vine, the land that was abloom with perpetual spring — and it must also be the land of gold. It must be another Mexico, another Peru; and the name of their commander would henceforth rival that of Cortez and of Pizarro. Thus thought the followers of De Soto, and they rejoiced, they "filled high the cup with Samian wine"; they saw themselves returning to Spain covered with glory and laden with gold.

FLORIDA

Florida was the name given to the vast unexplored region of the southeastern part of the United States, a region since divided into half a dozen flourishing states. It was so named by Ponce de Leon, who, a quarter of a century before the coming of De Soto, had wandered through the wilderness in a pathetic and fruitless search for that magical fountain which, as the natives informed him, would bring youth to the aged and life to the dying. Fifteen years later Narvaez, with a band of three hundred freebooters, landed on the coast of Florida, made an excursion into the interior, and treated the Indians with such inhuman cruelty that the latter rose in their fury and destroyed the invaders of their soil — and but few were left to tell the story. It was this land of which De Soto would now become master and governor.

But with their music was mingled a minor strain when they remembered that De Leon and Narvaez had found no gold; they had found only disaster and death. Again was the dream of De Soto's followers disturbed when before the dawn of the first morning after they landed at Tampa Bay they were rudely awakened by savage yells and a shower of arrows from a horde of naked warriors. The Spaniards leaped up in terror and ran to their ships. This was the beginning of three and a half years of unceasing strife and battle which were to end in the destruction of the greater portion of the Spanish army.

It is said by some that De Soto had no desire to slay the

¹ In his expedition were 570 men and 223 horses. Winsor, Vol. II, p. 245.

natives wantonly ; ¹ he intended, however, to give battle whenever the Indians opposed his march. The Spanish commander now made a most fortunate acquisition to his army in the person of Juan Ortiz, a fellow-countryman who had lived with the Indians for ten years. He had come from Cuba with a party searching for Narvaez, and with three companions had been made captive. The other three were put to death, but Ortiz, a handsome and athletic youth of eighteen years, was saved by the daughter of an Indian chief, who begged her father to spare him. Ortiz had learned Indian language and habits, and he became De Soto's guide and interpreter. The Spaniards eagerly inquired of Ortiz where gold might be found, but he could give them no definite information. He only knew that more than a hundred miles to the northeast there lived a great chief to whom all the surrounding chiefs paid tribute.

To find this forest king De Soto immediately set out. For more than a hundred miles the army — cavalry and infantry — tramped through the magnificent forests of oak and pine, alternating with long stretches of treeless prairie adorned with bright flowers and waving grass. **Wandering in the wilderness** But more than once their steps were arrested with vast, dismal swamps and impenetrable bogs. Reaching the city of the great chief, they found that his majesty with his subjects had fled and had taken refuge in the swamps and forests. De Soto sent Indian runners to offer the chief his friendship, but the wily red man feared another Narvaez and no efforts could draw him from his hiding place. On being questioned about the one subject nearest the Spanish heart, the captured Indians told of a land many leagues northward where, as they had heard, gold abounded in great quantities, and the army hastened on. This was a device often employed by the natives to induce the white invaders to pass on, and it seldom failed. The army moved steadily northward for several months, traversing the central portion of the present state of Georgia and touching upon South Carolina.

Had not the Spaniards been blinded by their mad pursuit of fortune this expedition might have been made one of great interest and of scientific usefulness. Here were strange trees laden with climbing vines, flowers of every color, herbs and grasses in numberless variety, unknown to the most learned botanist of that day. Here were birds and animals peculiar to America and,

¹ One contemporary writer, Oviedo, however, states that De Soto was fond of the sport of killing Indians.

above all, man in his natural state, living his simple life in the great forest among the lower orders of creation. What an opportunity for study! But the Spaniards cared not for these things; they were in search of gold.

The country through which they passed was more densely settled by the red men than were the northern and central portions of the United States. The tribes were nearly all partially civilized; they lived in firmly built houses and cultivated the soil. The army passed through many Indian villages, most of which were deserted, the occupants having fled to the woods at the approach of the invaders. Frequently the Spaniards stopped for a rest of several days in these deserted towns. The natives would sometimes remain wholly out of sight until the white men had gone; at other times they would suddenly emerge from the forest in hostile bands and attack the foraging parties sent out from the camp. Sometimes while on the march the army was harassed for whole days by Indians in ambush, lurking behind trees and hedges watching for an opportunity to send the flint-pointed shaft, or bursting forth from their coverts in bands, sending a shower of arrows and then hieing away to their hiding places with the fleetness of the antelope. Many of the Spaniards, and a far greater number of the Indians, were killed in these skirmishes. Had not the Spaniards been well protected by coats of mail, the entire army would no doubt have been destroyed within the first year.

De Soto was ever ready with overtures to the fleeing chiefs. A few of them were won by his presents; others were defiant and hostile in the last degree. One of them made answer to proffers of friendship as follows: "Others of your accursed race, in years past, have poisoned our shores. They have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds from land to land; to rob the poor . . . to murder the defenseless. With such people I want no friendship. War, never ending, exterminating war is all I ask."

Long and weary months the Spanish army wandered about in the deep wilderness scarcely knowing whither they went. They procured most of their food from the fields of maize cultivated by the natives. For meat they drove with them a herd of swine. They often made Indian captives and pressed them into service as guides or bearers of burdens. The guides on several occasions misled them into great swamps and marshes. The penalty for such an act was to be torn to pieces by bloodhounds, and they bore their punishment with the utmost fortitude.

De Soto learned that there was far away to the north a rich and powerful Indian nation known as Cofachiqui, or Cofitachiqui, governed by a queen, a young and beautiful girl of eighteen years. He heard also that the land abounded in the richest mines of gold and silver, and he decided to direct his steps thither; but the way was long and the soldiers footsore and weary, and months of travel through marsh and bog, over arid plains and through dense forests, must be endured ere they could reach their goal. At length they traversed a broad, open country and came to the bank of a beautiful river. One evening as they came to a bend of the river they heard from the opposite shore the din of voices, the shouts of playing children, and the barking of dogs. Next morning they discovered that it was the home of the princess who ruled over Cofachiqui.¹

De Soto was extremely anxious to make friends of the youthful queen and her people. He bade Ortiz shout across the river, and assure the natives that he desired their good will and friendship. The Indians gazed in speechless wonder at the strange sight — warriors wrapped in bright steel armor, with glittering swords in their hands, and the richly caparisoned horses, animals which these Indians had never before seen. Presently six of the chief men of the nation entered a canoe and crossed to the encampment of their strange visitors.

An Indian
queen

"Do you come for peace or war?" they asked with the true dignity of the brave.

"I come for peace," replied De Soto; "I seek only a peaceful passage through your land; I need food for my people and beg your assistance."

After a brief conversation and an earnest request by De Soto to meet their queen in person, the chiefs recrossed the stream. A little later the young queen, accompanied by warriors and female attendants, crossed the river in a canoe. The Spaniards were impressed with her quiet dignity, her graceful manner and rare beauty. Through an interpreter she entered into a conversation with De Soto and offered him the use of half the houses of her capital during his stay.

The army crossed the river and occupied the quarters assigned them. This was certainly an oasis in the desert, a haven of rest for the weary travelers, and now, too, their hopes were

¹ It is believed that this Indian town stood on the present site of Silver Bluff, on the east bank of the Savannah River, in Barnwell County, S. C. These Indians were members of the Creek tribes.

revived. On inquiring for the object of their search, their fair hostess informed them that there were great quantities of gold within her territories, and she sent men to the mines to bring specimens. At last the Spaniards believed they had found another Peru. The men returned from the mines laden with the metal, but it proved to be a worthless alloy of copper — and the Spaniards awoke from their radiant dream, and in sorrow turned again their weary eyes to the wilderness.

It was the custom of De Soto to compel every Indian chief of whom he secured possession to accompany him at least to the bounds of the chief's territory. His object was to prevent Indian attacks upon his army. This he made known to the queen of Cofachiqui, and informed her that it would be necessary for her to accompany them. She demurred, but De Soto made her captive, on the ground that in no other way could he prevent an uprising of the treacherous red men.

The party left the city by the river early in May, 1540, and traversed the northern part of Georgia, the princess being carried in her palanquin by her own warriors and followed by her maids. Thus they plodded along for weeks when one day the lovely maiden, of whom the whole army was proud, proved that she was not only a dignified queen, but a true Indian — she suddenly leaped from her couch and, running with the fleetness of a deer, darted beneath the underbrush of a dense forest. De Soto and his men never saw nor heard of her again.

Our adventurers now turned southward through the present state of Alabama. They made a long stop with a friendly Indian tribe on the Coosa River and here they left behind one of their number who had fallen in love with the chief's daughter and chose to marry her and remain with the Indians. In southern Alabama there dwelt the most warlike and powerful of all the Indian tribes of the Southeast. The chief, whose name was Tuscaloosa, heard of the coming of the Spaniards and went to meet them, receiving them with friendly manner and inviting them into his capital. But this was only a blind; his purpose was to entrap his white visitors and destroy them to the last man. The capital¹ was built like a fort, surrounded by a strong wall made of timbers and surmounted by towers. De Soto entered the city gates with a portion of his army, and a little later the fight began. The Indians fought with great courage, and they

**Battle of
Mavila**

¹ The town called Mobile, Mavila, or Mavilla, probably stood on the present site of the Choctaw Bluff, on the Alabama River, in Clarke County, Ala.

outnumbered the Spaniards ten to one; but it was the naked body against the coat of mail, the bow and arrow against the steel Toledo blade in the hands of the most skillful swordsmen in the world. De Soto on his noble charger led the fight. Early in the afternoon an arrow pierced his thigh and stuck fast, rendering him unable to sit in his saddle. Not having time to extract the arrow, he stood up in the stirrups and fought to the end of the day. The battle raged for nine hours, till the coming of nightfall. The Indian army was destroyed and the whole town was in ashes.

The Spaniards paid dearly for their victory. Many of them were dead and nearly all the survivors were wounded.¹ A large number of their horses had been killed and all their camp equipage, baggage, and medicines had been consumed in the fire. The battle of Mavila was one of the greatest ever fought between the white men and Indians on the soil of the United States.² The army was unable to move for nearly a month after this terrible experience. There were many wounds to be dressed and but one surgeon, a man of little skill, left alive.

The army never recovered from the effects of this battle. From this day forth De Soto was a changed man. His buoyant and jovial spirits were gone. He heard that ships from Cuba with fresh supplies for his army were now in Pensacola Bay, but a few days' march distant, and thither he would go for recruits and supplies. But rumors reached his ears that filled him with dismay. He was informed that his men were disheartened and would desert him at the earliest opportunity. Disguising himself, he mingled among them at night, listened to their conversation, and found the rumor to be true.

De Soto felt that he could not raise another army if this one deserted him. He had spent his fortune and accomplished nothing. He was too proud in spirit to return to Spain. How could he return with his ragged and penniless army? How could he endure poverty and humiliation after the taste of conquest and power he had enjoyed? He must succeed or die. Gold was more precious than life, and disgrace was worse than death. Such a man was De Soto; such a country was Spain in the sixteenth century. This man of iron will came to the desperate decision to head off his mutinous men by refusing to inform them about the ships and by turning again northward.

¹ The total losses from all causes at the end of this battle are stated by the "Gentleman of Elvas" to be one hundred and two.

² See Bancroft, *United States History*, Vol. I, p. 48.

Wearily the Spaniards turned again to resume their journey through the unexplored forest. The march from this day was aimless and almost hopeless. They wandered from place to place, caring little whither they went. The men were without tents or baggage; their clothing had turned to rags, and they dressed themselves in skins. Through illness and incessant fighting with the Indians their numbers were constantly decreasing. But few of their horses remained, and most of the men traveled on foot.

De Soto was moody, sullen, distant, and careworn. He had lived but forty years, but the furrows of age were deepening in his face. It is believed that from this time forth his mind was unbalanced, that he felt his pursuit of gold to be hopeless, and that he was resolved to die in the wilderness. But strange are the fates. The one event in the career of De Soto that gave him a permanent name in American history was yet before him — the discovery of the Mississippi River.

In the spring of 1541, probably at Chickasaw Bluff, not far from the present boundary between Tennessee and Mississippi, the Spaniards first cast their eyes upon the great river. The majestic current swept by, a mile and a half in width, bearing upon its bosom trees and logs and great quantities of drift-wood. Here the mighty river had rolled for ages unknown, and De Soto was the first white man to look upon its turbid waters.¹ But he and his followers did not realize the magnitude of the discovery; they were still seeking for gold. They built four barges, crossed the river, and made a detour of several hundred miles to the northwest, through the present states of Arkansas and Missouri. This tour covered a year, and it was a year of extreme hardship and toil, a year of Indian fighting and disaster. Many of them perished, and among them the faithful interpreter, Juan Ortiz. In the early spring of 1542 the expedition returned to the Mississippi, by way of Red River, and now the great march was soon to close.

De Soto was weary unto death with his long and fruitless quest. His countenance was haggard and worn, nor was it in his power to conceal his deep depression of spirits. He was attacked by a slow fever, and calling his officers about him, naming one as his successor, he bade them an affectionate farewell. He died, May 21, 1542, and was buried "darkly, at dead of night." That the Indians might not find

¹ Cabeza de Vaca had, however, discovered one of the mouths of the Mississippi a few years before.

the body, all traces of the grave were obliterated; but the Indians were soon seen lurking about and looking with suspicion at the burial place, and it was determined to remove the body and lower it into the depths of the river. With solemn ceremony a few of the officers rowed out to the middle of the great river at midnight, bearing the body of the dead chieftain, inclosed in a casket made of a hollowed-out oaken log and weighted with sand, and reverently they lowered it into the water.

The new leader lacked the indomitable spirit of De Soto and the men decided to return to civilization. After making an extensive tour of the Southwest, they returned to the Mississippi. On rude boats of their own construction, they floated with the current to the Gulf of Mexico, and in September, 1543, reached a Spanish colony in Mexico. Of the 570 men who had started in the hapless quest for gold, many of them rich and of noble blood, about half had found a grave in the wilderness. The remnant returned broken in spirit, penniless, dressed in the skins of animals and covered with wounds and scars.

For wild and futile adventure the career of De Soto is difficult to parallel. His great expedition was singularly barren of good results. There was no study of the language and habits of the natives, no record of the flora or the fauna, no scientific observations of the topography of the country. Aside from the accidental discovery of the greatest of North America rivers, little was added to the knowledge of the New World by this costly expedition of De Soto.

OTHER EXPLORERS

In 1528 Panfilo de Narvaez, with four ships and about four hundred men, explored the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The expedition was most unfortunate. Many were killed by the Indians and Narvaez was drowned near the mouth of the Mississippi River. At length but four were left, Cabeza de Vaca and three companions. These wandered about for eight years, traveling over two thousand miles, crossing the continent, and finally reaching a Spanish settlement on the western coast of Mexico.

De Vaca and his companions told fascinating stories of their travels, and one of these stories related to "the seven cities of Cibola," which were said to contain vast treasures of gold. Coronado, governor of a province in Mexico, raised an army of more than a thousand men, two thirds of whom were Mexican Indians, and searched for these cities. He discovered many Zuni

Pueblos of the Southwest, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and penetrated as far northeastward, perhaps, as the valley of the Platte River. He found no gold, and after losing many of his men, returned to Mexico broken-hearted. In the summer of 1541 Coronado and De Soto, with their respective parties, were but a few days apart, and Coronado, suspecting this, sent a messenger to find De Soto; but he was not successful. The expedition of Coronado was more ably managed than that of De Soto, and it yielded better results in extending geographical knowledge.

Less famous explorers were Gordillo, who explored the southeastern coast of the United States in 1520; and De Ayllon who, with five hundred men, sailed northward along the Atlantic coast in 1526 and made a fruitless attempt to found a colony in what is now Virginia, near the site of Jamestown. The fact that Spanish explorers on the soil of the United States found no gold probably accounts for the fact that no important Spanish settlements were made within its area.

The French confined their early explorations to the north. In 1534 Jacques Cartier made a voyage to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, exploring southern Labrador, Prince Edward Island, and Anticosti. He returned to France, and the next year came again and sailed up the St. Lawrence River as far as the present site of Montreal, so called from the name he gave the place — Mount Royal. The explorations of other Frenchmen — Champlain, Allouez, Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle — will be mentioned in a later chapter.

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¹ Cal.
few years be

CHAPTER IV

COLONIZATION: THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

THE United States of America, whose history we are now ready to begin, comprises the central part of North America, and extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and from the boundary of British America to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande. It embraces more than three million square miles and lies wholly within the north temperate zone. In climate, soil, and mineral wealth it is admirably adapted to the highest human development. In the frigid zones of the earth man is dwarfed by his unceasing battle with the cold and his struggle for a food supply. He has little energy left for the pursuit of ideals. In the torrid regions the constant high temperature depletes the energies of man and tends to make him indolent. Only in the temperate zone can man develop at his best. The climate in most of the United States is cold enough in winter to make the blood tingle and to awaken one's finest energies; the warmth and rainfall in summer are sufficient to insure in great abundance the products of the soil.

The United States comprises three great sections, roughly parallel, extending north and south. The eastern section embraces the entire Atlantic seaboard from the northern point of Maine to the tip of Florida; also, the whole Appalachian mountain system, including its western slope as far as the valleys of the Ohio and the Tennessee. At the time when the white man came, this region was covered with immense forests of stately timbers — oak, cedar, pine, and many other varieties. The soil is varied and its present products range from the corn and wheat of the northern area to the cotton and the sugar cane of the southland. As to minerals, silver and gold there is none, or very little, but there are vast coal fields including the rich anthracite deposits of Pennsylvania. This section has yielded also great wealth in petroleum.

Three great
sections

The middle section comprises the Mississippi Valley. The basin of this great river and its tributaries with the adjacent plains of Texas includes more than a million square miles — an area that is larger than all Europe, excluding Russia. It presents almost every kind of climate and of product of the soil. For mineral wealth the Mississippi Valley is not conspicuous; many parts of it are devoid of timber; but as an agricultural region it has no equal in the world.

The western section of the United States extends from the Mississippi Valley, across the vast system of the Cordilleras with its towering mountain ranges and lofty peaks, and down the western slope, to the waves of the Pacific Ocean. It embraces the entire coast from British Columbia to the borders of Mexico. As a whole this section is not yet thickly settled, but its possibilities are boundless. There is great mineral wealth, especially in silver and gold, and the coast lands are exceedingly rich in fruits and agricultural products.

Such is the great country whose history from the earliest settlement by the white race it is our purpose to survey in this volume.

EUROPEAN CLAIMANTS

The New World had been discovered for a century, and the territory of the present United States was still a wilderness, uninhabited except by the native savage.¹ It was not possible that such a condition could endure. North America presented wonderful opportunities for future development. It was bounded by two oceans, while Europe had but one; nor could Europe match the Great Lakes, the cataract of Niagara, the Mississippi River, the Rocky Mountains, or the Grand Canyons of the Colorado and the Yellowstone. It was only through colonization that this vast and beautiful land could become truly useful to mankind, and the time was ripe for a portion of Europe to transplant itself permanently to North America. The burning question in the closing decades of the sixteenth century was, Which of the European states will become the mother of civilization in North America? The con-

¹ The only settlements that had been made previously by white men in the present continental area of the United States were those of St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, and Santa Fé, New Mexico, in 1582 or later. The great French Huguenot, Coligny, first sent Ribault, who made a settlement in Florida; but the inhabitants were brutally massacred by Menendez, a Spaniard. Gorges, a Frenchman, afterward made fearful retaliation by destroying the Spanish colony.

ditions seemed to favor Spain. She had taken possession of Mexico and most of South America and had laid claim to all of North America on the ground of the Pope's decree of a century before. Her chief advantage lay in the fact that she was by far the greatest maritime power of the earth. But, Spain was ill fitted to found empires and build nations. Her motives were too low. She sought, not to found self-supporting colonies, but to plunder the natives in her mad search for gold. For gold she slew the red man, for gold she enslaved the black man, and gold proved the ruin of Spain.

For nearly a hundred years Spain had held undisputed sway in the New World. Neither England nor France had followed up the early discoveries with attempts at colonization. During the sixteenth century England was struggling with the Reformation and the political questions accompanying it; France was rent with civil and religious wars. Both were thus deterred for many years from giving serious attention to the new lands of the West, though both agreed in disputing the exclusive claims of Spain.

At first Spain had a clear field for colonization. No other nation ever had such an opportunity to establish a great empire.¹ But Spain proved unworthy of her trust. The chief cause of her downfall was, as stated, too great a devotion to the god of gold. This caused a decline in her agriculture and manufacturing. But there were other causes. Spain lost her best artisans and laborers through the expulsion of the Moors; she lost much of her commercial power through the expulsion of the Jews; and, worst of all, the nation lost much of its choicest blood by the horrors of the Inquisition. In addition to all these factors, the efforts of Spain to increase her political power in Europe and to lead the forces of the counter reformation weakened the empire and hastened its downfall.

While Spain was declining, France and England were rapidly rising. France had reached a season of peace and influence under the reign of that broad-minded statesman, King Henry of Navarre, the author of the Edict of Nantes. The French now began to occupy Acadia and the St. Lawrence Valley. But it is with the work of England that we are here concerned. The Reformation in England extended through the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI; and, after a momentary reaction under Mary, it was completed under Elizabeth. The long reign of "Good Queen Bess," ending in

France

England

¹ See Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. VIII, pp. 122-123.

1603, brought internal peace, a notable revival of industries at home and activity on the sea, and raised the British nation to a first-class power. The Spanish at length found their equal in the British.

For five centuries, in their island home, the Briton and the Saxon, the Angle, the Dane, and the Norman had commingled until each had lost his identity in producing a race unsurpassed by any other in history — the British race; and at the close of a long and successful struggle for religious liberty, this people was taking a foremost place among the nations. England was now interested in colonial expansion and her attention was turned toward the New World.

Her motives were various. One was her rivalry with Spain. Another was a belief that the island was overpopulated and needed an outlet for surplus population. Another was the desire to search for gold, to find a northwest passage; and, as it developed a little later, another was the belief that the colonies could be made to furnish certain commodities, such as silk and wine, which could not be produced in England.

Reviving the memory of the half-forgotten voyages of the Cabots, England laid claim on this ground to the greater portion of North America. Conscious of the strength of youth, Englishmen set forth upon the sea, and stood ready to dispute with Spain the dominion of the ocean. The Elizabethan Era is renowned in English history, not only for its literature, but for its growing power upon the sea, and especially for its hardy and skillful seamen. There were Hawkins the slave trader, the famous half-brothers — Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh — Gosnold, Newport, and Frobisher, and above all Francis Drake, the greatest seaman before Nelson. Drake was the first to put into practice the policy of weakening Spain by attacking her in America.¹ Drake it was who made a great voyage around the earth ending in 1580, the second in history, in which he took many Spanish prizes; and henceforth he was known by the Spaniards as the Dragon. Eight years after the completion of his famous voyage he played an important part in the most momentous event of the century in which he lived — the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Never before had Europe witnessed so vast a display of power upon the sea as that which Philip II now put forth in the "Invincible" Armada. Spain was at this time by far the richest and greatest nation of Europe or the world. Mexican and Peru-

¹ Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, p. 24.

vian gold had poured into the Spanish coffers in uncounted millions,¹ and the power of the empire was felt to the uttermost parts of the sea. This was the golden age of the Spanish Empire, and the Armada was the most notable product of that age. With this vast fleet Philip would now smite and disable the island kingdom, and at the same time he would present a spectacle to the world that would overawe any other nation that might have the temerity to measure swords with the Castilian. The Armada consisted of one hundred and thirty ships — the largest war fleet ever seen in Europe — bearing thirty thousand soldiers and three thousand heavy guns. Not only to chasten England for daring to claim a portion of the New World did Philip send forth this fleet, but especially to force back into the Church the straying Briton who had wandered from the Catholic fold.

Great was the excitement in the British Isles when the people knew of the coming of the hostile Armada. Europe stood aghast. Had England been conquered, France and the Netherlands would no doubt have been attacked. But the English rose to the occasion. Forty thousand soldiers were soon under arms. The English fleet was much smaller than the Spanish, but the ships were swifter, and, above all, they were manned by such masters of the sea as Lord Howard of Effingham, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake, while the Armada was commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a man of little skill and less experience. The gigantic fleet approached Plymouth harbor in July, 1588, in the form of a grand crescent seven miles in extent. The English met the foe and destroyed many of their ships by making sudden dashes, then sailing beyond the reach of the Spanish guns, and again by sending fire ships among them. In a short time the Spanish fleet was greatly disabled, and, moreover, it was penned within the German Ocean. The conquest of England was now abandoned, and the remnant of the Armada, attempting to reach Spain by sailing around England and Scotland, encountered, near the Orkney Islands, a succession of terrific storms, and many more of the vessels found a bed in the depths of the sea. Great numbers of the soldiers never again reached their native land.

Defeat of
the Spanish
Armada

Few events in history have been more far reaching in their results than the destruction of the Spanish Armada. It marked the end of Spanish dominion of the sea. It was the beginning of the end of the national greatness of Spain. From this time the

¹ It is estimated that by looting the Indians of Mexico and Peru, Spain was enriched by a sum equal to \$5,000,000,000.

Empire declined steadily and irresistibly, and three hundred and ten years later the downfall was completed in the short, decisive war with the United States of America. What England began in 1588, her child, then unborn, was to complete three centuries later. The power of Spain was henceforth confined to the bounds of her own peninsula.

The greatness of the modern British Empire takes its rise from the defeat of the Spanish Armada. As a maritime power England soon rose to the first place. The defeat of the Spanish Armada has been pronounced the opening event in the history of the United States.¹ From that moment North America was open to colonization with little danger of dispute by the Spaniards. Even before that event England had begun the colonizing of America, and the first Englishman to engage in it was

Charter of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Obtaining a charter from Queen Elizabeth, he made an heroic attempt to found a colony in Newfoundland; but Gilbert lost his life by shipwreck, and his mantle fell on the shoulders of a much abler man, one who must be considered the father of English colonization on the soil of the United States — Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh was one of the best representative Englishmen of his age. He was a student of books and a leader of men. A pupil of **Sir Walter Raleigh's first attempt** Coligny, a friend of Spenser, he was a statesman and a scholar, a courtier and a soldier, and in each rôle he was one of the leading men of his time.² Raleigh was granted a charter similar to that of Gilbert. He sent two exploring ships to the coast of North America which landed at Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina, and brought back glowing accounts of the beauty of the land and the gentleness of the natives. It was at this time that the eastern coast of North America received the name Virginia in honor of the Virgin Queen. Raleigh's first colony was sent out in 1585 under Ralph Lane with one hundred and eight men, who settled on Roanoke Island; but after a year of hardship they were picked up and carried to England by Sir Francis Drake, who happened to touch that point in one of his great voyages. They brought back with them tobacco and the potato, and introduced the use of these in England. Raleigh was disappointed at the failure of his colony and he determined to try again.

In 1587 he sent a colony of one hundred and fifty, seventeen

¹ Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, p. 39.

² Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, Vol. I, p. 56.



THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

of whom were women, under John White. Soon after they landed at Roanoke, Virginia Dare was born, the grandchild of Governor White, and the first English child born on the soil of the United States. The governor soon found it necessary to make a voyage to England, intending to return to his colony. But the war with Spain interfered, and three years passed before an English vessel reached Roanoke. When at last help came, the colony had utterly disappeared and its fate was never known.¹ Raleigh was still undismayed. He exclaimed to a friend as late as 1602, the year of his fifth expedition, which also failed, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation."

Sir Walter
Raleigh's
later
attempts

The lost
colony

But the great man's fortunes now took a downward turn. His royal patron died, and in her place came the bustling egotist, James I. Raleigh fell into disfavor; he was cast into prison, where he remained for twelve years, meantime writing his *History of the World*. Then, after a brief season of liberty, he was again imprisoned on the false charge of treason and was soon beheaded. No more dastardly deed was ever committed by a British sovereign than the murder of Raleigh.

Although Raleigh, himself, never came to the New World and although none of the colonies he planted was permanent, he must be awarded the honor of securing the possession of North America to the English race, of making known the advantages of its soil and climate, and of stimulating the impulse to colonization among his countrymen.²

VIRGINIA

At the beginning of the seventeenth century all the eastern portion of North America, which was afterward included in the thirteen original states, was known as Virginia. Great interest in American colonization was awakened in England by Richard Hakluyt, a noted geographer, who published several little books on English voyages and America.³ Several voyages were made before any permanent settlement was established.⁴ These voy-

¹ Years afterward the people of Virginia found children among the Indians with light hair and eyes, and it was believed that they were descendants of members of White's colony who were probably adopted by Indian tribes.

² Winsor, Vol. III, p. 334.

³ Hakluyt's complete works are published in sixteen volumes.

⁴ In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold, one of Raleigh's captains, sailed to Cape Cod and Buzzards Bay, hoping to found a colony, but failed to do so. In 1603 Martin Pring made a voyage to New England. A son of Humphrey Gilbert sailed to Chesapeake Bay and was killed by the Indians. In 1605 Captain Weymouth made a voyage to the Kennebec River and returned with five Indians.

ages, undertaken by individuals, were not successful financially or otherwise. From this cause others were deterred from risking their fortunes in similar enterprises. But the success of various commercial companies which had multiplied in the last half century for the purpose of trading with distant countries, especially that of the East India Company chartered in 1600, naturally suggested similar enterprises for the western world.¹ And further, the corporation as a form of local subordinate government had long been familiar to the English merchant, as Osgood says, and readily "lent itself to plans of colonial extension."² Accordingly, in 1606, two companies were formed. Virginia was divided into two parts and a part granted to each, the London Company and the Plymouth Company.³ They obtained a royal charter enabling each to found a colony, granting the right to coin money, raise revenue, and to make laws, but reserving much power to the king. Each was given a block of land a hundred miles square, and the settlements were to be at least one hundred miles apart. The London Company had permission to plant a colony anywhere on the coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees north latitude, and to what they did we now direct our attention.⁴

Great haste was made by the London Company in preparing for colonization in America, and on the 19th of December, **Settlement of Jamestown** 1606, three small ships bearing one hundred and five colonists and commanded by Christopher Newport, a famous sea captain, set out upon the wintry sea for the New World. The largest of the vessels, the *Susan Constant*, was of one hundred tons burden; and the smallest of but twenty tons. The voyage was long and dreary, and it consumed the remainder of the winter. On reaching the American shore the weary voyagers were greeted by the singing of birds and the fragrance of flowers. Entering Chesapeake Bay they named the two projecting points at its sides Cape Henry and Cape

¹ Doyle, Vol. I, p. 108.

² To the English motives for colonization, as given on a preceding page, another was now added — rivalry with the French. The French king had, in 1603, made an extensive grant in America to De Monts, and colonists had gone out in 1604. The French grant extended from forty degrees to sixty degrees north latitude; the English from thirty-four to forty-five degrees. These claims greatly overlapped, and thus sowed the seeds of future strife between the two nations.

³ So called because the men composing the former were London merchants, the latter, Plymouth merchants. The two companies were really but subdivisions of one great company.

⁴ See Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, Part II, p. 1888. The Plymouth Company made an effort to found a colony the same year on the coast of Maine, but it was not successful.

Charles, after the two young sons of the king.¹ They chose one of the great rivers flowing into the bay, gave it the name of King James, ascended it for about thirty miles, and founded a town which also they called after the name of their king, Jamestown. Thus was founded the first of the permanent settlements which were to multiply and expand, and in three hundred years to grow into one of the greatest nations of the earth.

Let us take a glance at the colonists. It would be difficult to imagine a set of men less fitted to build a colony and found a nation than were those who settled at Jamestown in 1607. Among them were but twelve laborers, a few carpenters, a blacksmith, a mason, a barber, and a tailor, while more than fifty were "gentlemen," that is, men without an occupation, idle, shiftless men who had joined the enterprise without realizing that years of labor were essential to success. But there were a few men of worth in the company. There were Wingfield, who became the first president of the governing council, Gosnold, the famous mariner and pupil of Raleigh, and John Smith, the hero of many strange adventures. They soon erected a few tents and small cabins; some, however, found a dwelling place by burrowing into the ground. For a church they nailed a board between two trees, stretched a canvas over it, and beneath this the Rev. Robert Hunt held services according to the rites of the Church of England.

Character
of the
colonists

Captain Newport, after spending some weeks exploring the James River, returned with his ships to England, promising to come again as soon as practicable. The colony was soon in a pitiable condition. Arriving too late to plant spring crops, and finding little cleared land fit for cultivation, the men were soon reduced to short rations. The allowance to each man for a day was a pint of wormeaten barley or wheat, made into pottage. To their other misfortunes was added a continual fear of Indian attacks; and owing to their exposure in the swamps and their lack of proper food, they were attacked by fevers. They died sometimes three or four in a night, and before the end of September half of the little colony, including Gosnold, had found a grave in the wilderness.

The entire colony would no doubt have perished before the return of Newport but for the courage and vigor of one man, one of the most notable and conspicuous characters in our early colonial history — John Smith. Smith was still a young man,

¹ Henry, the elder and heir to the throne, died in his boyhood, and his brother became King Charles I of England.

but according to his own story, his record was an extraordinary one. When scarcely beyond boyhood he joined the French army and later that of the Netherlands, in which **Adventures of John Smith** he served for several years. He then embarked on the Mediterranean and was thrown overboard as a heretic, swam to an uninhabited island, was picked up by a vessel and carried to Egypt. We next find him traversing Italy on foot, slaying three Turks successively in single combat in Transylvania, and at length captured by the Turks and sold into slavery. He slew his master with a flail, escaped into the Scythian Desert, wandered through every country of Europe, and joined the Virginia colonists soon after reaching his native land. It was now left for his sojourn in the American forest to furnish the crowning romance of his life.

While exploring the Chickahominy River he was taken captive by the Indians. After entertaining his captors for several days with a pocket compass and such curios, he **Pocahontas** was condemned to death by the savages. His head was laid on the block when at the last moment a little daughter of the chief, named Pocahontas, rushed forward, laid her head upon the head of the intended victim, and begged that his life be spared. Her request was granted, and he was sent back rejoicing to his people.

This romantic story, as also the account of his other adventures above mentioned, rests wholly on Smith's own testimony, and most historical writers in recent years are disposed to discredit them, especially the story of his rescue by the Indian girl. It is certain that John Smith gave a highly colored narrative of his adventures, and in the first account of his capture by the Indians he does not mention this incident.

It is not disputed, however, that John Smith was a man of wonderful energy, and that he did more for Virginia than any other of the early settlers. He soon became governor of the colony, and he saved the colonists from starvation by trading with the Indians for corn. He succeeded above all others in keeping the men at work and thus laid the foundations for future prosperity. Smith later explored Chesapeake Bay and afterward the New England coast, and he made maps of them which are remarkable for their accuracy.

Of Pocahontas it is known that she was a rollicking, romping girl who often visited Jamestown and amused the colonists with her pranks; that she grew into stately womanhood and married one of the colonists, John Rolfe, a widower; that she

accompanied her husband to England, where she was received with great favor; and that she died in England after giving birth to a son who afterward made Virginia his home and became the ancestor of several of the most prominent families of the state.

Let us return to our colony. Life in the forest bore heavily on the little band, and but thirty-eight of them were alive when, in January, 1608, Captain Newport returned with food supplies and one hundred and twenty more colonists. Others came from time to time, and in 1609, when John Smith returned to England, the colony numbered five hundred. The government had been placed, by the first charter, in the hands of a council of thirteen, resident in England, and appointed by the King, which should coöperate with a local council. A new charter was granted in 1609 by which the council in England, originally distinct from the company, now became a part of it,¹ while the local council was abolished, being superseded by a governor. By this charter the bounds of the settlement were enlarged to four hundred miles along the coast, two hundred miles each way from Old Point Comfort, and extended "up into the land throughout from sea to sea west and northwest," whatever that may have meant. The company was also given much greater power than that granted by the charter of 1606.

Virginia's
second
charter

Lord de La Warr, or Delaware, was appointed governor of Virginia under the charter of 1609. He embarked with nine ships and five hundred men and women for Virginia; but encountering a terrible storm off the Bermuda Islands, he was delayed at these islands for many weeks—and woe to Virginia in consequence! The "Starving Time" came. The Indians were now hostile and no food could be obtained from them. Men with blanched faces wandered about actually dying for food. The suffering was frightful. Of the five hundred left by Smith the fall before, only sixty remained alive in the spring of 1610. These now decided to abandon Virginia and embark in the four little pin-naces that were left them, hoping to reach dear old England. Early in June they gathered together their meager possessions, and with the roll of drums they left their cabins behind. Sadly they floated down the river to Mul- berry Island, where they spent the night. Next morning they received the glad news of the arrival of Lord Delaware, who was coming up the bay with three ships bearing a year's supply of food. All now returned to Jamestown, and the

The "Starv-
ing Time"

Lord
Delaware

¹ Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. I.

colony of Virginia was saved. How slender the thread on which hung the infant life of the firstborn of the United States!

Delaware soon had the colony on its feet, but the next year he returned to England and Sir Thomas Dale was sent to govern in

his stead. Dale was a man of much ability and strength of character, and as Fiske aptly puts it, **Sir Thomas Dale**

"Under his masterful guidance Virginia came out from the valley of the shadow of death." He introduced several radical reforms, the most important of which was the partial abolition of communism. Before his coming the land and other possessions were held in common; no one owned private property; each man was a servant of the state, and the tendency of many was to do as little as possible. Dale gave each of the old settlers three acres of ground with the right of possessing private property. The effect was to stimulate industry, and from this time there was never a scarcity of food in Virginia. The new governor also established other settlements along the James, and although he was an austere man, ruled with a hand of iron, and was merciless in his punishment of criminals, his five years' stay wrought a great change for the better in Virginia.

In 1612, during the incumbency of Dale, a third charter was granted to Virginia. This charter added the Bermuda Islands to Virginia, and was more liberal than either of its predecessors in granting governmental powers. It is interesting to note the first steps toward democratic government in America as shown by the rapidly succeeding charters of Virginia. King James, blindly devoted to the autocratic theory of government, refused to embody any democratic features in the first charter. The local council was subject to a superior council resident in England, and both were under the instructions of the king. The charter guaranteed the rights of Englishmen to the people, but gave them no voice in their own government. But the colony came to the verge of failure, and in the belief that a more liberal government would enhance the prospects of success, a second charter was applied for and granted. By this charter of 1609 all vacancies in the council, as also the executive office, were to be filled by the vote of the stockholders. This gave the company the character of a body politic, the right of self-government. It was a great advance over the first one, a great step toward the more important charter of 1612. By this third charter all governmental power, including the making of their own laws and the choosing of all officials,

**Evolution of
democracy
in Virginia**

was given into the hands of the stockholders. But the company did not immediately extend this right to the colonists; it placed local affairs in the hands of a governor of its own choosing. A few years later, however, the liberal element, led by Sir Edwin Sandys, gained control of the company, and to attract new settlers, as well as to curb the power of a profligate or tyrannical governor, the company instructed its governor to call an assembly of the settlers and give them a share in the government. Hence came the House of Burgesses — the first representative body in America.¹

Meantime the white and red races were united in Virginia by the marriage of Rolfe and the daughter of the Indian chief Powhatan.² This secured peace with the Indians for eight years, until the death of Powhatan. About 1616 tobacco became the staple product of the colony. The English learned its use from the Indians, and marvelously soon after the discovery of the weed the use of it spread through every civilized land. It was the one thing that found a ready sale in England. Every farmer raised tobacco, and it was grown in the streets of Jamestown; it even became the money of the colony, and the minister and public officers were paid their salaries in tobacco.³

The colony, however, was, on the whole, a disappointment to the company that had founded it. One of their chief objects was the same that had lured Pizarro and De Soto — the desire for gold. They were not content with the sassafras roots and cedar logs that their ships kept bringing, nor even with the tobacco. When, therefore, the London Company, or Virginia Company, as named by the second charter, were convinced that gold could not be found in that part of America, their interest in the colony was greatly diminished.

After the departure of Dale the colonists suffered severely for a few years at the hands of a wicked governor, Samuel Argall, who robbed and plundered them in every way in his power. But better times were at hand. About this time Sir Edwin Sandys gained the ascendancy in the Virginia Company, and his energy and wisdom were soon felt in the colony. One of his first acts was to send the colony, in 1619, one of its best governors, Sir

¹ See Morey, *Genesis of a Written Constitution, Annals of American Academy*, Vol. I, p. 529 sq.

² The name of this chief was Wahunsunakok. The name of the tribe was Powhatan and the English called the chief also by this name.

³ The tobacco sent to England in one year, 1704, exceeded 18,000,000 pounds. By 1750 the yearly exports of Virginia and Maryland reached 85,000,000 pounds. Beer, *Commercial Policy of England*, p. 51.

George Yeardley, who became the first to introduce popular government into America.

The most memorable year in the early history of Virginia was 1610. It was this year that witnessed the beginnings of two institutions, opposite in character, each of which was destined to play a great part in the future development of the new nation. The first was government by the people, and the second was the institution of slavery.¹ The first was to increase and expand until it developed into the greatest self-governing people in the world's history; the second was to fasten itself like a blight on the free institutions of the same people and in the end to bring about the sacrifice of tens of thousands of human lives.

In November of the preceding year the Virginia Company had issued an order limiting the power of the governor of the colony and establishing a legislature of burgesses to be elected by the people. The first House of Burgesses, composed of twenty-two delegates, met in July, 1610, soon after the coming of Yeardley, and ere long the people were living under laws of their own making, and a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people" thus gained its first foothold on American soil. This granting of a share in the government to the people attracted new settlers, who, from this time, came in ever increasing numbers.

This same year of 1610 witnessed the coming of ninety young women to be wives of the colonists. To secure one of these prizes the bachelor planter was required to win the maiden's consent and to pay her passage across the sea (about one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco), and as there were many more men than maidens, the courtship must have been very interesting. Other women came over from time to time, and family life was soon firmly established in the new colony. Indeed, from this time forth life in Virginia had its attractions as well as its hardships. The lowing of the herds, the chattering of the fowls, the shouts of playing children, the sound of the builder's hammer and of the woodman's ax ringing out from the depth of the forest, bespoke a happy and prosperous community.

But colonial life still had its misfortunes. A great calamity befell the people of Virginia in 1622 in the form of an Indian massacre. The friendly chief Powhatan was dead, and his

¹ A Dutch vessel brought twenty negroes and sold them to the colonists. The only authority for this statement is John Smith's *General History*. Before the end of the year 1610 an English vessel, the *Treasurer*, brought more negro slaves to Virginia.

brother Opekankano, who had never been friendly to the English, now reigned in his stead. This chief now instituted a massacre in which three hundred and forty-seven of the settlers were killed. The blow was a dreadful one; but the whites, recovering from the shock, pursued the savages with merciless fury, putting to death a far greater number than they had lost. Twenty-two years later this same chief, now an aged man, made a second attack on the settlement, killing over two hundred, but his tribe was again put down with a firm hand and himself taken captive and put to death.¹

Indian
massacre

In 1624 the Virginia Company, after a severe struggle with the Crown, was deprived of its charter. Virginia became a royal colony and so it continued to the war of the Revolution. But the change had little effect on the colony, for Charles I, who soon came to the throne, was so occupied with troubles at home that he gave less attention to the government of Virginia than the company had given, and popular government continued to flourish. Of the six thousand people who had come from England before 1625 only one fifth now remained alive, but this number was rapidly augmented by immigration. Governor Yeardley died in 1627, and John Harvey, a man of little ability or character, became governor. Harvey kept the Virginians in a turmoil for some years, but the colony was now so firmly established that his evil influence did not greatly affect its prosperity.

Virginia
becomes a
royal colony,
1624

The longest rule of one man in our colonial history was that of Sir William Berkeley, who became governor of Virginia in 1642 and continued to hold the office till 1677, with the exception of a few years under the Commonwealth. Berkeley was a rough, outspoken man with much common sense, but with a hot temper and a narrow mind.² He was a Cavalier of the extreme type. About the time Berkeley assumed the office a fierce religious war broke out in England between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads, or Puritans. The latter, led by Oliver Cromwell, one of the strongest personalities in British history, eventually triumphed over the Cavaliers and, in 1649, King Charles I was beheaded by his own subjects. Berkeley, with most of the Virginians, was loyal to the Crown, and he invited the young son of the executed monarch to come to America and become king of Virginia. But Parliament would suffer no opposition from the colony, and in 1652 it sent a commission with a fleet to reduce the colony to

¹ Some authorities state that he was killed by one of his own race while in captivity.

² Doyle, Vol. I, p. 207

allegiance. The Virginians were only mildly royalist and they yielded without a struggle; but they lost nothing by yielding, for the Commonwealth granted them greater freedom in self-government than they had ever before enjoyed.

In two ways the brief period of the Commonwealth in England had a marked effect on the history of Virginia. For the first and only time during the colonial period Virginia enjoyed absolute self-government. Not only the assembly, but the governor and council were elective for the time, and the people never forgot this taste of practical independence. Furthermore, the triumph of the Roundheads in England affected Virginia in that it caused an exodus of Cavaliers from England to the colony, similar to the great Puritan migration to Massachusetts, caused by the triumph of the opposite party twenty years before.

An anonymous pamphlet published in London in 1640 gives a glowing account of Virginia, a land where "there is nothing wanting," a land of 15,000 English and 300 negro slaves, 20,000 cattle, many kinds of wild animals, "above thirty sorts" of fish, and farm products, fruits, and vegetables in great quantities. If this was intended to induce home seekers to migrate to Virginia, it had the desired effect. The Cavaliers came in large numbers; and they were of a far better class than were those who had first settled the colony. Among them were the ancestors of George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe, John Marshall, and of many others of the far-famed "First Families of Virginia." By the year 1670 the population of the colony had increased to 38,000, 6000 of whom were indentured servants, while the African slaves had increased to 2000.

The Restoration of 1660 brought the exiled Stuart to the British throne as Charles II, and Berkeley again became governor of Virginia. Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector of England, had died in 1658, and Richard, his son and successor, too weak to hold the reins of government, laid aside the heavy burden the next year and Charles soon afterward became king. Charles was not a religious enthusiast, as his father had been; he was a worthless debauchee, who cared much for his own ease and little for the welfare of his subjects. The new sovereign was utterly without gratitude to the people of Virginia for their former loyalty, and, indeed, it may be said that his accession marks the beginning of a long period of turmoil, discontent, and political strife in Virginia. Charles immediately began to appoint to the offices of the colony a swarm

of worthless place hunters, and some years later he gave away to his court favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper, nearly all the soil of Virginia, a large portion of which was well settled and under cultivation. The Navigation Law, enacted ten years before, was now, at the beginning of Charles's reign, reenacted with amendments and put in force. By this the colonists were forbidden to export goods in other than English vessels, or elsewhere than to England. Imports also were to be brought from England only. The prices, therefore, of both exports and imports, were set in London, and the arrangement enabled the English merchants to grow rich at the expense of the colonists. The result was a depreciation in the price of tobacco, the circulating medium, to such a degree as to impoverish many planters and almost to bring about insurrection. And now to add to the multiplying distresses of Virginia, Governor Berkeley, who had been fairly popular during his former ten-year governorship, seems to have changed decidedly for the worse. He was a Royalist to the core, and appeared to have lost whatever sympathy with the people he ever had. He was accused of conniving with custom-house officials in schemes of extortion and blackmail, and even of profiting by their maladministration. Popular government now suffered a long eclipse in Virginia. In 1661 Berkeley secured the election of a House of Burgesses to his liking, and he kept them in power for fifteen years, refusing to order another election.¹

**Navigation
Laws**

¹ Governor Berkeley's Report to the Commissioners of Plantations (1671). Extracts:

15. What number of planters, servants, and slaves?

Answer. — We suppose, and I am very sure we do not much miscount, that there is in Virginia above forty thousand persons, men, women, and children, and of which there are two thousand black slaves, six thousand Christian servants, for a short time, the rest are born in the country or have come in to settle and seat, in bettering their condition in a growing country.

17. What number of people have yearly died within your plantation and government for these seven years last past, both whites and blacks?

Answer. — All new plantations are, for an age or two, unhealthy, until they are thoroughly cleared of wood; but unless we had a particular register office, for the denoting of all that died, I cannot give a particular answer to this query, only this I can say, that there is not often unseasoned hands (as we term them) that die now, whereas heretofore not one of five escaped the first year.

23. What course is taken about instructing the people within your government in the Christian religion?

Answer. — The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have forty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less.

But of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. *But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years;* for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep from both!

But the people, who had been long imbibing the spirit of liberty in their forest home, at last rose in rebellion against the tyranny of their cynical old governor. The uprising is known as Bacon's Rebellion. The general causes of this rebellion were political and economic tyranny, the immediate occasion was Berkeley's Indian policy. The Indians became hostile in 1675, and for many months the massacre of men, women, and children in the outlying settlements was of almost daily occurrence. But Berkeley persistently refused to call out the militia, for the reason, it was believed, that he did not wish to disturb the fur trade, from which he was receiving a good income. In March, 1676, the assembly raised a force of five hundred men, but when they were ready to begin a campaign, Berkeley suddenly disbanded them. The people were now exasperated and ready for rebellion — and then rose Bacon.

Nathaniel Bacon was a young lawyer of noble English birth, a collateral descendant of the great author and jurist of the same name; he was rich, eloquent, and popular. In defiance of the governor he raised a band of men and marched against the Indians, inflicting on them a stinging defeat. Berkeley, greatly incensed at the young man's insubordination, started after him with a troop of horse; but scarcely had he left Jamestown when word reached him that the whole lower peninsula had risen against him. Hastening back, he found that he must do something to placate the people, and he dissolved the long assembly and ordered a new election. This was duly held, and Bacon was elected to the burgesses. This assembly passed a series of reform laws known as "Bacon's Laws." The old governor, deeply offended at this course, dissolved the assembly and proclaimed Bacon, who had again marched against the Indians, a traitor; whereupon Bacon, at the head of several hundred men, marched upon Jamestown and burned it to the ground. Berkeley fled before the armed invaders and took refuge on the eastern side of the Chesapeake. Bacon had now full control of Virginia's affairs, and he even contemplated resistance to the king's troops, that were said to be on their way to the colony, when a deadlier foe than armed men — the swamp fever — ended his short, brilliant career, and Virginia was destined to spend another hundred years as a royal colony.

Bacon was the life and soul of the insurrection, and after his death his followers scattered like frightened quail and Berkeley was soon again in possession. The vindictive old governor now

wreaked his vengeance on the followers of Bacon until he had hanged more than a score, including the Rev. William Drummond, a Scotch Presbyterian and one of the leading men in the colony.¹ But the king was displeased with Berkeley's rancor. "The old fool has taken more lives in that naked country than I have taken for the murder of my father," said Charles. Berkeley was recalled. He sailed for England in the spring of 1677, leaving his family and evidently expecting to be reinstated. But the king refused to see him, and he died, broken-hearted, a few months later.

The Bacon Rebellion, occurring at the same time with King Philip's War in New England, and exactly a century before that greater rebellion, so vastly different in its results, was one of the most important episodes in our colonial history. Bacon was a true reformer, talented in a high degree, but somewhat wanting in judgment. His intention no doubt, in case the king's forces came, was to hold them at bay until the grievances of the colonists, including the oppression of the Navigation Laws, should have been redressed. But in this he doubtless would have failed and would have paid the penalty of resistance with his life. His death was therefore opportune, and his influence on the future of the colony was probably greater than if his life had been prolonged.

The speedy downfall of Berkeley, however, had little effect in rescuing Virginia from the grasp of the Royalists. One of the court favorites to whom the soil of Virginia had been granted, Lord Culpeper, came out as governor, and a rapacious tyrant he was. In 1684 he was succeeded by Lord Howard of Effingham, who was not a whit better than Culpeper. Among the later governors were Nicholson,² who had had a notable career in New York, and Sir Edmund Andros, with a more notable career in New England. In each of these the colonists found a great improvement over such creatures as Culpeper and Effingham.

¹ The king afterward granted aid to Mrs. Drummond, declaring that her husband had been put to death contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

² **William and Mary College.**—The second college founded in America was William and Mary, Harvard alone preceding it. The father of this college was the Rev. Dr. James Blair, and the object was to train young men for the ministry. Blair was sent to England in 1691 to secure funds. He met with fair success until he approached Sir Edward Seymour, the treasury commissioner. When Blair declared that the people of Virginia had souls to save as well as the people of England, Seymour exclaimed: "Souls! damn your souls. Grow tobacco!" The good doctor, however, succeeded. He returned in 1693 with the charter, became the first president of the college, and held the position for fifty years. The college was located at Williamsburg. Next to Blair its best friend was Governor Nicholson.

But they fell short when compared with Alexander Spotswood (1710-1722), one of the ablest and best governors of colonial Virginia. The habit of governing through lieutenants, the governor residing in England, became prevalent early in the eighteenth century. One man, Douglas, was nominal governor for forty years, drawing a large salary, though he never crossed the Atlantic Ocean.¹

Despite the many drawbacks, the unworthy governors and their frequent quarrels with the assembly and people, Virginia continued to prosper, and by the end of the seventeenth century the population numbered a hundred thousand. The people up to this time were almost wholly English, but in 1700 several hundred Huguenots made their home in the colony. About 1730 the Scotch-Irish began to settle in large numbers in the Shenandoah Valley, and soon after these came the Germans. The frontier was moved gradually westward from the tide-water counties until it had crossed the summit of the Alleghanies. The coming of these peoples infused new modes of life, new religious customs, new democratic ideas into Virginian society; and in the course of the next half century many vital changes were brought about, as the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the separation of Church and State, and religious toleration. Thus the various nationalities, blending slowly into one people, spent the remainder of the colonial period hewing away the forests and laying the foundations of a great state.

MARYLAND

The founding of Maryland marks the beginning of a new plan in colony building in North America. The tentative experiments of Gilbert and Raleigh had for their object mainly the establishing of trading posts, from which a search for gold and for a northwest passage to the Indies might be carried on.² Close upon these followed the founding of the earliest permanent colonies by chartered companies, the chief objects being to bring commercial advantage to the companies, and to make good by actual occupation English claims to the soil. With the founding of Maryland came the first permanent proprietary government of America, that is, a government by a lord proprietor, who,

¹ Spotswood and many other real governors were called "lieutenant governors," the "governor" residing in England.

² See also other motives mentioned on p. 48.

holding his authority by virtue of a royal charter, nevertheless exercised that authority almost as an independent sovereign.

As shown on a preceding page, the idea of colony planting in America by means of a corporation was borrowed from existing corporations common in England at the time. It is interesting here to note the proprietary form of government, — its origin, the transplanting of the institution to America, and its gradual democratizing. It is well known that the Maryland charter was borrowed in great part from the Palatinate of Durham; but this needs a word of explanation. In mediæval times it was customary in Continental Europe for a sovereign to grant almost regal powers of government to the feudal lords of his border districts, to prevent foreign invasion. These districts or manors were often called palatinates or counties palatine, because the lord dwelled in a palace, or wielded the power of the king in his palace. His power was regal in kind, but inferior in degree to that of the king. William the Conqueror, soon after the battle of Hastings, adopted this plan in a few northern counties, one of which was Durham on the borders of Scotland, and this one alone remained at the time of Charles I. The English landlord was as familiar with the palatinate form of government¹ as was the English merchant with the corporation. It was most natural, therefore, that the proprietary form of government be adopted in the work of colonizing America, and it was equally natural that the palatine of Durham be made the model.

The charter of Maryland granted in express terms "as ample rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, . . . royal rights . . . as used and enjoyed . . . within the bishopric or county palatine of Durham." This was one of the many instances of planting English institutions in America; it was an attempt to introduce a limited feudalism on American soil. And it is a notable fact that all the English colonies founded in America after Maryland were of the palatinate type, except those founded spontaneously by the people in New England.²

It will be noticed that this form of government was monarchical; but monarchical government did not flourish in America. In a new country where all men were obliged to work for a living the conditions for building up an order of nobility were wanting. The great distance from the motherland tended to lessen the feeling of reverence for the sovereign, and men soon absorbed that wild spirit of freedom so characteristic of life in the forest.

¹ Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. I.

² Fiske, *Old Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 280.

The result was that democracy gained an early foothold in every colony, and it continued to increase in power throughout the colonial period.

The father of Maryland was George Calvert, the actual founder was his son, Cecilius Calvert. George Calvert was a man of broad views and stanch character. About the time of the accession to the throne of Charles I, Calvert resigned his seat as British secretary of state and turned his attention to colonization in the New World. King James had raised him to an Irish peerage with the title of Lord Baltimore. Receiving a grant of land in Newfoundland, which he named Avalon, he removed thither and planted a colony; but after a brief sojourn he determined, owing to the severity of the climate and the hostility of the French, to abandon the place. He sailed for Virginia, in which he had already been interested as a member of the original London Company and later of the governing council. But Baltimore, having espoused the Roman Catholic faith, found the Virginians inhospitable, and returning to England he obtained the promise of a charter for a large tract of land north of the Potomac River. King Charles in granting it named the place Maryland in honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria. The object of the lord proprietor, as Baltimore was now called, was twofold. He wished to found a state and become its ruler, for he was truly a man of the world; he loved power and he loved wealth. Second, he wished to furnish a refuge for the oppressed of his own faith; for the Roman Catholics, as well as the Puritans, were objects of persecution in England.

But before he could carry his purpose into execution, and before the great seal was placed upon his charter, George Calvert died. The charter was then issued to his son, Cecilius, and the son, who became the second Lord Baltimore, was faithful in carrying out the project of his father.

The new colony as set forth in the charter was bounded on the north by the fortieth parallel, and on the south by the southern bank of the Potomac, while the western boundary was to be the meridian passing through the source of that river. From this line the colony extended eastward to the Atlantic Ocean and included all of the present state of Delaware and portions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. In later years these boundary lines, as marked out by the charter, led to serious complications between Maryland and her neighbors.

**George
Calvert**

**Boundaries
of Mary-
land**

Never before had an English sovereign conferred such power upon a subject as that now granted to Lord Baltimore. He was required by the charter to send the king two Indian arrows each year, as a token of allegiance to the Crown, and if any gold and silver were mined in Maryland, one fifth of it was to be paid to the king. But aside from this the proprietor was invested with almost kingly power. He could not tax his people without their consent, but he could coin money, make war and peace, pardon criminals, establish courts, and grant titles of nobility. The government of the colony was very similar to that of the feudal estates of the Middle Ages.

But this "miniature kingdom of a semi-feudal type" was affected by the leaven of democracy from the beginning. The charter, as stated, defined the relations of the proprietor to the king; it also defined his relations to the colonists. It provided that the laws be made by the proprietor *and the freemen*. Here was the entering wedge; the people could not be taxed without their own consent, and they were soon making their own laws. They won the right to initiate legislation in their first contest, a slight one, in 1635. At first the assembly consisted of the governor, council, and all the freemen; but as the people increased in numbers, the proxy system supplanted this. The proxy system, however, proved unsatisfactory, and it soon gave way to the delegate system. By the middle of the century both the representative system and a bicameral legislature were firmly established in Maryland.¹

Aside from the fact that Maryland was the first of the proprietary governments, the colony is especially remembered in American history as the first in which religious toleration had a place. This condition came about in the most natural way. Baltimore, as an honest adherent of the Catholic faith, could not have excluded his fellow-Catholics from his new dominions. Such a course would have proved him untrue to his own avowed principles, and defeated one of his objects in founding the colony.

It was equally impossible for him to have excluded Protestants, being the subject of a Protestant king who ruled over a Protestant nation. Had he done this, he would have raised a storm in England which would have proved fatal to the colony. He did therefore the only wise thing to be done, — he left the matter open, inviting Catholics and Protestants alike to join his colony. The spirit of the age was an intolerant spirit, and while Baltimore cannot be said to

Religious
freedom

¹ Mereness, *Maryland*, p. 196.

have been moved by any advanced views of religious toleration, nor was his primary object in founding a colony a desire to furnish a home for the oppressed in conscience, it is certain that he rose above the intolerance of the times, as shown by his subsequent invitation to the Puritans of Virginia and New England to make their home in Maryland. Thus for the first time in colonial history we have a state in which a man could worship God with freedom of conscience and without being oppressed by intolerant laws. Baltimore proved a wise and just governor.

The first settlers, about three hundred in number, reached Maryland in March, 1634. Leonard Calvert, a brother of the proprietor, led the colony and became its first acting governor. They settled on a small island in the mouth of the Potomac, paying the Indians for the land in axes, hoes, and cloth. Here they planted the cross and founded a town which they named St. Mary's. The colony was happily founded, and it advanced more in the first six months than Virginia had advanced in as many years.

Maryland had her troubles with the Indians, but suffered no general massacre. For many years her relations with Virginia were not cordial. The Virginians disputed the right of Baltimore to plant a colony on soil that had been included in the second Virginia charter, ignoring the fact that the charter had been canceled in 1624 when the province reverted to the Crown. Religious differences also fostered an unfriendly feeling and, above all, the action of one man, whose name fills a conspicuous page in the early history of the two colonies — William Clayborne.

Clayborne, a Virginia surveyor and tradesman, occupied Kent Island in the Chesapeake, about a year before the first settlers of Maryland arrived. Baltimore informed Clayborne that Kent Island must come under the government of Maryland. Clayborne, encouraged by the governor of Virginia, resisted and raised a small force to defend his island. The two parties clashed and several men were killed. For more than ten years the turmoil continued, and at one time Clayborne actually seized control of the government of Maryland. At length the disputed island came permanently into the control of Maryland.

Despite internal disturbance the colony increased in numbers and prosperity year by year. The political and social condition of the people swayed to and fro with the great events that were taking place in England, and when at last the Puritan party under Cromwell triumphed over the Cavaliers, Baltimore, who

had favored the royal party, would doubtless have lost his title to Maryland but for the tact he exercised in appointing a Protestant governor, William Stone, to rule over it.

The year 1649 — that eventful year in British history in which King Charles I was put to death — witnessed the famous Toleration Act in Maryland. By this act the toleration of all Christian sects — a privilege that the people had enjoyed in practice since the founding of the colony — was recognized by law.¹

**Toleration
Act, 1649**

The Toleration Act was very liberal for that period, but it would not be so considered in our times. For example, it did not "tolerate" one who did not believe in the Trinity, the penalty for this offense being death. Any one speaking reproachfully concerning the Virgin Mary or any of the Apostles or Evangelists was to be punished by a fine, or, in default of payment, by a public whipping and imprisonment. The calling of any one a heretic, Puritan, Independent, Popish priest, Baptist, Lutheran, Calvinist, and the like, in a "reproachful manner," was punished by a light fine, half of which was to be paid to the person or persons offended, or by a public whipping and imprisonment until apology be made to the offended. This act was drawn up under the directions of Cecilius Calvert himself; it was probably a compromise between the Catholic party and the Puritans, who, driven from Virginia by Berkeley, had arrived in Maryland in large numbers. This was the first law of its kind enacted in America, and it was in force, with brief intervals of suspense, for many years.

On the fall of Charles I a commission sent by Parliament, a member of which was Maryland's old enemy, Clayborne, came to receive the surrender of the colony, and Governor Stone, who though a Protestant was not a Puritan, was degraded from his office. This was in 1652 and three years later Stone, having raised a small army, met the Puritans at Providence, now Annapolis, and a pitched battle was fought, known as the battle of the Severn. Many were killed. Stone was defeated and made prisoner. The Puritans now had full control. Before this battle occurred they had suspended the Toleration Act in defiance of the proprietor and passed one of their own shutting out "popery, prelacy, and licentiousness of opinion." Baptists and Quakers, as well as Catholics and Episcopalians, were denied religious liberty. As

**Puritan
triumph in
England**

¹ Except Unitarians. Not till 1826 — one hundred and seventy-seven years later — did Jews and Unitarians gain full political rights in Maryland.

Fiske puts it, they tolerated "everybody except Catholics, Episcopalians, and anybody else who disagreed with them." But this was going too far, even for Oliver Cromwell, who sided with Calvert: and at the word of that powerful dictator the Toleration Act was restored and the Puritan domination was ended.

In 1661, soon after the Restoration in England, Lord Baltimore sent his only son, Charles Calvert, to be governor of his colony. Charles was an excellent governor. He served fourteen years when in 1675 his father, Cecilius, died and he became the lord proprietor. For the first time now the Marylanders had the proprietor living among them. Cecilius, the founder of the colony and its proprietor for over forty years, devoted his life to Maryland: but he resided in London and never crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

This period, from the Restoration, 1660, to the English Revolution in 1688, was one of unusual quiet in Maryland. It is true that the people were on the verge of rebellion in 1676 — an echo of the Bacon Rebellion in Virginia — and that the government after the death of Cecilius was for a time similar to that of Berkeley in Virginia, tending toward aristocracy, nepotism, and restriction of the suffrage; but on the whole the inhabitants were happy and industrious and were rapidly increasing in numbers. During this time the Quakers, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Huguenots were in considerable numbers finding their way to Maryland.

Maryland had a boundary dispute with Pennsylvania, covering nearly three quarters of a century, which will be noted in our account of that colony. On the flight of James II from the British throne, 1688, Baltimore promptly dispatched a messenger to Maryland to proclaim the accession of William and Mary. But the messenger died at sea, the message was not delivered, and while the other colonies in quick succession proclaimed the new sovereigns, Maryland hesitated. The delay was fatal to Baltimore's charter, and in 1691 Maryland became a royal province. Baltimore, however, was still permitted to receive the revenues in the form of quitrents and excises from his sometime colony. Maryland remained a royal colony till 1715 when it passed back into the hands of the Calverts. The royal governors, among whom we find the ubiquitous Nicholson and Andros, were all men of commendable worth.

When Maryland became a royal colony one of the first acts of its legislature was to pass a law establishing the Church of

England¹ and persecuting the Catholics and to some extent the Puritans. Alas, for the dreams of the Calverts! They had founded the colony as an asylum for the oppressed in conscience, especially for those of their own faith; but now in less than sixty years after its founding the Catholics constitute but one twelfth of the population and these are rigorously proscribed by law; and further to exasperate them the capital was now moved from St. Mary's, the Catholic center, to Providence, called "Anne Arundel Town," now Annapolis.

In 1715 Charles Calvert died and his son Benedict became the fourth Lord Baltimore. He had become a Protestant, and the government of Maryland was now restored to him. The colony remained in the hands of the Calverts from this time to the war of the Revolution. Benedict died but six weeks after the death of his father, and his son Charles, a boy of sixteen years, became the proprietor of Maryland.² During the remainder of the colonial era frequent quarrels between the governor and the assembly resulted, as in all the royal and proprietary colonies, in a steady gain of power for the people.

It would be interesting to follow the fortunes of this colony through the half century preceding the Revolution, the so-called "neglected period" of colonial history; but the limits of this volume forbid a further treatment, except in a general way with the other colonies in the later chapters on colonial wars and colonial life.

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina came near being the first of the permanent English colonies in America. Five voyages were made under the Raleigh charter of 1584 with the view of planting a permanent colony on the soil that became North Carolina; but the effort ended in failure, and almost a century passed when other hands carried into effect the noble ambition of Raleigh. Again, the people who founded Virginia had intended to settle in the vicinity of Roanoke Island, but a storm changed their course, and the first colony was planted in the valley of the James.

The first settlements in North Carolina that were destined to

¹ The annual tax for the support of the church was forty pounds of tobacco for each "poll," rich or poor. But the law did not specify the kind of tobacco, and many paid the minister with the most inferior stalks that they raised. The clergy sent over were generally a bad lot, gamblers and winebibbers. A common trick with them was to stop in the middle of a marriage service and exact a good round fee before finishing the ceremony.

² The population was now 40,700 whites and 9500 negroes. Chalmers, *American Colonies*, II, p. 7.

live were made by Virginians, in 1653, on the banks of the Chowan and Roanoke rivers, in a district called Albemarle from the Duke of Albemarle. In 1665 Sir John Yeamans, an English nobleman of broken fortunes, came from the Barbados with a company of planters and joined a few New Englanders who had settled on the Cape Fear River. This district was called Clarendon. Meantime Charles II had issued a charter, in 1663, granting to eight of his favorites the vast territory¹ south of Virginia; and two years later the charter was enlarged and the boundaries were defined and extended from 29° north latitude to 36° 30', the southern boundary of Virginia, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the "South Sea," or Pacific Ocean, on the west. The grant embraced nearly all the southern portion of the present United States, and the government it created was, like that of Maryland, modeled after the palatinate of Durham. Of the eight men to whom the grant was made the leading spirit was Lord Ashley Cooper,² afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose name is still borne by the Ashley and Cooper rivers of South Carolina.

The new country had been named Carolina a hundred years before by Ribault, the Huguenot, in honor of Charles IX of France,³ and the name was now retained in honor of Charles II of England.

An account of the first attempt to govern this colony fills a curious page in American history. Shaftesbury, who was unmatched as a theoretical politician, conceived a plan of government that seems ludicrous to the American reader of to-day. The plan was supposed to have been drawn up by John Locke, the philosopher, and was known as the Fundamental Constitutions, or the "Grand Model,"⁴ which proved to be grand only as a grand failure and a model only to be shunned by the liberty-loving American of the future. By this plan the essence of monarchy, of aristocratic rule in the extreme, was to be transplanted to America. It divided the land into counties, and for each county there was to be an earl and two barons who should own one fifth of the land while the proprietors retained another fifth. The remaining three fifths

The "Grand Model"

¹ A charter for the same tract had been granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1629, but this had lapsed by reason of failure to make settlement. It was repealed in 1664.

² The other seven were the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord John Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton.

³ It is claimed by some that the name Carolina was not used by Ribault; but it is known to have been used when Charles I was king of England.

⁴ This singular document is given in full in Ben: Perley Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*.

were reserved for the people as tenants, who were to be reduced practically to serfdom and denied the right of self-government. Its one good feature was its guarantee of religious liberty, though the Church of England was established by law.

But the settlers in North Carolina had found even the colonial governments too oppressive and had migrated deeper into the wilderness for the purpose of gaining a larger amount of freedom. Could they now accept such a government as proposed by Shaftesbury? Certainly not willingly; nor was it possible to enforce it, and after twenty odd years of futile attempts to do so the whole plan was abandoned.

Sir William Berkeley, one of the proprietors and governor of Virginia, had appointed as governor of Albemarle, the northern portion of Carolina, William Drummond, a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, whom he afterward put to death for following Bacon. Samuel Stephens, succeeding Drummond in 1667, called an assembly to frame laws and ere long the settlement was in a steadily growing condition. A law was passed with a view of attracting settlers. It exempted all newcomers from paying taxes for a year, outlawed any debts they may have contracted elsewhere, and provided that for five years no one could be sued for any cause that might have arisen outside the colony. This plan had the effect of attracting many of a worthless class, and the Albemarle settlement came to be known in Virginia as "Rogues' Harbor." Governor Stephens and his successor made strenuous but fruitless efforts to put the Fundamental Constitutions in force.

The Navigation Laws were later put into operation, and they greatly interfered with a lucrative trade with New England. The people were heavily taxed and at length, in 1678, they broke forth in an insurrection led by John Culpeper, who seized the government and held it for two years. This followed in the train of the Bacon Rebellion in Virginia.

The proprietors next sent Seth Sothel, now a member of the company, to govern the colony. Sothel proved to be a knave; he plundered the proprietors and the people most shamelessly, and after five years of turbulent misrule he was driven into exile in 1688 — the same year that witnessed the Revolution in England and the exile of James II.

Because of incompetent and dishonest governors, appointed through favoritism and not fitness for the office, and to abortive attempts to impose the Fundamental Constitutions upon an unwilling people, the Albemarle colony did not prosper. In

1693 the population was but half of what it had been fifteen years before; and the Clarendon colony planted by Yeamans on Cape Fear had been wholly abandoned. Meantime another colony had been planted at the mouth of the Ashley and Cooper rivers. (This will be noted under South Carolina.) These two surviving colonies, several hundred miles apart, now began to be called North and South Carolina. Their governments were combined into one, and better times were now at hand. In 1695 John Archdale, a good Quaker, became governor of both Carolinas, and from this time the settlements were much more prosperous than before.

After 1704, however, North Carolina was again in turmoil, the causes being bad governors and continued attempts to establish the Church of England at the expense of the Dissenters, more than half of whom were Quakers. During this first decade of the eighteenth century, settlers came in increased numbers. Huguenots from France came and settled at Bath near Pamlico Sound; Germans from the Rhine founded New Berne at the junction of the Trent and Neuse rivers. The white population was now about five thousand. Albemarle settlement had extended many miles into the forest; this involved encroachment on the soil of the native red man — and it brought its troubles.

In the autumn of 1711 a terrible Indian massacre took place in North Carolina. Hundreds of settlers fell victims of the merciless tomahawk. The chief sufferers were the in-
Indian war offensive Germans at New Berne, where one hundred and thirty people were slaughtered within two hours after the signal for the massacre was given.¹ Various tribes, led by the Tuscaroras, engaged in the massacre. But the people rallied, and, receiving aid from South Carolina, they, led by Colonels John Barnwell and James Moore, hunted the red men from place to place and in a great battle near the Neuse they destroyed four hundred of their warriors. At length the Tuscaroras, whose ancestors had come from New York, resolved to abandon their southern home and return to the land of their fathers. They removed in 1714 and joined the Iroquois or Five Nations, and that confederation was afterward known as the Six Nations.

The people of North Carolina were, in the main, honest and law-abiding; and when not goaded by profligate rulers and unjust laws, quiet and peaceable. It is true, there were many who had fled from other colonies to escape debts or the hand of the law; but a large portion of society was composed of sturdy, Christian

¹ Fiske, *Old Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 302.

men and women. Religion soon found a footing here as in the other colonies, though there was no resident clergyman in the colony before 1703. The Church of England was supported by taxation, but the Dissenters were in the majority. The Quakers especially became numerous, and George Fox himself, the founder of the sect, visited the place and made many converts.

In 1714 the lords proprietor sent out Charles Eden for governor, and he was the best and ablest governor the colony ever had. But on his death, eight years later, the colony again fell into unworthy hands. A period of great turbulence followed when, in 1729, all the proprietors save one having sold their interests to the Crown, North Carolina and South Carolina were separated and each was henceforth a royal colony.¹

Separation
of North and
South Caro-
lina, 1729

Of the royal governors sent out after this date several were tyrannical or worthless; but the people increased rapidly in numbers. There was for many years a steady inflow of Germans from the Rhine by way of Pennsylvania and, beginning about 1719, a still larger stream of Scotch-Irish from Ulster. During the first sixty-six years — the entire proprietary period — the people of North Carolina clung to the seaboard. But now the eastern slope of the Alleghanies was rapidly peopled, chiefly by Scotch-Irish and Germans, with a large sprinkling of shiftless "poor whites" from Virginia. The settlement of the region of the "back counties" had little connection with those of an earlier date on the coast, and the colony was practically divided into two distinct areas with a broad belt of forest between them. The conditions of life were very different in the two. The back country was non-slaveholding, and the economic conditions were very similar to those of the northern colonies; while the coast settlements were slaveholding and were marked by many characteristics of southern life.

The products of the colony were at first tobacco along the Virginia border, rice on the Cape Fear River, and grain, cattle, and especially swine in both these sections. But at length the great pine forests began to yield their wealth, and before the Revolution tar, turpentine, and lumber became the chief products of North Carolina.

Of all the thirteen colonies North Carolina was the least commercial, the most provincial, the farthest removed from

¹ The price paid was about £50,000. Carteret had declined to sell. He was later granted for his share a strip of land just south of Virginia, sixty-six miles wide "from sea to sea."

European influences, and its wild forest life the most unrestrained. Every colony had its frontier, its borderland between civilization and savagery; but North Carolina was composed entirely of frontier. The people were impatient of legal restraints and averse to paying taxes; but their moral and religious standard was not below that of other colonies. Their freedom was the freedom of the Indian, not that of the criminal and the outlaw. Here truly was life in the primeval forest. There were no cities, scarcely any villages. The people were farmers or woodsmen; they lived apart, scattered through the wilderness; their highways were the rivers and bays, and their homes were connected by narrow trails winding among the trees. Yet the people were happy in their freedom and contented with their lonely isolation.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Though North Carolina and South Carolina were settled at different times by different peoples, both were included in the famous charter of 1663, both were intended to be governed by the Grand Model, and as they were not separated politically until 1729, their histories run parallel for many years. Accordingly much that we have said of the one will apply to her twin sister to the south.¹

It was on the shores of South Carolina where Ribault, under the direction of the great Coligny, had attempted to settle with a colony of Frenchmen. He failed, and now, after a hundred years had passed, it was left for the English to lay the permanent foundations for a commonwealth. The first English settlement was made in 1670, when William Sayle sailed up the Ashley River with three shiploads of English emigrants from the Barbados, and they pitched their tents on its banks and built a town, which has since wholly disappeared. In 1671 Sir John Yeamans, whom we have met in North Carolina, joined the colony, bringing with him about two hundred African slaves, and ere this year had closed two ships bearing Dutch emigrants arrived from New York. Ten years after the first settlers arrived, a more favorable site for the chief town being desired, a point between the Cooper and Ashley rivers was chosen, and here Charleston was founded in 1680.

South Carolina differs from most of the colonies in not having had to battle against impending dissolution during its first years

¹ The original plan was to found but one colony. The terms North and South Carolina began to be used about 1690.

of existence, and from all the others in depending largely on slave labor from the beginning.

Popular government found a footing in South Carolina from the first. Scarcely had the first immigrants landed when a popular assembly began to frame laws on the basis of liberty. Sayle was their leader and first governor, but he soon died and was succeeded by Yeamans, who ruled for four years, when he was dismissed for having enriched himself at the expense of the people. Yeamans was followed by John West, an able and honorable man, who held the office for nine years. In 1690 the notorious Sothel, who had been driven from North Carolina, came to South Carolina, usurped the government, and began his career of plunder; but the people soon rose against him and he was forced to flee. After this several of the governors were common to both North and South Carolina.

Early gov-
ernors of
South
Carolina

No attempt was made during the early years of the colony to introduce the Fundamental Constitutions; but when, about 1687, a vigorous effort was made to do so, the people resisted it, basing their rights on the clause in the charter which conferred the right of making laws on the proprietors only "by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen." The people were determined in their resistance; they refused to be trampled by the heel of tyranny; their very breath had been the pure air of liberty. The contest covered several years, and the people won. That abortive "model" of government was at last set aside and no attempt was ever made again to enforce it in America.¹

Prosperity now began to dawn on the twin colonies. About this time came the wise Archdale as governor, and he was followed by Joseph Blake, a man of like integrity and wisdom, a nephew of the great admiral of that name. The close of the century was marked by the coming of the Huguenots to South Carolina. In 1598 the sovereign of France, "King Henry of Navarre," had issued the "Edict of Nantes," granting toleration to the Protestants or Huguenots of his kingdom. This edict was revoked in 1685 by Louis XIV, and the Huguenots were not only forbidden to worship God in their own way, but also forbidden to leave their country on pain of death. Many, however, probably half a million, escaped from the land of their cruel king and settled in various parts of the

Huguenots
come to
South Caro-
lina

¹ Except in 1698 when a fifth set of the Constitutions was drawn up and the proprietors instructed the governors to enforce it as far as they were able, but they had little success. MacDonald, *Documents*, p. 150.

world. They were a noble and intelligent people, who "had the virtues of the English Puritans without their bigotry," and their coming to America infused into colonial life another element of stanchness of character that was felt all through colonial days. Among their descendants we find such men as Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and John Jay. These people were at first coldly received on the shores of South Carolina, but in time they came to be regarded as a substantial portion of the population. It was Governor Blake who first recognized the worth of the Huguenot immigrants, and he secured for them full political rights.

Governor Blake died in 1700, and South Carolina entered upon a long season of turbulence and strife. Sir Nathaniel Johnson became governor in 1703, and the trouble began. His first act was to have a law passed by sharp practice excluding from the assembly all Dissenters, who composed two thirds of the population. The people discovered the trick, and the next assembly voted by a large majority to repeal the law. But Johnson refused to sign their act. The assembly then appealed to the proprietors, but they sustained the bigoted governor. The people then appealed to the House of Lords and won their case, as they always will when they stand together. The proprietors yielded when the act of their governor met a royal veto from Queen Anne and when threatened with the loss of their charter, and the Dissenters were restored to their share in the government. The Church of England, however, was made the state church and so it continued to the time of the Revolution. The colony was divided into parishes, which became political, as well as ecclesiastical, divisions.

Hard upon this trouble followed an attack by a French and Spanish fleet of five ships and some eight hundred men upon Charleston; but the colonists were awake to their danger. They defended their city, and the fleet was driven away after losing its best ship and probably one third of its men. This was an echo of the war of the Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War, to be noted in a later chapter.

The most distressing calamity that befell South Carolina in its youth was the Indian War of 1715. The Yamassee tribe, which had aided the whites against the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, now joined with other tribes and turned upon their former friends, and a disastrous war followed. The cause was chiefly an intrigue with the Spaniards of St. Augustine, who, in spite of the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the long war between Spain and England had come to an end, did all

in their power to destroy the English settlement. Another cause was that many Indians were indebted to the English traders, and they sought to avoid payment, and still another was that the remembrance still rankled in the red man's breast that many of his race had been kidnaped by the whites and sold into slavery. The war began in the usual way: the Indians fell upon the unsuspecting farmers with relentless fury, and nearly a hundred perished the first day. But the settlers were quick to fly to arms. The war lasted ten months. Four hundred whites perished; but the Indians were utterly defeated and the survivors driven from their homes into Florida. To meet the heavy expenses of the war the assembly issued bills of credit, or paper money, like North Carolina after its Indian war, and this brought further distress to the colony. At the time of this war, Charles Craven was governor and he was one of the wisest and ablest governors of the period.

Another convulsion, ending in a bloodless revolution, came next in the history of South Carolina. The cost of the war had been so great that the people called upon the lords proprietor, who had derived a large income from the colony in quitrents, to aid in bearing the expenses. But the proprietors in their greed refused, and they refused to permit the assembly to raise money by import duties, or by selling vacated Yamassee lands. They also refused the rural freemen the right to vote in their own districts, requiring them to go to Charleston to vote. The people were exasperated; they rose in rebellion and appealed to the king to make South Carolina a royal province. Their request was granted; the charter was forfeited on the ground that the proprietors were unable to govern the colony, and in 1719 South Carolina became a royal colony; but, as related in our account of North Carolina, ten years yet elapsed before the proprietors sold out to the Crown and the two colonies were separated. The king first sent out the professional governor, Francis Nicholson, of New York, of Virginia, of Maryland. But we would cast no reflection on Nicholson; he was one of the best governors of the colonial era. When others enriched themselves at the expense of the people, he reached into his own pocket for funds to foster education and to relieve the distressed.

From the time that South Carolina became a royal province its growth was rapid and substantial, and so it continued through the remaining half century of the colonial era. But the people did not show any great surfeit of gratitude to the king for relieving

them of proprietary rule. They contended with the royal governors, encroaching steadily on the royal power. In 1748 Governor Glen wrote the authorities in England that "the assembly disposed of almost all the places of office or trust," and the people, through the assembly, "had the whole of the administration in their hands, and the governor, and thereby the Crown, is stripped of its power."¹

In 1740 the colony suffered from a slave insurrection led by one Cato, but it was soon put down. The city of Charleston was burned the same year; but a new city, far more beautiful, rose from the ashes of the old. Indeed, Charleston was one of the most delightful of cities, even in the earlier times, as testified by Governor Archdale and other writers. Its society resembled the cavalier society in England. "Hospitality, refinement, and literary culture distinguished the higher class of gentlemen."²

The earliest important product of South Carolina was rice, though it required a hundred years to bring the industry to perfection; to determine the best kind of soil and labor, and to invent the machinery for harvesting, threshing, and husking.³ Wild rice was native in the South, but this was inferior to the cultivated rice introduced from Madagascar about 1693 by a sea captain, who gave a bag of seed to a South Carolina planter. Not many years passed before the Carolinas rivaled Egypt and Lombardy in furnishing rice for Southern Europe.

By the middle of the eighteenth century indigo became a strong rival of rice in South Carolina. Its culture is said to have begun through the experiments of a planter's daughter, a young girl named Eliza Lucas, who set out the plants on her father's farm. Many other products, such as grain, furs, cattle, and the products of the forest, were exported from South Carolina, but not until a later generation was cotton enthroned as king.

Rice grows best in marshy ground and swamps, and its cultivation is peculiarly destructive to human life. The same is in a great measure true of indigo. These facts had much to do in shaping the economic and social condition of South Carolina. They made it the chief slaveholding community in America. No white man could long endure the malarial atmosphere of the

¹ Winsor, Vol. V, p. 334.

² *Ibid.*, p. 317.

³ Schaper, in *American Historical Association Reports*, 1900, Vol. I, p. 286.

rice swamps. Even among the blacks the death rate was very high, and their ranks had to be refilled constantly from Africa. But slaves were cheap. A strong black man could be purchased for forty pounds and, as he could earn nearly that amount in a year, the planter found it more profitable to work him to death than to take care of him.¹ Almost from the beginning the slaves in South Carolina outnumbered the whites; slavery became the cornerstone in the political system and so it continued to the time of the Civil War.

The people of South Carolina clung to the seaboard even longer than did those of their sister colony on the north. In 1715 some five hundred Irish came and occupied lands vacated by the Yamassees near Port Royal. But the back country was held by the Cherokees until 1755, when they made a treaty ceding this territory to the Crown. Soon after this a notable movement of the population began. Emigrants from Pennsylvania, from Virginia, and from North Carolina poured into this region in large numbers. The population in 1760 was estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand, three fourths of whom were slaves.

The character of society in the two Carolinas, except in the back counties, differed widely, from two causes: first, the great difference in the character of the settlers, and chiefly, second, the fact that one possessed a seaport, a metropolis, while the other did not. Many of the South Carolinians were men who had fled from religious persecution at home, as the Huguenots; while the class of restless men who always seek frontier life, because ill at ease in organized society, was much smaller than in North Carolina. But, as stated, the main difference arose from the fact that North Carolina had no important seaport, and therefore little direct communication with Europe or New England. Charleston, on the other hand, through its commodious harbor, carried on a brisk foreign trade. Here came ships from many lands — from Europe, from the West Indies, and from New England — bringing the commodities and luxuries of civilized life. Here lived the wealthy planter, visiting but seldom his plantation where herds of black men toiled under the lash of the overseer. Most naturally the conditions in Charleston fostered the growth of aristocracy, while in culture and refinement the city came to rival Philadelphia and Boston.

**Contrast of
society in
North and
South Caro-
lina**

¹ Fiske, *Old Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 326.

GEORGIA

The last, as well as the first, of the English colonies planted in North America belongs to the southern group. Seventy-five years had elapsed between the founding of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and twelve English colonies were now flourishing on the soil of North America. Then came a lapse of fifty years at the end of which Georgia, the last of the famous thirteen, came into existence.

The founder of Georgia was James Oglethorpe, who alone of all the colony planters lived till after the Revolution and saw the thirteen colonies become an independent nation. Oglethorpe is remembered in history chiefly as the founder of Georgia, but aside from this he was a man of much prominence. While still a youth he served in the European wars under Marlborough and Prince Eugene and witnessed the battle of Blenheim and the siege of Belgrade. Returning to England, he became a member of Parliament and took a high place among his fellows, as he had done in the army. While in Parliament, his attention was drawn to the miserable condition of the debtor's prisons, lately replenished by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, and he devised the plan to transplant the unfortunate inmates to the wilderness of America.

A charter was granted for twenty-one years to a board of trustees for the land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers and westward to the "South Sea." The new country was named Georgia, from George II who had granted the charter. The liberties of Englishmen were guaranteed to the colonists, and freedom in religion to all except Catholics. The object in founding the colony was threefold: to afford an opportunity to the unfortunate poor to begin life over again, to offer a refuge to persecuted Protestants of Europe, and to erect a military barrier between the Carolinas and Spanish Florida. Oglethorpe was chosen governor and with thirty-five families he sailed from England, reaching the mouth of the Savannah in the spring of 1733, and here he founded a city and called it by the name of the river. The character of Oglethorpe's company was better than that of the men who had founded Jamestown a hundred and twenty-five years before, but inferior to the character of the first settlers of Maryland or of South Carolina. The year after the founding of Savannah a shipload of Salzburgers, Protestant refugees, a deeply religious people, sailed into the mouth of the Savannah and, led by Ogle-

**James
Oglethorpe**

**First landing
in Georgia,
1733**

thorpe, they founded the town of Ebenezer. The same year the governor sailed for England and soon returned with more immigrants, among whom were John Wesley, the great founder of Methodism, who came as a missionary, and his brother Charles, who came as secretary to Oglethorpe. Scotch Highlanders soon came in considerable numbers and settled nearest the Spanish border. George Whitfield, the most eloquent preacher of his times, also came to Georgia and founded an orphan school in Savannah.

Georgia was the only colony of the thirteen that received financial aid by a vote of Parliament — the only one in the planting of which the British government, as such, took a part. The colony differed from all others also in prohibiting slavery and the importation of intoxicating liquors. The settlers were to have their land free of rent for ten years, but they could take no part in the government. The trustees made all the laws; but this arrangement was not intended to be permanent; at the close of the proprietary period the colony was to pass to the control of the Crown.

Oglethorpe's military wisdom was soon apparent. In the war between England and Spain, beginning in 1739, the Spaniards became troublesome and the governor, this same year, made an expedition against St. Augustine with an army of over two thousand men, half of whom were Indians. The city was well fortified and he failed to capture it; but three years later when the Spaniards made an attack on the colony Oglethorpe, by the most skillful strategy, repulsed the enemy and drove him away.

Oglethorpe was governor of Georgia for twelve years when he returned to England. In four respects the settlers were greatly dissatisfied. They wanted rum, they wanted slaves, they greatly desired to take a hand in their own government, and they were not content with the land system, which gave each settler but a small farm that must descend in the male line. In all these points the people won. On account of these restrictions the colony grew but slowly and at the end of eighteen years scarcely a thousand families had settled in Georgia. The people claimed that the prohibition of liquors drove the West India trade away from them and at length the prohibition was withdrawn. As to slavery, it still had its opponents — the Salzburgers, the Scotch Highlanders, the Wesley brothers. But the great majority favored its introduction on the plea that slave labor was necessary to the development of the colony. On this side we find the great preacher, Whitfield,

**The four
complaints**

who went so far as to purchase a plantation in South Carolina, stock it with slaves, and use the proceeds for his orphan house in Savannah. His argument was that the negroes were better off in slavery than in their native heathenism. Parliament finally relented and in 1749 Georgia became a slave colony: but on condition of strict laws for the humane treatment of slaves.

In the matter of governing without a voice from the people, the trustees found it impracticable. Before their twenty-one years had expired they threw the matter up in discouragement, and in 1752 Georgia became a royal colony. The people now elected an assembly and the king appointed the governor. The right to vote was extended to Protestant freemen, with certain property restrictions.

After this change of government Georgia grew very rapidly, and by the time of the Revolution numbered some fifty thousand souls, about half of whom were slaves. Georgia in its later career presents no striking features differing from those of the other southern colonies. The English Church was made the state church, but religious freedom was extended to all Protestants. The chief products were rice, indigo, and lumber, and there was a very lucrative fur trade carried on with the Indians. It was believed at first that the production of silk would become the leading industry, as the mulberry tree, which furnishes the natural food of the silkworm, grew wild in Georgia; but after a trial of several years the business was abandoned.

The social condition of Georgia resembled that of North Carolina. There were no schools, and the mails seldom or never reached the inland settlements. The people were mostly small farmers, with here and there a rich planter. There was little town life. Savannah was the only town of importance, and it was still a wooden village at the time of the Revolution. The roads were mere Indian trails, and the settlers saw little of one another. To the end of the colonial era Georgia was essentially the southern frontier of South Carolina, as North Carolina was of Virginia.¹

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¹ Fiske, Vol. II, p. 336.

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The Pirates. — In our own age of international order it is difficult to realize what sway was held on the seas by the pirates two hundred years ago. These pirates, called also buccaneers and filibusters, infested the American coast and the West Indies especially between 1650 and 1720 and they often numbered thousands. Many of these men were utterly without a redeeming feature of character. One of these fiends named Olonnois, having captured a Spanish crew of ninety men, beheaded them to the last man with his own hand. (Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, p. 349.) The most notorious, and one of the most desperate of the pirates was Henry Morgan who was at the height of his career about 1670. He captured whole towns on the Spanish-American coast and put the inhabitants to the sword. Many towns, however, purchased immunity from the buccaneers by paying them from time to time. Others welcomed them because they brought much gold and spent it lavishly. There was scarcely an American colony whose officials were not at one time or another in connivance with the pirates. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a crusade against them. South Carolina took the lead and sometimes half a score were hanged in a day at Charleston. One of the most famous of the pirates was Captain William Kidd. The Earl of Bellomont, governor of Massachusetts, sent Kidd, hitherto an honest merchant, against the pirates in 1696. Reports soon came in that Kidd had turned pirate, and when he returned to Boston he was arrested and sent to London for trial. Kidd claimed that his crew had overpowered him and become pirates against his consent. It is believed, however, that he was guilty; but his trial was a very unfair one, his conviction resting on the testimony of two of his pals, who had turned king's evidence. The charge of the judge was strongly against him. He was hanged in London in 1701.

CHAPTER V

COLONIZATION: NEW ENGLAND

WHEN North America was first settled by the English race the blessings of religious freedom had not yet fully dawned upon mankind. For a century the Christian world had struggled with the intolerant spirit of the Middle Ages. Much, indeed, had been accomplished, but the evolution was slow, and another century must elapse before one could stand in the broad daylight of religious liberty.

No people were more enlightened during this period than the English, yet England furnishes a striking example of religious persecution. The English Reformation is always associated with Henry VIII, but that monarch did little more than transfer to himself the power before wielded by the Pope. The seeds for such a revolt had been sown long before by John Wyclif. It was the leaven of Lollardism that brought about in the English heart the conditions which now made the work of Henry vastly easier than it otherwise could have been. After the death of Henry the religious mind of England swayed to and fro for a hundred years and more, with the caprice of the sovereign and the ever changing condition of politics. At length, the country settled down to the maintenance by law of an Established Church; but there were many whose conscience could not be bound. There were those who attempted to purify the Church of England while retaining their membership, and they were called Puritans. Others separated from the Established Church and they were called Separatists.

These Dissenters, or Nonconformists, — terms usually embracing both of the groups above mentioned — were very numerous during the reign of James I. James was a narrow-minded pedant, probably without any very deep religious convictions. Bred in the Presbyterian faith, he despised Presbyterianism because it was incompatible with his ideas of monarchy. Of the Puritans he said, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land." They refused to conform, and the cruel monarch did the latter — he harried them out of the land.





MAP OF THE
NEW ENGLAND COLONIES
1750

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
B. A. CO., N. Y.

THE PILGRIMS AND THE PLYMOUTH COLONY

The Separatists¹ were less numerous by far than other classes of Nonconformists, but they formed the advance guard of the great Puritan exodus from the mother country to the shores of New England. The town of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire was the center of a scattered congregation of Separatists whose minister was John Robinson and whose ruling elder was William Brewster, the village postmaster. After enduring many persecutions this little band of Christians, who now became "Pilgrims," escaped with difficulty from their native land to Amsterdam, Holland, whence a year later they removed to Leyden. Here they dwelt for eleven years, exiles for conscience' sake, earning their bread by the labor of their hands.

But the Pilgrims felt that Holland was not their home; they could not endure the thought of giving up their language and customs for those of the Dutch, nor were they willing to return to their native England, where religious persecution had not abated. They had heard of the colony of Virginia, and their thoughts were directed to the wilderness of the New World. Through the friendship and aid of Sir Edwin Sandys and others, they secured a little money and purchased a little vessel, the *Speedwell*, hired another, the *Mayflower*, and determined to cross the wide waters to America, where they might worship God in their own way and still remain English. Having secured a grant from the Virginia Company to settle in the Hudson Valley, and a promise from the king that he would not interfere with them, and having mortgaged themselves to a company of London merchants, they set forth with brave hearts to encounter the unknown perils of the sea and of the wilderness. The *Speedwell* proved unfit for the sea, and the little band reëmbarked from Plymouth, England, in the *Mayflower* alone. Their minister, John Robinson, remained in Leyden, and Brewster was the leader. He and John Carver were well advanced in years, but most of the company were in the prime of life. William Bradford was thirty and Edward Winslow but twenty-five. Before leaving Plymouth they were joined by others including Miles Standish, a sturdy soldier of thirty-six, who was in sympathy with the movement though not a member of the congregation.

The Pilgrims
in Holland,
1608-1620

¹ The Separatists were often called Brownists, from Robert Browne, the reputed founder of the sect. The sect, however, had its origin before Browne's time. See Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, p. 146.

The "Pilgrim Fathers" with their wives and children, who sailed on the *Mayflower*, numbered one hundred and two; one died on the voyage and one was born. After a perilous voyage of many weeks they anchored off the coast of New England, far from the point at which they had aimed, and here they were obliged to remain.¹ Being north of the bounds of the company that had granted them a patent, they occupied a country to which they had no legal right. Before landing they drew up a compact for the government of the colony and chose John Carver governor for the first year. This compact, the "first written constitution in the world," was an agreement by which they pledged themselves "solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another," to form a body politic, to frame such laws as they might need, to which they promised "all due submission and obedience."

The compact was signed by all the adult males, forty-one in number, on the 11th of November, the day on which the *Mayflower* entered Cape Cod harbor.² An exploring party went ashore, and they found the country bleak and uninviting in the extreme. The snow was half a foot deep, and the fierce wind blew the spray of the sea upon them, where it froze until their "clothes looked like coats of iron." But the Pilgrims had not sought ease and comfort; they expected hardships and discouragements. They chose Plymouth harbor as a landing place, and on December 16, one hundred and two days after leaving Plymouth, England, they made a landing in the face of a wintry storm, on a barren rock since known as Plymouth Rock. Next they "fell upon their knees and blessed y^e God of heaven, who had brought them ouer y^e vast and furious ocean."³

In a few days the men were busily engaged in building cabins, returning each night to the ship. But before they were finished the wintry blasts had planted disease in many of the little band, and before the coming of spring more than forty

¹ There had been earlier attempts to colonize the New England coast. Gosnold had sailed into Buzzards Bay in 1602, but the would-be colonists who came with him went back in his ship to England. In 1607 George Popham, with a party, undertook to colonize the coast of Maine, but after the experience of one severe winter they all returned to England. Without attempting to plant a colony, Martin Pring had sailed into Plymouth harbor in 1603, and George Weymouth visited the coast of Maine in 1605.

In 1615 Captain John Smith with a company of sixteen men explored a portion of the New England coast, and it was he and not the Pilgrims, as it is commonly stated, who gave the name "Plymouth" to the landing place of the latter.

² New style, the 21st of November.

³ The tradition of the famous "Landing on Plymouth Rock" should be revised, as the women and children remained in the ship for many weeks longer. See Ames, *The Mayflower*, *Her Log*, p. 278.

of them, including the wives of Bradford, Winslow, and Standish, had been laid in the grave. And yet when the *Mayflower* sailed for England in the early spring, not one of the survivors returned with her, and it is a singular fact that nearly all who survived that dreadful winter at Plymouth lived to a good old age. Among those who died the first year was Governor Carver. William Bradford, the historian of the colony, was chosen to fill the office, and he held the position for thirty-one years.

The coast at this point was unusually free from Indians, owing to a pestilence that had swept them away a few years before. During the winter they saw but few natives; but they found many Indian graves and here and

Samoset

there hidden baskets of corn. One day in March the people were astonished at the bold approach of an Indian who entered their village crying, "Welcome, Englishmen." This Indian, whose name was Samoset, of the Wampanoag tribe, had learned a little English from fishermen on the coast of Maine. He went away and returned in a few days with another of his people named Squanto, who was to become a benefactor to the infant colony of white men. Squanto had been kidnaped some years before by traders and sold into slavery in Spain, but he was rescued and sent back to his own home by an Englishman, and from this time he was an unswerving friend to the English. He taught the Plymouth people many things about fishing and

Squanto

raising corn, and a few years later, when dying, he begged them to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven. He could now speak the English language fairly well, and he informed the settlers that his great chief Massasoit desired to make a treaty of peace and friendship with them. The treaty was soon made and it was faithfully kept by both sides for more than fifty years. One object of Massasoit in making this treaty was to protect his tribe from his enemy

**Treaty with
Massasoit**

Canonicus, the chief of the powerful Narragansett tribe. Soon after this Canonicus, wishing to show his hostility toward the new friends of his old enemy, sent Governor Bradford a challenge in the form of a snake skin filled with arrows, but when the skin was returned filled with powder and shot, the forest king decided that it were better to make friends of the white men and did so. With the exception of a little skirmish in defense of a party of traders at Weymouth, the Plymouth colony was free from Indian wars till the rise of King Philip — more than a half century after the landing of the *Mayflower*.

The government of Plymouth was a pure democracy, all the

freemen assembling in town meetings to choose their officers, make laws, and render judicial decisions. So it continued for eighteen years, when the growth of the colony rendered the meeting of all voters impossible and they established a representative government, each settlement sending two representatives; but the people retained, for twenty years longer, the referendum — the power to repeal any law that their assembly might enact.

The colony of the Pilgrim Fathers had much to contend with and it increased but slowly. At the end of ten years' existence it contained scarcely more than three hundred people. They had to grapple with the most serious obstacles — the severe climate, the unproductive soil, and the want of means to carry out what was necessary to be done. To these were added inadequate educational facilities to attract other settlers, and a feeling in England against the Separatists, even among Puritans, who refused to join or sympathize with a body of men that had entirely severed their relations with the Church of England. These things had much to do with retarding the growth of Plymouth, but there was another difficulty still more serious during the first six years.

The Pilgrims, before leaving England, had virtually mortgaged themselves to a company of "merchant adventurers" of London by forming with them a stock company. In this company every colonist above sixteen years of age engaged to serve the colony seven years, at the end of which each would receive the profits of one share of stock.¹ This arrangement necessitated a communistic mode of living at Plymouth, and Governor Bradford soon saw that the system was sapping the life of the colony.² At length he sent Miles Standish to England to have the contract canceled if possible; but in this he failed, and in 1627 the colonists purchased their freedom for a large sum, which required seven years for them to pay. At this time the communal system was for the most part broken up, and each household was granted twenty acres as a private allotment.

The American people of to-day look back with pride to the sturdy Christian character of the founders of our nation; and of the various rivulets of emigration that resulted in the earliest settlements, it is certain that none holds a higher place of honor in the great American heart than the little band of Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth in 1620. With all their narrowness we

¹ Some contributed money, in addition to personal service, and received thereby a greater amount of stock. See Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

must admire them. No state was ever founded by a more heroic people. The colony continued to live its humble life in the forest in its own way until, many years later, it was merged into another, and finally became a part of the great state of Massachusetts.

THE PURITANS AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

Puritanism increased mightily in England during the later years of James I and during the reign of his son Charles, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions. If the Dissenters hoped for better things by the change of monarchs, they were doomed to disappointment; for if James had chastised them with whips, Charles chastised them with scorpions. But King Charles with all his bigotry was not the moving spirit during his reign in persecuting Dissenters; for this we must look to his more bigoted courtier, William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ Laud was a man of remarkable energy. He was a heartless defender of law and order and a powerful supporter of the royal prerogative. In religion he clung with unyielding tenacity to the letter of the law, but had little conception of its spirit. How a man, for principle and for conscience' sake, could dissent from the Established Church was wholly beyond the comprehension of Laud, nor could he respect the one who did it. It was Laud above all men who visited bitter persecutions upon the Puritans in the reign of Charles, and it was Laud who, all unconsciously, did a great service for humanity — he caused the building of a powerful Puritan commonwealth in the New World. The great migration set in with the ascendancy of Laud; "it waned as he declined and ceased forever with his fall."²

It will be remembered that Pilgrim and Puritan were not synonymous terms. The word "Pilgrim," while it has acquired a religious meaning, was not an ecclesiastical term. It was applied only to the Separatists or the Inde-
Pilgrim and
Puritan
 pendents who settled at Plymouth because of their migration, first to Holland and later to America. The Puritans were those who sought to purify the English Church and to modify its forms, while remaining within it. But eventually the Puritans became Independents, not only in America, but also in England, and from them have grown the great religious denomina-

¹ Laud did not become archbishop until 1633, though he had long been an intimate adviser of the king.

² Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, p. 196.

tions of the English-speaking world — the Congregationalist, the Baptist, the Methodist,¹ and to a great extent the Presbyterian.

During the ten years following the coming of the Pilgrims in 1620 there were numerous conflicting land grants made in eastern New England, and various scattered settlements sprang up in the neighborhood of Plymouth. An enumeration of these would only be confusing to the reader.

We have noted, in our account of Virginia, that King James in 1606 chartered two companies, the London and the Plymouth Council for New England. The former succeeded in founding Jamestown; the latter, after various sporadic attempts, had done nothing by 1620. Meantime, John Smith of Virginia fame had explored the coast of northern Virginia, as it was then called, made a map of the coast, and named the country New England. In 1620 the old Plymouth company secured a charter and was henceforth known as the Council for New England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was its leading member. This charter covered the vast territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of latitude, the name New England being substituted for northern Virginia. In its effort to found colonies, this new company made many land grants, one of which, in 1628, was to six men, of whom John Endicott was the chief. The same year Endicott, who was to play a leading part in the early history of Massachusetts, came out with a following of sixty and settled at a place called Salem, joining a small settlement already there. But the great Puritan exodus was yet to begin, and as a large number of Puritans were now ready to join the colony, it was deemed far more satisfactory to have a royal charter than a mere land grant. A charter was therefore secured from Charles I in March, 1629, confirming the land grant of 1628, extending from three miles south of the Charles River to a point three miles north of the Merrimac, thence westward to the Pacific Ocean, which was believed to be much nearer than it is. This new company was styled the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. The government was to be placed in the hands of a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, to be elected annually by the company.²

¹ The Methodist church rose at a later date, but it had its origin in the same spirit that actuated the Puritans.

² Provision was also made for "one great, general and solemn assembly" to meet four times a year.

This charter was very similar to the third charter of Virginia in 1612. But there was one remarkable point of difference: it did not provide, as did the Virginia charter, that the seat of government should remain in England. This omission led to the most important results in the building of New England. A small party of leading Puritans met at Cambridge and adopted the "Cambridge Agreement," to migrate to Massachusetts. John Winthrop, a gentleman of wealth and education, one of the strongest and most admirable characters in the pioneer history of America, was chosen governor. Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy governor. A party of three hundred had been sent to join Endicott at Salem, and in April of the next year, 1630, Winthrop himself embarked, with a large company, for the New World.

The Pilgrims of 1620 were men of great zeal, but of little knowledge; many of the Puritans of 1630, however, were men of education and fortune,¹ members of Parliament, or clergymen of the most liberal education. Led by such men, the movement created a profound impression in England, and thousands now prepared to cross the western ocean and take up their abode in the forests of New England. More than a thousand came in 1630, and as the policy of the king and Laud became more intolerable, the tide increased in volume. The people came, not singly, nor as families merely, but frequently as congregations, led by their pastor.

The great migration

Winthrop had brought with him the charter, and this was the first step in a very important process — the process of fusing the company and the colonists into one body. The second step, which soon followed, was the admitting of the colonists, or "freemen," to membership in the company. Thus the company ceased to be a private trading company conducted for commercial gain; it became a body politic, a self-governing community. The condition of freemanship was made, not a property or educational test, but a religious qualification. The company was conservative and the process was slow. When there were 3000 settlers there were but 350 freemen, but the beginning of popular government was at hand. The ostensible object of the company, when it secured the charter, was to profit by trade; the real object was to establish a religious community with freedom of conscience, not for all, but for those only who were in religious accord with them. And the religious test for freemanship became the safeguard by which they secured for the

¹ Chalmer, *Introduction*, Vol. I, p. 58.

future the end for which they had sacrificed so much. The matter of popular government, however, did not come without some friction, as we shall soon notice.

Some time after landing, Winthrop found a clear spring of water on a peninsula called Shawmut, and there he took up his abode, founded a town, and called it Boston. Newtown, now Cambridge, was the first capital, but Boston was soon chosen as the seat of government. Meantime, Roxbury, Charlestown, Watertown, Dorchester, and other towns were founded.

The various Puritan settlements were soon in friendly relations with the Pilgrims at Plymouth. They had formerly professed to despise the Separatists, but scarcely had the shores of England receded from their view when they felt a sense of freedom as never before,¹ and this feeling took a deeper hold on them until they found themselves no longer Puritans in the original sense, but Separatists pure and simple. Their churches were organized on the Plymouth plan, and were never connected in any way with the Established Church of England.

In the matter of local government, the old parish system of England, half ecclesiastical and half political, was reproduced in the town or township. But it soon lost its religious functions and became the political unit, with absolute control of local government. The general government was at first conducted by the governor, deputy governor, and the assistants. This caused discontent among the freemen and when, in 1631, a tax was assessed for public works, the people of Watertown protested with the argument that it was taxation without representation. The Watertown protest was heeded and the freemen, who had delegated their right of electing the governor to the assistants, now resumed that right, and to punish Winthrop for his aristocratic tendencies, they dropped him and elected Dudley governor. Thus, in New England, as well as in the South, the democratic tendency was apparent almost from the beginning. But the freemen soon found it inconvenient for all to meet in General Court, and they established the representative system. Each town sent two delegates,² and these, with the governor and assistants, formed the General Court, which had legislative and judicial power. The freemen, however, continued to meet at Boston once a year to choose a governor and other officials; but as this practice became inconvenient, the proxy system was introduced, and this developed

The gov-
ernment

¹ Eggleston, p. 213.

² After 1636 the delegates were from one to three according to population.

into the system of written ballots and sealed returns.¹ In 1641, the General Court adopted a code of laws known as the "Body of Liberties." Prior to this they had been governed by the common law of England and the precepts of the Bible.

The settlers of the Bay colony had their hardships — the harsh winters, the unproductive soil, the lurking red man, often hostile, and other obstacles common to pioneer life — but the growth of the colony was phenomenal. The great Puritan exodus continued for ten years, and by 1640 more than twenty thousand home seekers had sailed into the harbor of Massachusetts Bay. Such a movement of population had not been known since the Crusades of the Middle Ages. Strong houses soon took the place of the cabins; herds of cattle, goats, and swine covered the country-side, and ships were soon carrying loads of lumber, salt fish, and furs to the mother country.

No one was more astonished at the growing prosperity of the Puritan commonwealth than was the despotic king who had granted the charter. Acting from the ignoblest of motives, though ostensibly from the complaints that had reached his ears from a few malcontents, who had been sent back to England by the Puritans, King Charles determined in 1635 to annul the charter. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, an uncompromising enemy of the Puritans, was to be made ruler of New England. But suddenly the opposition to the king became so threatening in England that he dropped the matter, and the charter was left unharmed. The people of Massachusetts had meantime shown a spirit of defiance. They fortified their coast towns, collected arms, and trained militia. When, however, the king abandoned his designs against the charter, Massachusetts became practically an independent colony. In 1643 even the oath of allegiance to the Crown was dropped, and for a long period the colony was wholly without interference from royal authority.

The governorship, during the early years of the Bay colony, alternated between Winthrop and Dudley. But in 1636 Harry Vane, a young man who had arrived the year before, the son and heir of a high official in England, was chosen to fill the office. Vane was an immature and inexperienced youth, and his selection proved to be unwise at a time when the wisest heads were needed to guide the ship of state.

It was at this early period that two notable events mark the history of Massachusetts, and they were brought about by two

¹ Bishop, *History of Elections*, p. 123 sq.

notable persons — Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. Williams was a young English clergyman of great strength of character and irrepressible enthusiasm. In his own land he found no rest, on account of his religious teachings, and in 1631 he made his way with his young wife to New England. Scarcely had he landed when his troubles began anew. He seemed like an Ishmael — his hand against every man and every man's hand against him. He stirred up opposition at Boston, at Plymouth, and at Salem. He refused to take the oath of fidelity; he denied the right of the magistrate to punish for violations of the first table of the Decalogue; he denied the right of compelling one to take an oath; he denounced the union of Church and State, and pronounced the king's patent void, as the Indians were the true owners of the land. The discontent caused by Williams's doctrines became so serious that the General Court took up the matter and, after a second offense, ordered him to leave the colony within six weeks. He still kept up the disturbance and it was decided to send him directly to England. Williams, hearing of this decision, made his escape into the forest, 1636, and wandered about for fourteen weeks, spending his nights with the Indians, or in hollow trees, until eventually he settled in one spot and became the builder of a city and the founder of a state.

Roger Williams has been looked upon as an apostle of religious liberty, and so he was. His ideas were far in advance of his age, and some of them have since spread throughout the Christian world. We admire Williams for his sincerity, his adherence to principles. But he was impractical and wanting in tact. He was mainly right in the abstract, but wrong in his methods of application. He was wrong in preaching revolutionary doctrines, and urging them on a people who were not ready for them. Had the colonists followed him in declaring the royal charter valueless, their independence would soon have come to an end. The people of Massachusetts were proud of their theocratic government; they had labored and sacrificed much to obtain it, and probably it was the very best for them at the time. They cannot, therefore, be blamed for dealing with Williams as they did.

Scarcely had the affair of Roger Williams been settled when the colonists found it necessary to deal with another religious enthusiast. The men were in the habit of holding meetings, to which the women were not admitted, to discuss public and religious questions. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of talent and eloquence, resented

this insult to her sex, as she considered it, and held meetings at her own house. Here she discussed theological questions and put forth views at variance with those of the ministers and the magistrates, asserting that the latter were under a covenant of works while she and her followers were under a covenant of grace. The whole colony became agitated with the subject. John Winthrop and most of the magistrates and ministers opposed the new doctrines, while the young Governor Vane and others favored them. At length, after Winthrop had been re-elected governor and Vane had sailed for England, Mrs. Hutchinson was exiled from the colony. She made her way to a new antinomian settlement near that of Roger Williams, whence, after a sojourn of several years, she removed farther westward and was captured and murdered by the Indians.

About twenty years after the Hutchinson episode another and more serious affair disturbed the peace of Massachusetts. The Quakers, a religious sect newly founded in England, began coming to Massachusetts in 1656. They refused to take an oath and many thought them Jesuits in disguise. Reports of their extreme fanaticism had reached the colonists, and the first arrivals were sent back. Laws were then enacted to prohibit their coming, but they came in defiance of the laws. At length a law was passed (by a majority of only one in the lower house) pronouncing the death sentence upon any Quaker who, having been once banished, should return to the colony. To the astonishment of all, a few of the banished ones returned and demanded the repeal of the cruel law. Their fanaticism increased with the persecution, denouncing the laws and the Puritan form of worship. The authorities were perplexed. They had not expected to have occasion to enforce their harsh law; they had only meant to keep out a people whom they despised. But now they must actually put these people to death or yield to their demand and repeal the law. They met in solemn conclave and again decided by one majority to enforce the law. Four of the Quakers were hanged.

**Execution of
Quakers,
1656**

But public opinion did not sustain the magistrates and the law was repealed. Thus the Quakers, by sacrificing a few lives, won a victory, and they eventually settled down and became quiet, useful citizens, devoting much of their energy to the conversion of the Indians.

Another popular delusion, still more serious in its results, was what is known as the Salem Witchcraft. This we shall note here though it belongs to a later period. The witchcraft craze, it is

thought, began in this manner. Some young girls who were in the habit of reading witch stories imagined themselves bewitched, **Witchcraft,** and began to accuse an old Indian woman and **1692** others of bewitching them. The tale was believed, and the excitement it caused spread like an epidemic. Hundreds of people, accused of being witches, were thrown into prison; nineteen were hanged, one, an aged man, was pressed to death, and two died in prison before the insane superstition had spent its force.

It was not long before the people awoke to the horror of their delusion, and then they bitterly repented their folly — as a drunkard, in his sober moments, mourns over the deeds of his delirium. It is unjust for later generations to make this delusion a ground of reproach against the people of New England. Be it remembered that witchcraft was believed in at this time in every part of the civilized world, and thousands had been put to death in Europe for the same cause.¹ When it is remembered, further, that the religion of the Puritans was austere and somber, that the people were given to the morbid habit of introspection, that they ever had to battle with the dark, frowning forest and the wily Indian, and further that the age was a superstitious age — remembering all these things — we can only wonder that they were not more frequently the victims of some delusive craze.

Massachusetts grew and prospered greatly, and by the time of the Restoration in England, in 1660, the colony had become a powerful commonwealth. The independence of the colony was largely due to the internal strife and frequent changes of government in England, which left little time and opportunity to deal with matters beyond the sea. But soon after Charles II became king he began to look with jealous eye upon the increasing importance of Massachusetts Bay. He accused the colonists of assuming powers not warranted in the charter and of violating the Navigation Acts, and he ceased not to harass them in various ways until the last year of his life, when he succeeded, by a writ of *quo warranto*, in having the charter pronounced void by the high court of chancery, and the liberties of the great Puritan commonwealth were temporarily at an end. Other matters of importance, such as the New England Confederacy, King Philip's War, the career of Sir Edmund Andros, belong rather to the history of New England as a whole than to that of one colony, and will be treated later in this chapter.

Loss of
Massachu-
setts char-
ter, 1684

¹ The law in England imposing death for witchcraft was not repealed for forty years after this Salem delusion.

CONNECTICUT

The other New England colonies were founded and built up by the same class of people that had settled Massachusetts, and they were actuated by much the same motives and ambitions. The history of the one as given is therefore in substance the history of the others. A brief notice, however, of the interior settlements is here in place.

The people of Massachusetts were not long in casting their eyes westward from their own barren coast to the fertile valley of the Connecticut River, which Adrian Block, the Dutchman, had discovered some years before; and the result was that a new colony was soon flourishing on its banks. The father of Connecticut was Thomas

Thomas
Hooker

Hooker, who had been driven from his native land by the persecuting Laud. He had arrived at Boston, in 1632, in the same ship which bore that other noted divine, John Cotton. Cotton became the Puritan pastor at Boston, and Hooker at the adjoining village of Newtown, now Cambridge. Hooker was not only a preacher of great power; he possessed the elements of statesmanship of the most modern type. Governor Winthrop, with all his admirable qualities, was an aristocrat to the core. He believed in the government of the many by the few, and it was he who influenced the Bay colony to create freemen out of the citizens but slowly and to limit the suffrage to members of the Church. To this Hooker could not agree. A sharp controversy ensued between him and the governor of Massachusetts. To Winthrop he wrote: "In matters which concern the common good, a general council chosen by all, to transact business which concern all, I conceive most suitable to rule and most safe for relief of the whole."

Hooker and
Winthrop

This was modern democracy at its best, nor was the sentiment ever surpassed by the writer of the Declaration of Independence. It was this disagreement with the powers of Massachusetts that led Hooker to dreams of pressing farther into the wilderness and founding another colony. Another cause for this desire, some think, was that he was disturbed by the fact that his rival, John Cotton, had surpassed him in winning public attention. Cotton, the pastor at Boston, was the leading clergyman, the religious oracle of the colony; while Hooker, conscious of equal power and eloquence, believed that the insignificance of the town in which he was located, away from the harbor, in the midst of an unfertile region, had much to do with limiting his influ-

ence. But Hooker was a man of spotless character, and his ambition to extend his influence was an ambition to do good.

In the balmy days of June, 1636, the famous year of the founding of Providence and of Harvard College, Hooker and his entire congregation migrated on foot to the Connecticut Valley, driving their cattle before them. Here they found a post of Plymouth men and Dutch traders from the Hudson striving for the mastery; but Hooker ignored both, began the town of Hartford, and thus laid the foundations of a new commonwealth. Other congregations, from Dorchester and Watertown, soon followed and founded the towns of Windsor and Wethersfield. Within a year eight hundred people had found their way into the valley.

The government was a provision alone under a commission from Massachusetts, for a year, when the three towns, with the scattered settlers around, banded together and formed a little independent republic; and here, in a rude legislative hall, with no flare of trumpets, occurred one of the great events of early American annals — the production of the first written constitution in history that really created a government.¹ This constitution, known as the Fundamental Orders, brought forth little that was new; it modeled a government after that of Massachusetts, the chief differences being that a governor might not serve two successive terms and especially that no religious test be required for citizenship. It created a General Court with legislative, judicial, and administrative powers, while local town government had already been transplanted from the mother colony. It provided for a representative government; but sixty years passed before Connecticut had a bicameral legislature. No mention whatever was made of the British government or of any allegiance to the king by the Fundamental Orders. Here on the banks of the Connecticut was one of the birthplaces of modern democracy, with the needful elements of a nationality; here was a federal government, a prototype in miniature of the present government of the United States, which is to-day, as Mr. Fiske says, “in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to that of any of the other thirteen colonies.”

This constitution, with some alterations, was in force for one hundred and eighty years. John Haynes became the first

¹ Neither the *Mayflower* compact, nor the agreements of the Narragansett communities had created a form of government. Osgood, in *Political Science Quarterly*, XIV, p. 261.

governor of Connecticut. Springfield, founded about the same time, remained a part of Massachusetts.

Meanwhile John Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, built a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, which was named Saybrook, after Lord Say and Lord Brook, under whose authority he acted. Of more importance was the founding of the New Haven colony, in 1638. Rev. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant from London, led a company of emigrants, mostly from Massachusetts, and pitched their tents on the northern shore of Long Island Sound. Here under a great oak Davenport expounded the Scriptures, saying that the people, like the Son of Man, were led forth into the wilderness to be tempted; and here they set up their government with the Mosaic law as their code adapted to their conditions, and with the closest union of Church and State. Eaton was made governor and was reelected annually for many years. Other towns, Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, soon came into existence, and these united with New Haven, all taking the name of the New Haven Colony. Thus the river valley and the northern shore of the sound gradually became peopled with Puritan settlers. These two newborn colonies came near being strangled in their infancy. Their dangers were twofold — from the Dutch and from the Indians. The Dutch of New Amsterdam claimed the Connecticut Valley, and for many years there was desultory strife between them and the English settlers, when at length the English succeeded in driving out the Dutch.

But the greatest menace came from the Indians, and scarcely had these infant settlements been made when the people had to pass through an Indian war, the first in New England's history, and known as the Pequot war. The Pequots made every effort to enlist the powerful Narragansetts; but the alliance was prevented by Roger Williams. A company of about eighty white men, accompanied by about three hundred Indian allies of the Narragansett and Mohegan tribes, surprised the enemy in their fort at day-break one morning in May, and slew more than six hundred, seven making their escape. A few months later another battle was fought, and the Pequot power was utterly broken. Thus the whole tribe was practically exterminated, and for forty years New England was free from Indian wars.

The people of Connecticut occupied their land for many years without any title to it except what they had from the

**New Haven
founded,
1638**

**The Pequot
war, 1637**

Indians. But, in 1662, the younger Winthrop secured a royal charter for Connecticut from Charles II, the most liberal that had yet been given. The only restriction was that the laws should not conflict with the laws of England. This charter, creating a corporation, was similar to that of Massachusetts, to which the king objected. One object in granting it, as in the case of Rhode Island, was to encourage rivalries to Massachusetts. The charter included the New Haven Colony; but that colony sternly resisted, and at length consented to become a part of Connecticut only when there was danger of its being absorbed by New York. But many of the New Haven people emigrated to northern New Jersey rather than come under the rule of Connecticut. John Winthrop now became the leading man in the colony, as his father had been in Massachusetts, and he held the office of governor for many years. After the serious trouble with King James II and with Andros, Connecticut, still retaining its liberal charter, was free from royal interference, and for a long period this "Land of Steady Habits" was the most peaceful and happy of all the English colonies in America.

RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

We have noted the flight of Roger Williams from Salem, and his wandering through the forest in search of a place to rest his head. He visited the good old chief Massasoit, who received him with great kindness, and Canonicus, who gave him a tract of land at the head of Narragansett Bay; and here on the banks of a little river he, with five followers, laid out a town and called it Providence. Soon after this William Coddington and John Clark, with a small following, settled on the little island of Rhode Island, then called Aquednok, which they purchased from the Indians, and founded the town of Portsmouth. These settlers were but twenty in number, but they adopted an agreement, chose Coddington governor, and put into motion the machinery of government. The Providence people adopted a similar agreement, and thus there were two miniature independent commonwealths. These little settlements soon attracted people from Massachusetts. Mrs. Hutchinson came, and joined the Coddington settlement; but as she and Coddington could not agree, the latter left the place in 1639 and founded Newport on the same island. Newport and Portsmouth were united the next year, and Coddington was made governor. These commu-

nities were founded on the principle of absolute freedom of conscience. Most of the settlers were of the type of the founders, antinomians and independents — men who could not endure the rigors of Puritan theology, law, and custom. In fact, their spirit of freedom was extreme, it knew no bounds. They could not agree among themselves, and for many years Rhode Island was the most turbulent of all the New England colonies.¹

Their "soul liberty," as Roger Williams termed it, did not extend to civil matters. In Providence only heads of families could vote, all unmarried men being denied the right of suffrage. Later the suffrage was restricted to owners of land. The settlements, being without title to their land, sent Williams to England in 1643 to secure a charter. The king and Parliament being then at variance, he obtained his charter from a committee of the latter, and on his return was received with great enthusiasm. The charter was issued to the "Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." It gave the people power to govern themselves, but was simply a charter of incorporation and contained no land grant. After the Restoration, however, this charter granted by Parliament was not considered valid, and in 1663 Rhode Island secured from Charles II a second charter for "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," which confirmed the privileges granted by the first, made a land grant, and provided that no one be molested "for any difference in opinion in matters of religion."² Here was the spirit of Roger Williams embodied in constitutional law, and it grew and expanded until it covered all Christendom. But with sublime inconsistency the legislature of the colony, some time after the charter was granted, declared that "Roman Catholics shall not enjoy the rights of freemen." So liberal was this charter and so devoted to it were the people that it remained in force until after the Dorr Rebellion of 1842. Connecticut and Rhode Island enjoyed greater freedom of government than any other of the American colonies. They were called "two little republics embosomed within a great empire."³

The colony of Rhode Island was never popular among its neighbors. As Doyle says, "Rhode Island was to New England what New England as a whole was to the mother country"—an outcast child that in the end brought glory to the parent state. The colony was excluded from the confederacy of 1643, and,

¹ Winsor, Vol. III, p. 337; Lodge, p. 389.

² See Poore, Vol. II, pp. 15-94.

³ Chalmers' *Introduction*, Vol. I, p. 109.

moreover, it was harassed for years by the claims upon its territory by Massachusetts and Connecticut. But the people were plucky; they successfully defended their rights and, in spite of external encroachments and internal dissensions, the colony grew in strength and importance and its trade extended in every direction.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The territory that afterward became New Hampshire was included in a grant of land, in 1622, by the Council for New England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, both of whom had been interested in New England affairs from the beginning. The grant extended from the Merrimac River to the Kennebec.¹ The first settlement was made in 1623 by a Scotchman named Thomson, at the mouth of the Piscataqua River, and was called Little Harbor. A few years later Edward Hilton, a London fish merchant, founded Dover six miles up the river. He was soon joined by his brother William and several families, and later by others from Massachusetts.

A company called the Laconia Company was formed in England in 1629, and the next year it sent a vessel to the mouth of the Piscataqua, bearing a colony of settlers with Captain Neal as governor. Portsmouth, first called Strawberry Bank, was settled, and Governor Neal spent several years exploring the forest. He brought back a discouraging report to his company, and the settlement was left to shift for itself.

In 1638 a settlement was made at Exeter between the Piscataqua and Merrimac rivers by John Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been banished from Massachusetts.

These little towns had come into existence, each independent of the others. In 1639 they formed an agreement to unite, but as Massachusetts claimed this territory, the towns at length agreed to come under her jurisdiction. The union was formed in 1641, the people of the settlements retaining liberty to manage their "town affairs," and each town was permitted to send a deputy to the General Court at Boston.

**New Hamp-
shire joins
Massachu-
setts**

¹ A second patent to New Hampshire was granted to Mason, November 7, 1629, and the name "New Hampshire" was used; ten days later another to Gorges and Mason for "Laconia," and two years later still another to the same for the land near the mouth of the Piscataqua. It would be confusing to the reader to attempt to remember all the land grants and patents in addition to the royal charters of those times. Many of the charters and grants conflict, and many made grants of lands whose bounds were unknown.

New Hampshire continued a part of Massachusetts until 1679, when the king separated them. He joined them again in 1686; but they were finally separated in 1691, and New Hampshire again became a royal province, the president and council being appointed by the Crown and the assembly elected by the people. Until 1741, however, the governor was but a lieutenant under the supervision of the governor of Massachusetts.

New Hampshire grew very slowly for many years. The chief reason was the fact that the heirs of Mason claimed the right to the land, and their endless disputes and litigations with the settlers concerning the land titles repelled home seekers. At last, after a hundred years of controversy, the Mason heirs were satisfied (1749) by the purchase of their claims.

VERMONT AND MAINE

After the middle of the eighteenth century a bitter dispute arose between New Hampshire and New York concerning the territory lying west of the Connecticut River, both colonies claiming it. One of New Hampshire's gov- Vermont
ernors had laid out about one hundred and forty townships in this disputed region. These were called the "New Hampshire Grants." But in 1765 the king decided the contest in favor of New York, and when the governor of that colony ordered the settlers, now several thousand in number, to re-purchase their lands, they rose in rebellion. Led by Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, both afterward famous in the War of the Revolution, the "Green Mountain Boys" fought off the New York officers, and in 1777 they declared the "New Hampshire Grants" an independent state under the name of Vermont. Fourteen years later Vermont became the first state, after the original thirteen, to enter the Union.

The two proprietors of Laconia had divided their possessions in 1629, Mason receiving the portion that became New Hampshire,¹ and Gorges the eastern portion, which Maine
was called Maine. It will be remembered that the Laconia patent was simply a grant of land from the Council for New England and not a royal charter. In 1639, however, Gorges received from Charles I a royal charter for Maine, from the

¹ Mason spoke of it as New Hampshire in his will of 1635, after Hampshire in England, where he had held an important office; but the colony was not so called by the settlers before the restoration of Charles II. For a hundred years and more after the colony was settled, the heirs of Mason made the settlers much trouble by claiming their lands.

Piscataqua to the Kennebec and one hundred and twenty miles inland. This charter was similar to that of Maryland, erecting a county palatine and proprietary province. But in 1677 the heirs of Gorges sold their rights to Massachusetts. The territory was now called the District of Maine, and under this name it was governed by the elder colony for nearly one hundred and fifty years when, in 1820, Maine was admitted into the Union as a state.

We have now six important colonial settlements in New England, besides many smaller ones that are not usually accorded the dignity of separate colonies. Two of these six, Hartford and New Haven, had united and become one, and a similar union was to be effected between two others, Massachusetts Bay¹ and Plymouth, thus reducing the number to four.² These four, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, were among the thirteen states, the other two New England states, Vermont and Maine, as we have seen, coming into the Union after the Revolution.

Having followed the settlements of the various New England colonies, let us now take a brief survey of matters that affected all these colonies, during what may be termed the second period of their existence.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION (1643-1684)

Immediately after the close of the war with the Pequot Indians, there came a proposal from Connecticut for a union of the New England colonies, for the purpose of protection against their common enemies. After several years of negotiation, this proposal brought important results.

This union, the prototype of our present national Union, had its origin in the same town that gave to the world its first written constitution, and the same that, nearly two centuries later, became the seat of the famous Hartford Convention.

The articles were drawn up at Boston in May, 1643, by the leading men of New England. Among the representatives were Haynes, governor of Hartford, Eaton, governor of New Haven, and Winslow and Winthrop from Plymouth and Massachusetts. Four colonies only entered into the compact — Massachusetts (including New Hampshire), Hartford, New Haven, and Plym-

¹ Massachusetts was called Massachusetts Bay for about a hundred and fifty years after its founding.

² The union of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was temporary.

outh. No invitation to join the union was extended to Rhode Island or to the scattered settlers of Maine.

The name adopted was "The United Colonies of New England"; the union was a loose confederation, each colony retaining its home government as before. The main object of the colonies was to protect themselves the better from their common enemies — from the Indians about them, from the Dutch on the west, from the French on the north, and even from possible dangers from the mother country, which was, at that moment, in the throes of civil war. The union was merely a business arrangement; it did not conduce to build up any particular attachments or patriotism. The business of the confederation was to be transacted by a commission of eight men, two from each colony; a vote of six was required to carry a measure, and their vote was final. The expenses as well as the spoils of war were to be divided among the colonies, in proportion to their respective male populations between the ages of sixteen and three-score years. The articles provided for the delivering up of runaway slaves and of fugitives from justice. This feature was the prototype of the Fugitive Slave Law of a later generation. Provision was made for the admission of other colonies, and it was declared that the union should be perpetual.

The coalition was unfair to Massachusetts, whose people exceeded in numbers the population of the other three combined, and could thus be drawn into war without their consent. The only remedy lay in violating the compact, and this Massachusetts did ten years after it was made, by refusing to engage in a war with the Dutch nor was there any power to coerce her. The union was very weak after 1662, when New Haven was joined to Connecticut; it continued, however, until 1684, when it was dissolved after an existence of forty-one years. The coalition had been very useful to the people; it had given weight to their dealings with the Dutch, and it had carried them through the most dangerous Indian conflict of colonial times. It also furnished a precedent for colonial union in later times.

KING PHILIP'S WAR

The relations of the colonists to the Indians were threefold: they traded with the Indians, they preached the gospel to them and they fought with them. The early settlers carried on trade with the natives, because it was profitable, and because it was often necessary in keeping the colonists from starvation. They

sought from pure and honest motives to convert the red men to Christianity. The people of Massachusetts were foremost in this laudable ambition. The Reverend John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, labored for many years to give them the gospel, and even translated the Bible into their language.¹ Eliot was assisted by many others, and many of the dusky inhabitants of the forest learned to bow down to the Christian's God. Nevertheless, conflict between the white men and the Indians was at times inevitable. The Indian could not understand the perpetual obligations of a treaty, nor could he discriminate between the honest settler who sought only to do him good, and the conscienceless trader who defrauded him. Hence the two races were involved in wars from time to time, until the stronger race finally triumphed over the weaker and took sole possession of the land. No other result, indeed, was possible. The two races were so unlike in their aspirations and their capacity for civilization that they could not dwell together, and barbarism fell before the onmarch of civilization.

Philip was the son of Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, who had made a treaty of friendship with the Pilgrims of Plymouth soon after their landing. This treaty had been faithfully kept for fifty years, but soon after the death of the aged chief, Philip and his tribe became estranged from the white settlers and began to prepare for war. No particular cause is known for the war that ensued. It was apparently a spontaneous outburst, rather than the result of a conspiracy of the Indians. It is supposed that the Indians, seeing the gradual encroachment of the white men upon the lands of their fathers, determined to drive the intruders from the country.

The war began with an Indian attack on the town of Swansea, in which several men, women, and children were killed. The cry of alarm instantly spread throughout the colonies and the effect was immediate. Three hours after the messenger had reached Boston a body of men was on the march from that city toward the Indian country. Other towns responded with equal vigor, and ere many days the New England forest rang with the report of the musket and the war cry of the savage. Had the Indians met their civilized foe in open battle they would soon have been annihilated; but their method was to attack the lonely farmhouse, the unprotected settlement, or to creep by stealth at dead of night upon the sleep-

Attack on
Swansea

¹ This translation is now a great literary curiosity. No man can read it, the language having perished with the people that used it.

COLONIZATION: NEW ENGLAND

ing hamlet and with fiendish yells to fall upon their victims with the tomahawk.

Philip was a bold and powerful leader. He succeeded in enlisting the aid of the Narragansetts but many of the Indians, especially those converted by Eliot, assisted the colonies. In the summer of 1675 the towns of Brookfield, Deerfield, and Northfield were burned by the savages, and many of the inhabitants perished. A band of soldiers led by Captain Beers was ambushed near Deerfield and almost all were killed. The Indians attacked Hadley, but the town was saved through an unusual occurrence.¹

The following winter a thousand of the best men of New England marched against the savage foe; they surprised the Narragansett fort and put to death probably seven hundred people in a night. By the spring of 1676 the Indians were on the defensive. Philip became a fugitive and escaped his pursuers from place to place. At length he was overtaken in a swamp in Rhode Island by Captain Ben Church of Plymouth and was shot dead by one of his own race. The war soon ended; the Indians had lost three thousand men, their power was utterly broken, and never again was there a war

Death of
Philip

¹ **Hadley and Its Deliverer.** Hadley was a frontier town in the heart of Massachusetts and, like various other outlying settlements, was in the danger zone at the time of King Philip's War. One day in September, 1675, the people of the town were gathered in the meeting-house to pray for deliverance from their dusky foe when suddenly the dreaded war-whoop startled them. The men quickly seized their weapons, for they had come to the church armed, and the battle was on. But the whites were at a disadvantage; many of their young men were away from home, following the war trail. Suddenly an aged man with flowing white hair, dressed in the garb of other days and other lands, appeared among the villagers and assumed command. With the air of a born commander, with skill and energy, he formed the men and boys in battle line and led them to the assault. The battle was soon over. The Indians fled, leaving several of their number dead on the ground. It was believed that one cause of their flight was that the spectral appearance of the aged commander had awakened their superstitious fear. When the battle was over the aged man disappeared. Many of the villagers never saw him again and never knew who he was. They believed that God had sent him to their deliverance in answer to their prayers. Such is the story, fact, or legend, of the delivery of Hadley.

The man was Colonel Goffe, one of the three English regicides who had escaped to America. He and General Whalley had signed the death warrant of Charles I, in 1649. On the restoration of Charles II to the English throne, in 1660, they fled to Boston and settled in Cambridge. But when Parliament passed the sentence of death upon them and offered a reward for their capture, they were obliged to flee again. Several years they spent in and near New Haven, part of the time in a rocky cavern not far from the town. The people shielded them as best they could. But the king's agents, seeking their blood, were hot on the trail. At one time they rode across a bridge under which the fugitives were hiding. At length Goffe and Whalley found their way to Hadley and here in the home of the minister, Rev. John Russell, they lived in hiding for twelve years. Whalley died in Hadley, but the time and place of the death of Goffe are unknown.

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the races in southern New England. But the cost to the colonies was terrible. Thirteen towns had been laid in ashes; the wilderness was marked on every side with desolate farms and ruined homes. A thousand of the brave young men had fallen, and there was scarcely a fireside that was not a place of mourning. The public debt had risen to an enormous figure, falling most heavily on Plymouth in proportion to population. In this colony alone the debt incurred was £15,000, more, it was said, than the entire property valuation of the colony — but this debt was paid to the last shilling.

EDMUND ANDROS

Scarcely had this disastrous war come to an end when New England was called upon to face a new danger, and one from an altogether different source. The new foe was the **Massachusetts and Charles II** British monarch. But this was not the beginning of the trouble. Fifteen years before, soon after Charles II had come to the throne, he became embittered toward the people of New England for refusing to give up the regicides, Whalley and Goffe, who had assisted in the putting to death of his father. This feeling of the king was heightened by the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights of 1661, which, while professing allegiance to the king, was regarded by him as an encroachment on his authority. This declaration is one of the memorable documents of the colonial era. By it the General Court declared any imposition contrary to their own just laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, "to be an infringement" of their rights. This was aimed, for the most part, at the Navigation Acts. It has the true American ring. Doyle, the British historian, declares that it seems to take us forward a hundred years, and that the "men of 1776 had nothing to add to or take from the words of their ancestors."

Commissioners were sent to the colony in 1664, and a long and fruitless controversy resulted concerning violations of the Navigation Acts and other matters. Massachusetts would probably have lost her charter at this period but for the war between England and Holland. A Dutch fleet had entered the Thames and was threatening London. This enlisted the full energy of the mother country, and New England's liberties continued for some years longer.

But the resentment of Charles against the colonies only slumbered; it was not dead. His hands being again free, he opened

the old quarrel. Massachusetts was the chief object of his wrath, nor was it difficult for him to find grounds of accusation against the colony: her disregard of the Navigation Acts, her refusal to allow the English Church within the colony, her purchase of the territory of Maine;¹ and even the independent way in which the New England colonies had managed the Indian war was offensive to the Crown. It must be added, however, that there was a deep-laid scheme in England to destroy the separate colonial governments, and unite all New England, New York, and New Jersey under one government, so as to curb the growing spirit of liberty and to resist more effectually the French aggressions from Canada.

In 1676 Edward Randolph, an officer of King Charles, and an enemy of the colony, arrived in Boston. His complaints to the king of the neglect of the people of the colony to observe the Navigation Acts added fuel to the flame of the monarch's wrath. Randolph set about to build up a more liberal party, with Tory leanings, in Massachusetts; and, it must be added, he was to some extent successful. Times had changed somewhat in Massachusetts Bay. The rigid Puritan rule of the preceding generation had softened. The Puritan party in England had waned, and no longer was it able to fight the political battles of its American offspring. Moreover, as men in the colony advanced in wealth and engaged in commerce on the high seas, they were unwilling to incur the displeasure of England. From these causes and through the efforts of Randolph, a moderate party grew up in Church and State, a party that preferred a moderate course, rather than one of open defiance to the king. The attitude of this party made it easier for the king in his charter-breaking campaign than it would have been had the people of the Bay been a unit in their opposition. But the great majority of the people were not with this new party. The colony as a whole resisted the royal encroachments at every step; but after a long legal struggle of nearly eight years, it was forced to give up that noble charter which Winthrop had brought from England fifty-four years before, and which, as the guardian of their liberties, had imbedded itself deeply in the hearts of the people. With the charter went the independent government of Massachusetts, to return no more for a hundred years,² when a

Massachusetts offends
the king

Massachusetts loses
her charter,
1684

¹ It was about this time that the heirs of Mason and Gorges laid claim to New Hampshire and Maine, repudiating the dominion of Massachusetts. They won their suit; New Hampshire became a royal province, but Massachusetts purchased Maine of Gorges's heirs for £1250. This act of independence greatly incensed the king.

² Except for two years, 1689-1691.

later generation was to rise in successful rebellion against the mother country.

In the year following this triumph of the Crown, King Charles died and his brother, James II, more tyrannical than himself, began his short and turbulent reign. He sent Sir Edmund Andros, who had made a record as governor of New York and New Jersey, to govern New England and also New York and New Jersey. Andros arrived late in 1686 and made his seat in Boston. The people knew and despised him, nor did his brief administration do aught to redeem his reputation. As a royal officer he was faithful, but he had little respect for the people. Instructed to make laws and levy taxes without a legislative body, by the aid of a council only, he was not slow in carrying out his instructions. He abolished the legislature and laid taxes at his pleasure; he even took from the local town meeting its power of taxing; he sent innocent men to jail and curbed the liberty of the press. This was exasperating in the extreme, but the acme was reached when the despotic governor attacked the titles to the land, pronounced many of them void, and exacted quitrents from the owners.

Andros demanded the charter of Rhode Island, and while the charter itself was placed beyond his reach,¹ the colony yielded readily to his sway. In Connecticut he was strongly opposed, but, appearing in person at Hartford, in October, 1687, he demanded the charter. The assembly was in session and Andros was present. The session was prolonged till late in the night, when suddenly the lights were put out, as tradition informs us, and Captain Wadsworth seized the precious charter, escaped in the darkness, and hid it in the hollow of an oak tree, ever after known as the Charter Oak.

Andros's reign in New England was that of a despot. As Doyle says, "All those devices of tyranny which England had resisted, even where they were rare and exceptional, were now adopted as part of the regular machinery of government."² But there were breakers ahead. The spirit of liberty, fostered by a half century of self-government, could not be crushed in the New England heart. The people waited, and the opportunity came. While Andros was at the height of his power a copy of the declaration of the Prince of Orange to the English people reached the colony. Andros arrested the messenger that brought it, but he could not arrest the wild shout of joy that rang from one settle-

¹ Winsor, Vol. III, p. 339.

² *English Colonies*, Vol. II, p. 305.

ment to another, from the ocean shore to the river valley. Next came the news of the prince's landing on British soil, and this became the signal for the people to rise in rebellion against their oppressor. Andros was seized and sent a prisoner to England, and the people again breathed the air of liberty.

Soon afterward, the old charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were declared restored, and they continued in operation till long after the Revolution. Massachusetts failed to recover her old charter, but was granted a new one. By this the territory of the colony was greatly extended through the addition of Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia. But the early independence was gone. The laws were again to be made and the taxes levied by a legislature elected by the people; but every act must henceforth be sent to England for the royal approval, and henceforth the governor, his deputy, and secretary were to be appointed by the Crown. The new charter also opened the door of citizenship, requiring a property test but no longer a religious test. This feature destroyed forever that intimate union of Church and State that had characterized the first generation in Massachusetts Bay. The Church and State were still united but the Puritan hierarchy had full control of the government no longer. One feature of this charter — the provision that the council be elected by the retiring council and the assembly — rendered it unlike any other American charter. From this cause Massachusetts is often placed in a class by itself as a semi-royal colony.

Second
Massachu-
setts char-
ter, 1691

Regretfully we take final leave of Plymouth as a separate organization — Plymouth, the oldest of the New England colonies and destined in future ages to be held in memory the most sacred of them all. For seventy-one years the colony had sailed its little boat through storm and sunshine, but from this time its identity must be lost in that of Massachusetts. Of the original band of Pilgrims who had left England in the *Mayflower*, but two remained alive.¹

PURITAN LAWS AND CHARACTER

During the seventeenth century the combined New England colonies, if we except Rhode Island, formed practically one great Puritan commonwealth. They were under separate govern-

¹ The two survivors were John Cooke, who died in 1695, and Mary Cushman, who lived seventy-nine years after the famous voyage, dying in 1699. Both, however, were survived by Peregrine White, the child born on the *Mayflower*.

ments; but their aims and hopes, their laws, and their past history were, for the most part, the same.

The people as a whole were liberty-loving in the extreme, but the individual was restrained at every step by laws that no free people of to-day would tolerate for an hour. Paternalism in government was the rule in the other colonies and in Europe, but nowhere was it carried to such an extreme as in New England. Here the civil law laid its hand upon the citizen in his business and social relations; it regulated his religious affairs, it dictated his dress, and it even invaded the home circle and directed his family relations. One law forbade the wearing of lace, another of "slashed cloaths other than one slash in each sleeve and another in the back." The length and width of a lady's sleeve were solemnly decided by law. It was a penal offense for a man to wear long hair, or to smoke in the street, or for a youth to court a maid without the consent of her parents. A man was not permitted to kiss his wife in public. Captain Kimble, returning from a three-years' ocean voyage, kissed his wife on his own doorstep and spent two hours in the stocks for his "lewed and unseemly behavior."

In the matter of education the Puritans stood in the forefront. Many of the clergy were men of classical education, and through their efforts Harvard College was founded but six years after the great exodus began. Before the middle of the century Massachusetts required every township of fifty families to employ a teacher to educate the young in reading and writing, while every township of one hundred families must maintain a grammar school. The other colonies soon followed with similar requirements.

But the most striking feature in the life of New England is found in its religion. The State was founded on religion, and religion was its life. The entire political, social, and industrial fabric was built on religion. Puritanism was painfully stern and somber; it was founded on the strictest, unmollified Calvinism; it breathed the air of legalism rather than of free grace, and received its inspiration from the Old Testament rather than the New.¹ There was a gleam of truth in the charge of Mrs. Hutchinson that the Puritans lived under a covenant of works. No further proof of the legalistic

¹ The Puritan conscience was painfully overwrought. Nathan Mather wrote that in his youth he went astray from God and did dreadful things, such as whittling behind the door on Sunday. Sometimes a child would weep and wail in the fear that it was not one of the elect and would go to hell.

tendencies of Puritan worship is needed than a glance at their own laws. A man, for example, was fined, imprisoned, or whipped for non-attendance at church services. He was dealt with still more harshly if he spoke against religion or denied the divine origin of any book of the Bible.¹ Laws were made that tended to force the conscience, to curb the freedom of the will, and to suppress the natural exuberance of youth — laws that could not have been enacted and enforced by a people who comprehended the full meaning of Gospel liberty, or had caught the keynote of religious freedom sounded by the ancient prophet and resounded by St. Paul and Luther, "The just shall live by faith."

Nevertheless the Puritan was an admirable character. His unswerving devotion to duty, his unlimited courage based on the fear of God, his love of liberty and hatred of tyranny — these qualities have enthroned him in the memory of the American people. We deplore the narrowness and intolerance of the Puritans; but they were quite as tolerant as the English and most of the Europeans of that day. They committed errors, but they were willing to confess them when they saw them. They banished Roger Williams as a disturber of the peace, not for his opinions; but they bore witness to his spotless character. They executed a few Quakers, but confessed their error by repealing their own law. They fell into the witchcraft delusion, which was prevalent throughout Christendom at the time; but they were first to see the dreadful blunder they had made and they were not too proud to confess it publicly. Judge Sewall made before a large congregation a confession of his error as only a hero could have done; and he begged the people to pray "that God might not visit his sin upon him, his family, or upon the land." Such was a trait of the Puritan character that leads us to forget his faults and to admire rather than censure him.

New England developed steadily throughout the colonial era. The people were chiefly of the stanch yeomanry, the great middle class, of England. Many of them were men of fortune and standing in their native land. The people of Massachusetts were slow in reaching out from the seaboard; not till about 1725 did they begin to colonize the Berkshire Hills. The soil of the Connecticut Valley was more productive than any other part of New England, and the people of Connecticut were more purely agricultural in their pursuits than were those of any other portion, except New Hampshire. The chief industry of Rhode Island was trade, while

¹ But such laws were not peculiar to New England. See the Toleration Act of Maryland.

Massachusetts was divided, agriculture and commerce holding about equal sway. Six hundred vessels plied between Boston and foreign ports, while the number of coasting vessels was still greater.

Manufacturing was carried on, but not on any great scale. Sawmills and gristmills were numerous along the rivers, and they did a large business in preparing timber and grain for transportation. Hats and paper and other commodities were made on a small scale; but the most extensive manufacturing was carried on by the farmers and their families, who made many of the utensils for their own home use, as will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

The stern Puritan customs were gradually softened, more rapidly in Massachusetts than in Connecticut, owing to the many Crown officers residing in Boston. The first attempts to introduce the Episcopal form of religion were sternly resisted, but at length it found a footing, though not in Connecticut till well into the eighteenth century. About 1734 a religious revival, started by Jonathan Edwards and carried on by George Whitefield, the evangelist, spread over parts of New England, and to some extent revived the waning Puritan religious fervor.

The population at the opening of the Revolution reached nearly 700,000, about 300,000 of which was in Massachusetts, including Maine. Connecticut contained about 200,000 people, New Hampshire some 75,000, and Rhode Island some 50,000.¹ All the colonies had negro slaves, but very few in comparison with the southern colonies. Probably there were not more than 15,000 slaves in all New England, of whom Massachusetts and Connecticut had the majority. Indented servants were slow in coming to New England, and when they came, their rights were guarded by salutary laws.

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¹ See Lodge, p. 408.

CHAPTER VI

COLONIZATION: THE MIDDLE COLONIES

THE nine colonies whose early history we have traced were all established by Englishmen; but we shall now consider one destined in the future to be the most populous and wealthy community of them all, which was founded and controlled for forty years by a different people — the Dutch. The people of Holland,¹ after a long and terrible war with Spain, had won religious and political independence. With the fall of the Spanish Armada the naval power of the Dutch began to rise and by the coming of peace in 1609, the Briton alone could rival the Hollander upon the sea.

Dutch navigators

The Dutch had taken possession of the Molucca Islands and had seized from Portugal the control of the Indian Ocean. Their navigators were unsurpassed in daring adventure. They traded with the Mongolian of the Orient and introduced the use of tea and coffee into Europe; they sailed around South America and gave Cape Horn its name, around the Cape of Good Hope and planted a colony in South Africa; they discovered, in 1606, the far-away continent of Australia, and later the islands of New Zealand and Tasmania. In their effort to find a northeast passage to China they sailed between Nova Zembla and the North Pole and reached a higher latitude than had ever before been reached by man. Their vessels also plowed the icy waters of the Antarctic seas, where they discovered dreary, unpeopled lands where human feet had never been.

As early as 1597 the Dutch made voyages to the West Indies, but it was left for an Englishman in the employ of the Netherlands to make the one and only discovery in the New World by which that nation is remembered. The Dutch East India Company, a great organization trading with the Orient, was extremely anxious to find a shorter passage to the China seas. It sent Henry Hudson in search of a northeast passage, but after a

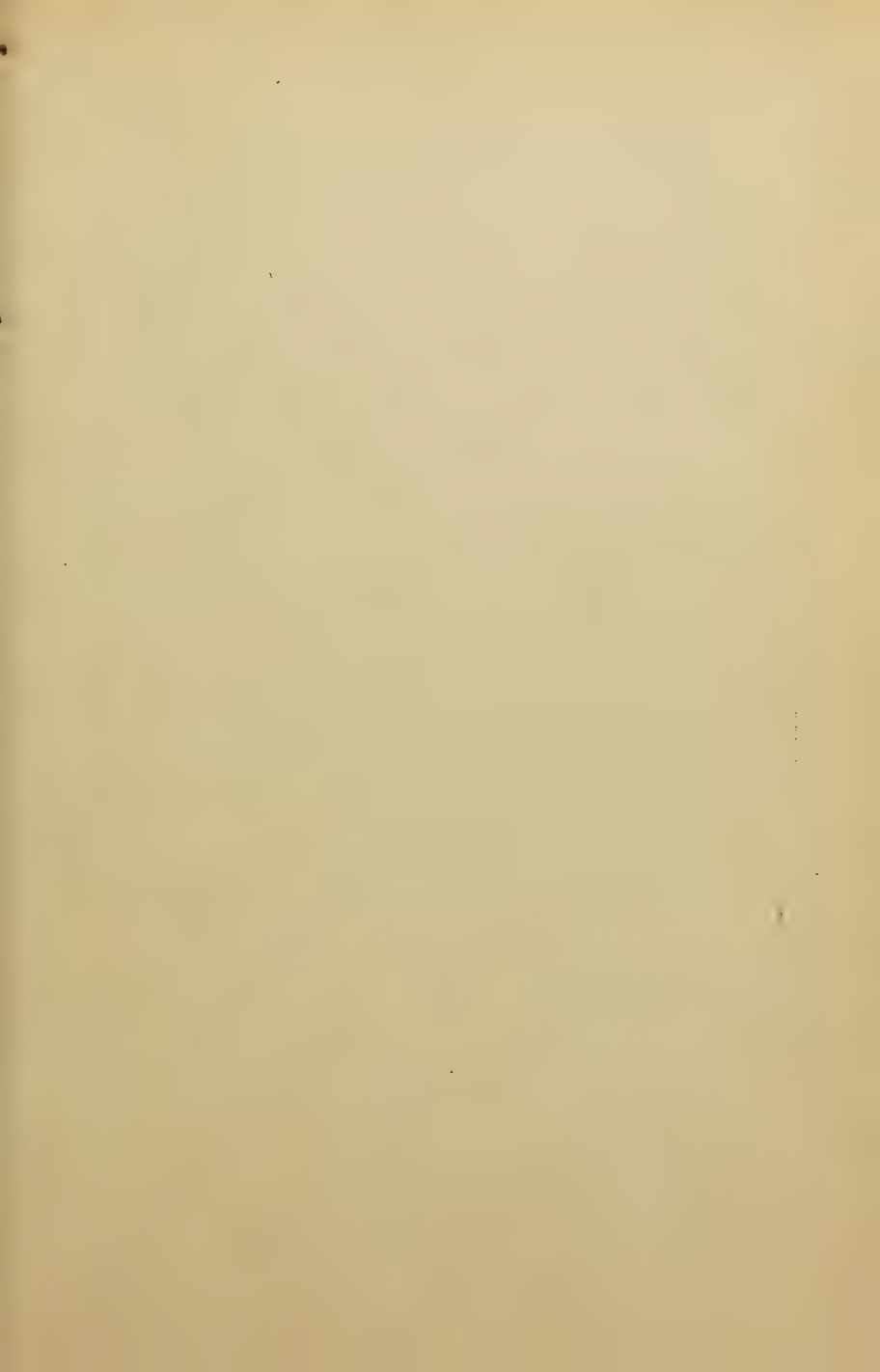
¹ Holland was the most important state of the Netherlands, and the term is often used for the whole country.

vain attempt covering several months, Hudson turned his little vessel to the waters of the West. The continental character of southern North America was known through the explorations of De Soto, Coronado, and De Vaca; but the northern portion of that continent was still believed to be an open sea through which a passage to the Orient would yet be found, and it was this delusion of a hundred years that brought Hudson to the western world. He carried with him a letter from his friend, John Smith, with whose exploits in Virginia every reader is familiar. Smith informed Hudson of his exploration of the Chesapeake the year before and of his belief that the coveted passage might be found a little farther northward. Hudson now sailed down the New England coast, and in September, 1609, he entered the broad and beautiful river that bears his name.¹

He sailed up the river as far as the site of Albany, and the impressions he received from the majestic beauty of the palisades, the kindly treatment of the natives, and the many-colored forest, robed in its autumnal foliage, led him to write that it was "as fair a land as was ever trodden by the foot of man." Hudson also sailed into Delaware Bay, and in consequence of his discoveries Holland laid claim to the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware, then called the North and South rivers, and the country between them was named New Netherland. Trading posts were soon established on Manhattan Island and up the Hudson, but nothing was done at this time toward planting a permanent colony.² The Dutch West India Company was chartered by the States-General of the Netherlands in 1621. It was a gigantic monopoly (successor to a short-lived company called the New Netherland Company) to which was given control of all Dutch navigation on the coasts of Africa and America.

¹ Hudson was not the first white man to enter the New York Bay. The bay and river had been discovered by Giovanni Verrazano, a Florentine in the employ of the French king, as early as 1524, and again the following year by the Spaniard, Estevan Gomez. After that French vessels frequently ascended the Hudson as far as Albany, trading with the Indians, but their voyages had ceased and were well-nigh forgotten when Hudson rediscovered the river. (See Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, Vol. I, p. 68 sq.) While Hudson was exploring the Hudson River, Champlain was not far away, exploring the lake that bears his name, and John Smith was bartering with the Indians in the wilderness of Virginia (*ibid.*, p. 66). Hudson, returning, was detained in England by King James, who determined that so great an English voyager should no longer be employed by foreigners. The next year (1610) Hudson set forth in an English ship, and while in the great bay, afterward called by his name, his mutinous crew set him adrift with his son and a few others in an open boat, while they returned to England. On arriving, the crew were sent to jail and an expedition was sent to search for Hudson, but the great navigator was never again seen nor heard of.

² In 1614 Hendrick Christiansen built Fort Orange near the site of Albany. Adrian Block explored Long Island Sound, and Cornelius May sailed into the Delaware Bay. At the same time a few traders settled on Manhattan Island.



This company was given very extensive commercial and governmental powers, but it was answerable to the home government.

It was three years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth that this company sent a small Dutch vessel with some thirty families, chiefly Walloons,¹ to the mouth of the Hudson. A few of them debarked at Manhattan, but the majority sailed up the Hudson and settled at Fort Nassau, later called Fort Orange, now Albany. Almost simultaneously with this, the Dutch built Fort Nassau on the Delaware, just below the present city of Camden, a few Dutch families settled on Long Island, and some Dutch traders established a post on the Connecticut River at the site of Hartford. The Dutch had laid claim to the entire vast region between Chesapeake Bay and Cape Cod, through the discoveries of Hudson and Block, and by these settlements they were making good their claim.

The English also claimed this whole territory; but as the Thirty Years' War was raging in Germany, and the Spanish war cloud was darkening over the British Isles, it was thought best not to make an enemy of Holland. On the other hand, the Dutch and British entered into a defensive alliance against Spain. This continued for several years, during which the Dutch on the Hudson were safe from English interference. At the end of this period came the great internal conflict in England — the strife between Charles I and the Puritans, the Civil War, the execution of the king, the dictatorship of Cromwell — covering in all nearly forty years; and during these forty years the Dutch were left in control of the Hudson Valley; then came the reckoning, as we shall see on a later page.

The first director of the Dutch colonies was Cornelius May. In 1626 Peter Minuit was appointed to this office and, arriving at Manhattan, he purchased the entire island of the Indians, some twenty-two thousand acres, for twenty-four dollars' worth of beads and ribbons. Perhaps no other equal area in the world is now worth so vast a sum of money as Manhattan Island. Minuit built a fort at the southern point.

NEW AMSTERDAM

Thus began the great metropolis of the New World, now New York City. The government of the new colony was carried on

¹ The term *Walloons* signifies, in the Dutch language, strangers, and it was applied to Protestant refugees from Belgium.

by Governor, or "Director General," Minuit and a council of five appointed by the company in Holland. It was very similar to the government of Virginia before the first House of Burgesses was elected. The people had no voice whatever in their own government. Because of this and of the fact that in Holland the people enjoyed peace and religious liberty the migration was slow. At the end of five years but three hundred people lived on Manhattan Island. The company thereupon offered great inducements to attract colonists. It issued its charter of "privileges and exemptions" (1629), by which the patroon system was established. Under this system any member of the West India Company who would bring or send at least fifty settlers fifteen years of age or over, was granted an estate of sixteen miles frontage on one side of a river or bay, or eight miles on each side of a river and as far inland "as the situation of the occupiers will admit." The Hudson Valley was soon dotted with these estates, and thus was planted in America a feudal system very similar to that of the Old World.¹ The patroon was bound to provide a farm ready stocked for each of his tenants, and to provide a schoolmaster and minister of the gospel for each settlement. He had full control of the government and courts. The tenants were temporarily serfs, as they were obliged to remain on the land for ten years. They were also obliged to sell their produce to the patroon, to grind their corn at his mill, and after a certain time to pay him a small annual rent. The most powerful of the patroons became the founders of the notable families, afterward so prominent in New York — the Van Renssalaers, the Schuylers, the Livingstons, and others.² The company and patroons were soon quarreling, and the dispute was carried to the States-General. One result was the recall of Minuit, who was accused of favoring the patroons. He was succeeded by Wouter van Twiller, who was recalled after five years of misrule, during which he enriched himself and wasted the company's money. William Kieft then became governor.

Up to this time New Netherland had not attracted the home seeker. The best land had been occupied by the patroons, and the settlers were scarcely more than servants. The company had

¹ The patroons also made settlements on the Delaware, but these did not flourish and were short-lived.

² These great estates, transmitted from generation to generation, were held in the same families for more than two centuries. On the death, in 1839, of Stephen van Renssalaer, one of the greatest landholders, his tenants refused to pay rent to his successor, and hence arose the anti-rent riots in New York. The courts decided in favor of the tenants in 1852.

held, or attempted to hold, the monopoly of the fur trade. But now that trade and the cultivation of the soil were thrown open to all, while the patroon privileges were greatly restricted. The effect was magical. People came from New England; Redemptioners¹ from Maryland and Virginia; peasant farmers from continental Europe; the rich and the educated, as well as the poor, came, though not in large numbers, from various parts of the world to the valley of the Hudson and made it their permanent home. It is said that in 1643 no less than eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam — and the great city into which it has grown has never since lost its cosmopolitan character.

Kieft was a bustling, energetic man, but he was an autocrat and a tyrant. He was governor for about ten years and they were years of storm and disorder. He quarreled with the Swedes on the Delaware, with the English on the Connecticut, and with the Indians on all sides. Before his time the Dutch had lived at peace with the Indians and had profited greatly by the fur trade; but Kieft was wanting in discretion and capacity, and disastrous Indian wars marked his governorship. His treacherous policy with the Indians caused a general uprising of the Algonquin tribes and many were the bloody massacres in the country around. The very existence of the Dutch colony now hung in the balance, and it might have been annihilated but for the coming of an Englishman from Massachusetts — John Underhill, hero of the Pequot War. Underhill, with an army of one hundred and fifty brave Dutchmen, fell at midnight on the Indian stronghold in the mountains north of Stamford, and put seven hundred warriors to the sword before daybreak. This broke the Indian power, brought peace, and saved the colony of New Netherland.

But peace did not come to the hot-headed governor. The people were exasperated with his tyranny and they appealed to the States-General. They blamed Kieft for the pitiful condition of the colony, begged that a new governor be sent them and that the people be given some voice in the government, or that they be permitted to return with their wives and children to their dear fatherland. This petition had some effect. Governor Kieft was dismissed by the company, and Peter Stuyvesant, the last and most famous of the Dutch governors, became his successor.

¹ Redemptioners were persons who were sold into service for a certain number of years as payment for their passage across the sea. Many of these, on gaining their freedom, preferred to remove to another colony away from the scenes of their servitude.

Kieft sailed for Holland, but the vessel was wrecked at sea, and the fallen governor was among the lost.

Stuyvesant was a sturdy, self-willed, obstinate old fellow, with little culture and much strength of character. He was a man of great energy and no doubt his intentions were honorable; but he was a born autocrat, had no sympathy with democracy and no power to read public opinion. He was an experienced soldier and had lost a leg in battle. With all his faults he was vastly superior to Van Twiller and Kieft. However, he was never popular and on one occasion the people demanded his recall, but the company refused to grant their request.

The government of New Netherland had been thus far almost a despotism, and its chief object in existing was to enrich a company of traders. But the settlers now determined to demand their rights — a share in their own government. The more were they urged to this step when they compared their own condition to that of the self-governing English colonies about them. The haughty governor was forced to yield, and he chose Nine Men as his counselors from a larger number selected by the people. These men protested against the high taxes and the heavy export duties, and they petitioned the home government to cancel the company's charter and grant the colony a representative government similar to that enjoyed by the people in Holland. The petition for popular government was reluctantly granted by the company; but so skillfully did the imperious old governor manage the election that he succeeded in retaining almost the entire governing power in his own hands. When the iron-willed governor at length permitted an assembly of delegates from a number of the towns to convene, he sat with them in the legislative hall, where the loud stamping of his wooden leg on the floor warned them when matters were not going as he desired. After a session of but four days he dissolved the assembly, and for ten years (1653-1663) there was no meeting of the representatives of the people.

The population of New Netherland increased slowly till 1653, when there were two thousand residents, eight hundred of whom belonged to New Amsterdam, which had been incorporated that year. About this time a book describing the colony was published in Holland, and it created a great interest among all classes. From this time a stream of emigration poured into the Hudson Valley, and by 1664 the population reached ten thousand, having increased fivefold in eleven years.

Peter

Stuyvesant,
1647-1664

The Nine
Men, 1647-
1651

Governor Stuyvesant is remembered more on account of his relations to the English and the Swedes than on account of his domestic rule. After two or three years' dispute with the people of New England, he agreed with them to fix the western boundary of Connecticut about where it now is, and the Dutch from this time ceased to disturb the peace of the Connecticut Valley. But of greater importance were Stuyvesant's dealings with the Swedes who had settled on the Delaware about the time that Kieft became governor of New Netherland. Both banks of the Delaware were claimed by the Dutch, and Stuyvesant received authority from Holland to take possession of the Swedish settlement. In 1655 he entered the Delaware with six hundred men in seven ships. The Swedes had no power to resist such a force; they yielded readily, and New Sweden passed into the hands of the Dutch.

Conquest
of New
Sweden,
1655

The governor, returning home, found his people engaged in an Indian war, brought about by a Manhattan Dutchman, who shot a squaw for stealing peaches from his orchard. He soon brought it to an end, but the Indians were restless, and in 1658 the war again broke out and continued at intervals for five years.

Meantime Stuyvesant turned his attention to religious matters; he determined to enforce uniformity of worship according to the Dutch Reformed Church. He persecuted Lutherans, Baptists, and Quakers without mercy, until public opinion, supported by the company, called a halt and forced him to desist. Seventeen years had passed since the self-willed governor had begun his reign; but the time of reckoning was at hand and Dutch rule in America was drawing to a close.

NEW YORK

For more than three centuries England and Holland had been the closest of friends; but now at the close of the long and bloody Thirty Years' War, which ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the power of Spain was crushed, and the Dutch, no longer having anything to fear from his Catholic Majesty, rose to dispute with the English the dominion of the seas. This brought about an unfriendly rivalry between the two nations, and the unfriendliness was increased by the fact that the Dutch of New Netherland traded freely with the English colonies. They carried great quantities of Virginia tobacco to Holland, and thus at least £10,000 a year was lost in customs duties to the British

government. The first Navigation Law, 1651, was aimed largely at the Dutch trader, but the wily Dutchman ignored the law and continued as before. This was one cause that determined the English on the conquest of New Amsterdam. Another, and probably the chief one, was that the Dutch colony on the Hudson separated New England from the other English colonies and threatened British dominion in North America.

The English claimed New Netherland on the ground of the Cabot discoveries; and in 1664, Charles II presented the entire country, from the Connecticut to the Delaware, to his brother James, Duke of York, ignoring the claims of the Dutch colony, and even disregarding his own charter of two years before to the younger Winthrop. Richard Nicolls of the royal navy set out with a small fleet and about five hundred of the king's veterans. On reaching New England, he was joined by several hundred of the militia of Connecticut and Long Island, and he sailed for the mouth of the Hudson.

Stuyvesant had heard of the fleet's arrival at Boston, but he was led to believe that its object was to enforce the Episcopal service upon the Puritans of New England, and so unsuspecting was he that he went far up the river to Fort Orange to quell an Indian disturbance. Here he was when informed that Nicolls was moving toward New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant hastened down the river with all speed, arriving at New Amsterdam but one day before the English fleet sailed into view. Nicolls demanded the surrender of the fort. Stuyvesant refused; he fumed and fretted and swore and stamped his wooden leg. He tore to bits a conciliatory letter sent him by Nicolls. He mustered his forces for defense. But the people were not with him; they were weary of his tyrannical government in which they had no part, weary of enriching a company at their own expense, and the choleric old governor had to yield. The fort was surrendered without bloodshed; New Amsterdam became New York, after the Duke of York; the upper Hudson also yielded and Fort Orange became Albany, after another of the duke's titles, and all New Netherland, including the Delaware Valley, passed under English control.

By what right Charles II seized New Netherland may be known to kings and rulers but not to the humble historian. Queen Elizabeth had laid down the postulate that mere discovery, without occupation, did not constitute a right to new lands. This was a good rule when applied to Spain to refute her claims to North America; it was another story when applied to the

Surrender of
New Am-
sterdam,
1664

English in connection with the Hudson Valley. But the English deftly evaded the difficulty, to their own satisfaction, by claiming that the Hudson Valley was part of Virginia as given by James I, in 1606, to two companies. This tract had been settled at both ends — along the James River and on the New England coast. Why should a foreign power claim the central portion because it was not yet occupied? Thus argued the English, and their argument won because sustained by force of arms. And yet, the providential hand may easily be seen. The conquest of New Netherland was scarcely less important than was the conquest of New France, a century later, on the Plains of Abraham. It all belonged to the preparation — not for British dominion in North America, but for the dominion of future generations that were to occupy the land. Before their power England was yet to go down, as New Netherland and New France first went down before hers. Thus England, all unwittingly, became the instrument in preparing the way and fighting the battles for a nation that was yet to be born.

It is interesting to note the later career of Peter Stuyvesant. After a journey to the fatherland to vindicate his course, he returned to New York and made it the home of his old age. Here on his farm, or "bowery," now bounded by Fourth Avenue and the East River, by Sixth and Seventeenth streets, New York City, amid the scenes of his former strife and turmoil, he spent a few quiet, happy years. A venerable figure was the aged Dutchman, and many who had hated him before now learned to love him. He and Governor Nicolls became warm friends, and many a time they met and drank wine and told stories at each other's tables. In 1672 this last of the Dutch governors died at the ripe age of eighty years, and his body was laid to rest at the little country church near his home — at a spot now in the heart of the vast metropolis, whose population is ten times greater than that of all the North American colonies of that day.

Later years
of Stuyve-
sant

A short war between England and Holland followed the conquest of Nicolls, and the Dutch sailed up the Thames River and visited fearful punishment on the English, though they did not win back New York. But nine years after the victory of Nicolls, we may say by anticipation, the two nations were again at war, and a Dutch fleet reconquered New York and took possession of the Hudson Valley; but by the treaty of peace the next year the country was ceded back to the English, and Dutch rule ceased forever in North America.

At the time of the conquest by Nicolls the little city at the southern point of Manhattan contained some fifteen hundred people, and the whole province about ten thousand, one third of whom were English. The colony now became a proprietary colony, but as the proprietor afterward became king of England, it was transferred to the list of royal colonies. Nicolls became the first governor. He was able and conscientious. The rights of property, of citizenship, and of religious liberty had been guaranteed in the terms of capitulation. To these were added at a later date equal taxation and trial by jury. In one year the tact and energy of Nicolls transformed the province practically into an English colony. After four years of successful rule Nicolls returned to England — and a few years later, as he stood by the side of his master, the Duke of York, at the battle of Solebay, his body was torn to pieces by a cannon ball.

The English inhabitants of New York had gladly welcomed the change of government, and even the Dutch had made little resistance, as they were tired of the tyrannical rule of the company. If there was any bitterness against English rule remaining, it was wholly removed in 1677 by an event of great importance to both hemispheres — the marriage of the leading Hollander of his times, the Prince of Orange, to the daughter of the Duke of York, the two afterward becoming joint sovereigns of England as William and Mary.

When Nicolls became governor he made little immediate change in the general or local government except to adopt English titles for the public officers. He proceeded, however, to frame a code of laws known as "The Duke's Laws." These were intended at first for the English settlers only, but were later extended to all. This code was borrowed largely from the laws of New England with two important omissions: there was no provision for the people to take any part in the government, and there was no religious test for citizenship. It retained many Dutch features and introduced a few new features. But there was no popular government.

This plan did not prove permanent. The English portion of the colony clamored for representative government. The agitation continued until 1681, Edmund Andros then being governor, when the English population was ready to break into open rebellion if their demand for an assembly were not granted. Accordingly the next year the duke promised the people an assembly, and the first one

Governor
Nicolls

Charter of
Liberties

was elected in 1683, while Thomas Dongan was governor. This assembly, composed of eighteen men elected by the people, now proceeded to adopt a declaration of rights known as the "Charter of Liberties," by which it declared that the representatives of the people were coördinate with the governor and council, and that no taxes could be laid without their consent. It also provided that all laws be subject to the duke's approval.

What might have been the fate of this charter under normal conditions we know not, as the conditions were suddenly changed. The duke's royal brother was suddenly carried off by a stroke of apoplexy, and the duke became king of England as James II. New York now became a royal colony, and the new king, who at heart despised popular government, refused to sign the Charter of Liberties, abolished the New York assembly, and sent Andros to govern the colony as consolidated with New England and New Jersey. Andros, with a council of seven men, was to govern nine colonies as a conquered province. We have followed his career in Boston and need not repeat it here. The fall of his master from the British throne occasioned the immediate fall of Andros; but this did not bring immediate peace to New York. The colony was now about to pass through another exciting experience.

But first, a further word is here in place concerning the sources of our present governmental system. Mr. Douglas Campbell, in two large volumes entitled *The Puritan in England, Holland, and America*, has taken great care to show that we are indebted far more to Dutch than to English sources for our system, and his attempt to prove too much leads the critical reader to believe too little.

Sources of
our institu-
tions

It is true that the English race is more nearly related to the Dutch than to any other, and the English language resembles the Dutch language more than any other. It is also true that the Netherlands preceded England in securing religious liberty and in establishing free public schools; that the manufacturing of textile fabrics developed in Flanders earlier than in the island kingdom across the channel, where it grew up later largely through the migration of skilled workmen from the Netherlands; that many thousands of Dutchmen and Flemings, driven from their country by religious wars, made their permanent home in England. From these facts it will be seen that the influence of Dutch institutions on English civilization must have been great; and it was probably still greater on American civilization because the Dutch immigrants to England nearly all became

Puritans, and there is no doubt that Dutch blood coursed in the veins of a large number of the New England Puritans.¹ No doubt also the Pilgrim Fathers absorbed something from the Dutch during their sojourn in Leyden.

But when all is said on this side it must be added, on the other, that in the seventeenth century English popular self-government was ages in advance of the same in the Netherlands. No better proof of this is needed than a glance at the colony of New York. It was the English towns, even under Dutch jurisdiction, that demanded and received a large measure of self-government; it was the first English governor who extended that great bulwark of Anglo-Saxon liberty, the jury system, to the Dutch settlers, who at first shunned it as a thing to be feared; it was the English population of the colony that clamored for their birthright—an assembly and the power of taxation. During all this period the Dutch settlers in the main were passive in matters of popular government, and but for the coming of the English and the overthrow of Stuyvesant and his nation, New Netherland might have remained as despotic a government as was New France. Moreover, the New England free school system grew, not from Dutch models, but from the inherent tendency of the Puritan character. In the face of these facts, how can Mr. Campbell or any one contend that our institutions of to-day are derived more from Dutch than from English sources?

News of the accession of William and Mary and of the imprisonment of Andros at Boston created a great excitement in New York; and the militia, led by Jacob Leisler, a German merchant, took possession of the government. For two years Leisler, with the aid of his son-in-law, Milborne, governed the colony with vigor and energy. But he offended the aristocracy and the magistrates, who pronounced him a usurper. Meantime he took measures to defend the colony against the French and Indians, who had fallen upon the frontier town of Schenectady, had massacred the people, and had burned the town.

The Leisler movement was in part the outgrowth of the anti-Catholic wave that swept over England and her colonies during the reign of James II, and Leisler's vivid imagination greatly magnified the danger of a general religious war. He called for the election of an assembly to vote taxes for the pending war with Canada, but many of the people denied his authority and refused to respond.

¹ Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, Vol. I, p. 47.

Leisler's next step was one that marked the beginning of great things. He called for a meeting in New York of delegates from all the colonies to make preparations for the war, and the seven delegates that met, chiefly from New England, constituted the first colonial congress in America. They took counsel concerning the war, which will be mentioned in our chapter on colonial wars. The clouds were now darkening around the head of Leisler, and his career was almost over.

First Colo-
nial Con-
gress, 1690

In 1691 Henry Sloughter, the new governor, arrived in New York; his agent, who had landed some weeks before him, demanded the surrender of the fort. But the lieutenant could not prove his authority, and Leisler refused to surrender. At length, when Sloughter arrived, Leisler yielded to his authority and quiet was soon restored. But Leisler's enemies were determined on his destruction. He and his son-in-law had been cast into prison, and tradition informs us that Governor Sloughter, a weak and worthless man, was induced to sign their death warrants while intoxicated. Before the governor had fully recovered his senses, Leisler and Milborne were taken from the prison and hanged. Doubtless Leisler had been legally in the wrong in seizing the government; but his intentions were undoubtedly good, and his execution, after all danger was past, was little else than political murder. It created two hostile factions in New York which continued for many years.

Execution of
Leisler

With the passing of Leisler the royal government was restored, and the people for the first time secured the right to take part in their government. It was permanent and, as in the other colonies, the assembly steadily gained power at the expense of the governor. The royal governors sent to New York were, for the most part, men without principle or interest in the welfare of the people. A rare exception we find in the Earl of Bello-mont. His brief three years at the close of the century as governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire were all too brief for the people, who had learned to love him as few royal governors were loved. His successor, Lord Cornbury, was probably the most dissolute rascal ever sent to govern an American colony, not even excepting the infamous Sothel of the Carolinas.

An event of great interest occurred in New York in 1735, known as the Zenger case. Governor Cosby had entered suit before the Supreme Court of New York to obtain a sum of

money and had lost. He then removed the judge and appointed a new one, thus offending the popular party. Peter Zenger, the publisher of a newspaper, the *New York Weekly Journal*, attacked the governor through its columns and severely criticised his action. The governor was enraged at these attacks, and he ordered the paper burned and the editor arrested for libel. At the trial, Zenger was defended by Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, the greatest lawyer in America. The justice of the cause and the eloquence of Hamilton won the jury and resulted in a complete victory for the accused editor.

The Zenger case, 1735

A few years after Zenger's case was settled, New York society was greatly convulsed by the so-called Negro Plot.

This was a craze similar to the witchcraft delusion which had swept over Massachusetts half a century before. It had its origin in a general belief that the

Negro Plot, 1741

Spanish Catholic priests, in league with the slave population, were planning to burn the city. The fear spread; the whole community went mad, and before the storm abated, twenty-two persons, four of whom were whites, had been hanged, thirteen negroes burnt at the stake, and a large number transported. The craze soon passed away and the people recovered their normal senses. The account of this affair constitutes the most deplorable chapter in the history of New York. It is now believed that no plot to burn the city existed, and that every one who suffered on account of the delusion was innocent.

The province of New York grew steadily to the time of the Revolution. Every decade witnessed the coming of home seekers in large numbers to the valley of the Hudson.

Growth of New York

French Protestants, Scotch, Irish, Scotch-Irish, refugees from the Rhenish palatinate, and others spread over the beautiful river valleys; but the great majority of the people were English and Dutch. By 1750 the population was probably eighty thousand and this number was more than doubled by the opening years of the Revolution.

New York City was a busy mart indeed, containing some twelve thousand people in 1750; and more than five hundred vessels, great and small, plowed the waters that half surrounded it. The city was the political, social, and business center of the province. Among its leading figures in winter were great landholders of the Hudson Valley and Long Island, who spent their summers on their estates. But the great middle class, composed chiefly of tradesmen of every grade, made up the majority of the population.

NEW JERSEY

The first settlements in New Jersey were made by the Dutch along the western bank of the Hudson, with one on the Delaware at Fort Nassau; but these settlements were insignificant, and the history of the colony properly begins with the occupation of the territory by the English. New Jersey was included in the grant of Charles II to his brother James, the Duke of York, in 1664. The same year James disposed of the province to two of his friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and it was named New Jersey in honor of the latter, who had been governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel. The next year Carteret began to colonize his new possessions. He sent his nephew, Philip Carteret, as governor, who with a company of emigrants made the first settlement at Elizabethtown, so named in honor of Sir George's wife. A still larger number came from New England, especially from New Haven, because of the great dissatisfaction in that colony with its forced union with Connecticut. These Puritans founded Newark and adjacent towns.

Carteret granted a form of government by what was known as the "Concessions." This granted religious liberty to Englishmen in the new colony, and a government to be carried on by a governor, council, and an assembly of twelve to be chosen by the people; no taxes were to be laid without the consent of the assembly. A farm, free for five years, was offered to any one "having a good musket . . . and six months' provisions,"¹ who should embark with the governor or meet him on his arrival; while those who came later were to pay a half-penny an acre quitrent. The first assembly met in 1668, and the severity of the code of laws adopted plainly indicated the Puritan domination of the colony. After a session of but five days it adjourned, and met no more for seven years. The first quitrents fell due in 1670; but many of the settlers refused to pay rent, claiming to have received their lands from the Indians, the real owners, or basing their right to titles confirmed by Governor Nicolls of New York. The people rose in rebellion, elected an illegal assembly, and called James Carteret, illegitimate son of the proprietor, to be their governor. But Sir George did not sustain his son, and the rebellious government fell to the ground.

The settlers, however, quietly tilled their farms and gave little heed to matters of government. Not even the reconquest of New

¹ One seventh of the land was to be reserved for the proprietors and two hundred acres in each parish for the minister. See Winsor, Vol. III, p. 424.

York (which included New Jersey) by the Dutch, in 1673, caused any serious disturbance of the New Jersey farmers. The constant conflict between Carteret and his colony discouraged Lord Berkeley, and he sold his interest in the province to two English Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge. The latter soon became a bankrupt, and his share passed into the hands of trustees, the most prominent of whom was William Penn — and thus we are introduced to the most famous of American colony builders.

The province was later divided into two parts: East Jersey, which was retained by Carteret, and West Jersey, which now became the property of the Quakers. The line between them was drawn directly from Little Egg Harbor to the Delaware Water Gap. Two wholly separate governments were now set up, and they were as different as white and black. The stern New England Puritans had settled in East Jersey in sufficient numbers to give coloring to the laws, and in these laws (enacted by the first assembly before the division) we find enumerated thirteen crimes for which the penalty was death. In West Jersey the government was exceedingly mild. A code of laws with the name of Penn at the top gave all power to the people, and made no mention of capital punishment. This was the first example of Quaker legislation in America.

In 1680 George Carteret died, and two years later East Jersey was sold at auction to twelve men, one of whom was William Penn. Each of these twelve men sold half his interest to another man, and thus East Jersey came to have twenty-four proprietors, and they chose Robert Barclay, a Scotch Quaker, governor for life. Everything went smoothly under their mild government; but this tranquillity was soon to end.

When James II became king of England he demanded the charters of the Jerseys on writs of *quo warranto*, leaving the ownership of the soil to the people, and united East and West Jersey to New York and New England under the government of Andros. The fall of the king and the expulsion of Andros left the Jerseys in a state of anarchy, and so they continued for more than ten years. The heirs of Carteret and the Quakers laid claim to the colony, and New York made a similar claim. After a long season of confusion it was decided to surrender the whole colony to the Crown, and in 1702 New Jersey became a royal province. Queen Anne, who was now the reigning monarch, extended the juris-

Jersey divided, 1676, into two governments

New Jersey becomes a royal province, 1702

diction of New York's governor over New Jersey, and this arrangement continued for thirty-six years. In 1738, the two colonies were finally separated.

New Jersey, numbering some seventy-five thousand inhabitants in 1760 was settled almost wholly by English people. A few Dutch, Swedes, and Germans were scattered here and there, but not in such numbers as to affect society. The Quakers occupied the western part, while the eastern portion was settled by emigrants from England, New England, and a few from Scotland and the southern colonies. Almost the entire population were farmers. The numerous towns were little more than centers of farming communities. The colony was guarded, as it were, on the east and west by the two great colonies of New York and Pennsylvania, and it escaped those peculiar perils of frontier life with which most of the other settlements had to contend. This was doubtless the chief cause of its rapid growth. New Jersey was also singularly free from Indian wars, the people living on the most friendly terms with the red men, with whom they kept up a profitable trade in furs and game.

Growth of
New Jersey

DELAWARE

The soil of the little state of Delaware had more claimants than that of any other of the thirteen original colonies. It lies along the great bay and river of the same name, and its importance consisted in its command of these waterways and of the great fertile valley drained by them. It was first claimed by the Dutch on the ground of Hudson's discovery, next by the Swedes, who made the first permanent settlement, and finally it came into the possession of the English. Among the English, Delaware was claimed by Lord Baltimore as part of Maryland; it became the property of the Duke of York, and was sold by him to William Penn; and only after the Revolution did the inhabitants of Delaware become the owners. Of the original thirteen states Delaware was the only one, except New York, that was founded by any other than the English race.

The first settlement in the territory that afterward became Delaware was made by the Dutch in 1631. They were sent by De Vries, a noted Dutch colonizer and one of the patroons of New Amsterdam. Between thirty and forty colonists settled on the Delaware Bay near the site of Lewes, but they were led into a foolish quarrel with the Indians and were massacred to the last

man. The quarrel began from a most trivial cause. The Dutch had set up a tin plate bearing the arms of Holland. An Indian, without knowing its meaning, thoughtlessly destroyed it. The Dutch considered this an insult to their nation and demanded that the offender be given up. Thus began the trouble which resulted in the destruction of the whole colony. When De Vries came the following year to visit his colony, he found nothing but heaps of ashes and charred bones.

Even before this unfortunate occurrence the Swedes, under the guidance of the greatest of Sweden's kings, Gustavus Adolphus, were planning to colonize the western bank of the Delaware.¹ It was resolved to "invite colonists from all the other nations of Europe," to exclude slavery, and to make the colony a home for the oppressed of all Christendom. The Swedish king incorporated a company in 1627, took a deep interest in the project, and pronounced it "the jewel of his kingdom."

But the Thirty Years' War was raging in Germany and Gustavus Adolphus determined to invade that country in defense of Protestantism. In 1632, at the battle of Lutzen, his great life came to a close, and Swedish colonization in America was checked, but not abandoned. The fortunes of Sweden now fell into the hands of Oxenstiern, the executor and chief minister of the dead king. Oxenstiern, one of the greatest statesmen of his time and scarcely less able than his fallen chief, now renewed the patent of the company, extended its benefits to Germany, and secured the services of Peter Minuit, former governor of New Amsterdam, to lead his colony to the New World.

The colonists sailed in two vessels, and reached New Sweden, as they called the new land, early in the year 1638. They built

Coming of the Swedes, 1638 a fort on the site of Wilmington and named it Christina after the child queen of their native land. They purchased lands of the Indians on the western side of the Delaware as far up as a point opposite Trenton, founded a town on the site of Philadelphia, built churches here and there, and soon presented the appearance of a happy and prosperous community. But trouble soon came. The Dutch claimed the entire Delaware Valley as part of New Netherland and Governor Kieft protested vigorously at the time the Swedes made their

¹ See Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 502. William Usselinx, a Hollander, was one of the founders of the Dutch West India Company, and was the first to lead Sweden into this enterprise. Refused a charter by his own country, he turned to Sweden and became one of the projectors of the new company. Sweden's only right to American soil lay in the assumption that unappropriated lands were common property. See Jameson, in *American Historical Association Papers*, II.

settlement; but Sweden was too powerful a nation at that time to be defied, and the colony was left for the time unmolested.

New Sweden grew by immigration and spread over the surrounding country. John Printz, one of the early governors, made his headquarters on the island of Tinicum, twelve miles below Philadelphia, drove from the Delaware Bay a band of would-be settlers from New England, and displayed an aggressive spirit in general. It seemed for a time that the whole Delaware Valley would be settled and held by the Scandinavians. But the Dutch were jealous; they came and built Fort Casimir where New Castle now stands, and thus took control of the bay. Soon, however, a Swedish war vessel entered the bay and put an end to the Dutch fort. The blustering Stuyvesant was now governor of New Amsterdam, and he determined to avenge the insult and put an end to New Sweden. He entered the bay with a fleet bearing over six hundred men. The Swedes, who numbered but seven hundred in all, were overawed and New Sweden, which had existed seventeen years, ceased to exist as a separate colony. The people, however, were permitted to retain possession of their farms, and the community continued to prosper under its new government. The Swedes eventually scattered to various parts and lost their identity and their language; but, like the Huguenots and the Salzburger, they infused an element of strength into the veins of the future American.

Stuyvesant
conquers
New Swe-
den, 1655

The conquest of New Amsterdam by the English, in 1664, included Delaware, which now became the property of the Duke of York. The Duke's Laws, framed by Nicolls for New York, were at length extended to Delaware, and the people were granted some measure of self-government. In 1682, however, the year of the founding of Pennsylvania, the duke sold Delaware to William Penn, and the colony, which came to be called the "Three Lower Counties" or the "Territories," was the same year annexed to Pennsylvania. From this time it was in possession of the Penns and had no separate governor. Though the colony secured a separate legislature in 1702, under a charter of privileges granted by Penn, its history to the time of the Revolution was identified with that of its great neighbor to the North.

PENNSYLVANIA

The idea of founding a separate colony in America as a refuge for persecuted Quakers was not original with William Penn, but

with George Fox, the founder of the sect. Fox was a man of intense religious fervor and of wonderful personal magnetism.

George Fox Greatly troubled in conscience, he sought rest for his unquiet soul in the Established Church, then among the Dissenters, and finally, after a most diligent study of the Bible, he felt that the "inner light" had dawned upon him, and he went forth to preach to the world. He began preaching at the age of twenty years, in 1644, the year in which William Penn was born. His sincerity was unquestioned and his fervor was contagious; he became the founder of a sect, the leading spirit of one of the greatest religious movements of the seventeenth century. The times seemed ripe for such an awakening, and within forty years from the time that Fox began preaching his followers numbered seventy thousand.

The Quakers refused to recognize any social rank or to pay taxes to carry on wars, and they met with great opposition from the beginning; their meetings were often dispersed by armed men; an act of Parliament pronounced them a "mischievous and dangerous people." It was not long before the Quakers, driven by persecution, began to migrate to America. Their reception in Massachusetts and elsewhere was anything but cordial, and this led them to turn their attention to founding a colony of their own. Most of the followers of Fox came from the humble walks of life, and they were greatly elated when the talented young son of Admiral Penn, a personal friend of the king, became an open convert to their society. The admiral at first stormed at his son for taking this step. The king was about to raise the elder Penn to the peerage, but when he heard that the son had become a Quaker, he drew back. Thus was increased the fury of the father against his son. But his anger was short-lived; at length he forgave him, and William Penn soon became the most prominent Quaker in England. His experience in New Jersey we have noted; but owing to the various contentions of that colony with New York and to the want of clear land titles, home seekers were rather repelled than invited, and Penn cast a wistful eye to the fair lands beyond the Delaware.

The king of England was indebted to Admiral Penn to the sum of £16,000, and William Penn, on the death of his father, inherited the claim. At Penn's request King Charles granted him, in payment of this claim, a tract of forty thousand square miles in America. In the petition to the king, dated June, 1680, Penn asked for the territory west of the Delaware River

and from the northern boundary of Maryland to the north "as far as plantable, which is altogether Indian." It was the largest grant ever made to one man in America. The charter was granted the following March. Penn had chosen the name New Wales for his province, but the king called it Pennsylvania in memory of the deceased admiral.¹ The boundaries of the colony, as given in the charter, became the subject of the most serious dispute, and the matter was not fully settled for nearly a hundred years.

The dispute between Lord Baltimore and Penn began the same year in which the charter was granted, the former claiming that the fortieth degree fell north of Philadelphia, whereas the king in granting the charter had supposed it would fall at the head of Delaware Bay. Penn therefore insisted that the line be fixed where it was supposed to be, and after a long contention the matter was settled in his favor. The boundary line, however, was not determined until many years later — long after Penn and Baltimore were in their graves. It was not until 1767 that two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, completed this line, which has since borne their names, and which, after acquiring a new meaning, became the most famous boundary line in the New World.²

¹ Penn came near being the author of the name of his colony. When "New Wales" was abandoned he suggested "Sylvania" (from the Latin word *sylva*, a forest) and the king added the prefix, "Penn."

² The province was to extend five degrees westward from the Delaware River; and "the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northward and Westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern latitude." (See Poore's *Charters*, Vol. II, p. 1510.) Just what the "beginning of the three and fortieth" and the "beginning of the fortieth" degrees meant was not clear. Penn, finding that the fortieth degree fell too far north to give him a harbor on the Chesapeake, contended that the "beginning" of the fortieth degree did not mean the fortieth degree, and he won in part; but it cost him dearly, for, although the charter set the northern boundary at the "beginning of the forty-third degree," which would have thrown it north of Buffalo, it was finally fixed at the forty-second degree. In 1732 the heirs of Penn and Baltimore signed an agreement that the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland be run due west from the tangent of the western boundary of Delaware with the arc twelve miles from New Castle. Many years of further wrangling followed, when it was decided to employ the two expert surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who fixed the line at 39° 44' and extended it westward about 250 miles. At intervals of a mile small cut stones were set in the ground; each stone had a large "P" carved on the north side, and a "B" on the south side. Every five miles was placed a larger stone bearing the Pennsylvania coat of arms on one side and that of Lord Baltimore on the other. These stones were cut in England and afterward brought to the colonies. A few of them still stand, but time has crumbled many of them; others have been carried away piecemeal by relic hunters, and a few are doing service as steps before the doors of farmhouses along the route.

When the Mason and Dixon line was fixed, both Pennsylvania and Maryland were slave colonies. In later years Pennsylvania emancipated her slaves, while Maryland retained hers and went with the South. During the half-century preceding the Civil War,

Of all the colony builders of America the most famous in our history is Penn. Nor was he excelled by any in sincerity of purpose and loftiness of aim. His province was a princely domain, a vast fertile region traversed by beautiful rivers and lofty mountain ranges, and holding beneath the soil a wealth of minerals unequaled by all the other colonies combined. The colony was rightly named, for it was one vast forest, extending from the Delaware over the Appalachian Mountain system, down its western slope and far into the Ohio Valley. It was inhabited by Indians alone, except for a few Swedish hamlets along the lower Delaware, the inhabitants of which, some five hundred in number, Penn pronounced a "strong, industrious people." Penn was granted ample power for the government of his new possessions, the king requiring, as a token of allegiance, two beaver skins each year, and also a fifth of the gold and silver that might be mined. In this feature the charter reminds us of the charter of Maryland. The proprietor was clothed with the power to establish courts, appoint judges, to train soldiers, to wage wars, and to make laws; but the king retained the veto power and, unlike all the other colonial charters, the power of taxing the people of the colony was reserved to the English Parliament. This provision remained a dead letter until the approach of the Revolution, when it became very significant.¹ A strange omission of this charter was its failure to guarantee the settlers the rights of Englishmen, as did the other charters. To gain an outlet to the sea Penn purchased of the Duke of York the three counties of Delaware, as we have seen.

That Penn was a religious enthusiast and a true philanthropist is well known; that he was a man of the world whose secondary object, private gain, was never lost sight of, is not so well known, but equally true.² His venture in colony planting was soon published widely over England. He drew up a frame of government and offered a liberal share of the government to the colonists. He also offered five thousand acres for one hundred pounds and one hundred acres for two pounds, subject to a small quitrent. Penn appointed his relative, William Markham, the first governor of Pennsylvania, and in the autumn of 1681 sent

the original limits and meaning of the line were lost sight of; no one thought of it as a boundary between two states, but rather as the boundary between the free and slave states.

¹ See Poore's *Charters*, p. 1515.

² See Shepherd, *Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania*, p. 174.

him ahead with three shiploads of emigrants. Markham bore an affectionate letter from the proprietor to the Swedes in which he said, "You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober, industrious people."

The year after Markham's voyage Penn himself followed him to the New World in the ship *Welcome*. The passengers numbered about a hundred, one third of whom died of smallpox on the ocean. The *Welcome* sailed up the Delaware and landed at New Castle in the autumn of 1682. Penn was received with a cordial greeting by the inhabitants; he produced his royal patent, which transferred the territory from the duke to himself, and spoke so kindly to the people that he readily won their hearts. Reaching Chester, he called a provisional legislature, and some time was spent in allotting lands and framing laws. Proceeding up the Delaware, he came to the site on which was to rise the city of Philadelphia, soon to become the chief city in colonial America, and in a later generation the birthplace of independence and of the Constitution of the United States. Here already stood a Swedish village, and a Lutheran church at Wicaco,¹ and here Penn decided to build a city and make it the capital of his province. He purchased from the Swedes the neck of land between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers, and in the early months of 1683 the streets of the new city were laid out. The growth of Philadelphia was phenomenal. In less than four years it passed New York, which had been founded sixty years before.

Penn's
arrival

It was a few months after this time that Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians under a great elm tree on the banks of the Delaware, a short distance north of the newly founded city.² The Indians were of the Delaware or Lenni-Lenape tribe. The chiefs sat in a semicircle on the ground, says tradition,³ while Penn, with a few unarmed attendants, all in their Quaker garb, addressed them as friends and brothers, compared the white and red men to the different members of the human body, and made a pledge to live in peace and friendship with them. These children of the forest were deeply touched by the sincerity and open candor of the great Englishman, and they answered through a chief that they would

Penn's
treaty

¹ This church still stands near the bank of the Delaware and is one of the most interesting landmarks in Philadelphia.

² The city has long since absorbed the place. The elm was blown down in 1810 and a beautiful monument now marks the spot.

³ This tradition is doubtless based on Benjamin West's painting. See Fisher, *True William Penn*, pp. 242-245.

"live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon give light."

These mutual vows constituted the treaty; no written words were required and no oath was taken. Yet this sacred treaty was kept unbroken till long after those who had made it had passed away. It was said that the Quaker dress was a better protection among the Indians than a musket, and that when an Indian wished to pay the highest compliment to a white man, he would say, "He is like William Penn."¹

In the early spring of 1683 the legislature of the colony met in Philadelphia. The proprietor presented a new frame of government, giving all power of lawmaking into the hands of the people represented by a council which should originate all laws and an assembly that should approve them. All freemen were made citizens and all Christians were freemen, except servants and convicts. A law was passed uniting the "Lower counties" to Pennsylvania and naturalizing the Swedes. Penn was voted the veto power for life. Laws were made for the training of children, the useful employment of criminals, religious toleration — and all were in keeping with the humane spirit of the proprietor.

Penn established a home in Philadelphia, and there would he gladly have spent his life; but his trouble with Baltimore took him back to England in the summer of 1684, and his business kept him there for fifteen years. After the English Revolution Penn was suspected of giving aid and comfort to the dethroned monarch whose brother had granted him his charter, and in 1692 he was deprived of his colony. The control of Pennsylvania was then placed in the hands of Governor Fletcher of New York. But nearly two years later, when the charges against Penn were removed, his right to Pennsylvania was restored. In 1696 Markham granted a new frame of government, in which the power to originate legislation was taken from the council and given to the assembly. Again, in 1699, William Penn crossed the Atlantic

¹ Governor Markham had already treated with the Indians for the purchase of lands, and Penn, on various occasions after this meeting at Shackamaxon, made bargains with them for lands, the most famous of which was the "Walking Purchase." By this he was to receive a tract of land extending as far from the Delaware as a man could walk in three days. Penn and a few friends, with a body of Indians, walked about thirty miles in a day and a half and as he needed no more land at the time, the matter was left to be finished at some future time. In 1733, long after Penn's death, the other day and a half was walked out in a very different spirit. The whites employed the three fastest walkers that could be found, offering each five hundred acres of land. One of them was exhausted and died in a few days, another injured himself for life, but the third, a famous hunter named Marshall, walked over sixty miles in the day and a half, greatly to the chagrin of the Indians. See Walton and Brumbaugh, *Stories of Pennsylvania*, p. 39.

to visit his growing family in the forests of Pennsylvania, and he found that vast changes had been wrought in his absence. Twenty thousand people had made their homes in his province. The city that he had founded was fast rising to importance, and the wilderness of the river valley was dotted with farms. Here he found not only his fellow Quakers, but Germans from the Rhine, Swedes, and Dutch, together laying the foundation of a great commonwealth.

The great-souled proprietor had been deeply humbled since last he saw the fair lands of Pennsylvania — he had lost his faithful wife and eldest son, he had lost his fortune, and he had borne the charge of treason against his native country. And now to these was added another sorrow — the people of his province had been weaned away from him during the intervening years; he was no longer "Father Penn" as he had been before; they clamored for even greater freedom than his generous soul had granted them at first, and to this was added the demand of Delaware for a separate government.¹ Penn was grieved, but he granted these requests. He gave to Delaware a separate legislature, and to Pennsylvania a new government. The form of government that Penn now conferred upon his colonists practically transferred all power to the people, subject to their allegiance to the Crown and the veto power of the governor. It eliminated the council as a legislative body, leaving it but little influence as an advisory board to the governor. It also defined the rights of prisoners, granted liberty of conscience, and made provision for amendments. This constitution remained in force for seventy-five years — until the War for Independence.

In 1701 Penn bade a final adieu to his beloved Pennsylvania and sailed again for his native land. But even now, after his long years of turmoil, it was not for him to spend his old age in rest and quiet. On reaching England, ^{Penn's misfortunes} he found that he had been robbed of the remnant of his fortune by an unjust steward, and later he was thrown into prison for debt. In earlier manhood he had suffered various imprisonments for conscience' sake, but now he chafed under confinement and to secure his release he mortgaged his province in the New World. But still other misfortunes awaited him. He was stricken with paralysis, and for years he lay a helpless invalid, dying in 1718 at the age of seventy-four.

¹ Delaware had been granted a separate government as early as 1691, but the following year Governor Fletcher, of New York, reunited it to Pennsylvania.

The character of Penn is one of the most admirable in history. It is difficult to find a man, especially one whose life is spent in the midst of political turmoil and governmental strife, so utterly incorruptible as was William Penn. When on the threshold of manhood, and the flush of youth was on his cheek, the allurements of wealth and station and of royal favor beckoned him to a life of ease and pleasure; but he turned away from them all and chose to cast his lot with a persecuted people — purely for conscience' sake. No allurements of Pharaoh's court, no threats of an angry father, nor frowning walls of a prison-cell could shake his high-born purpose to serve God in the way that seemed right to him. His life was full of light and shadow. He suffered much, but he also accomplished much — far more than the age in which he lived was ready to acknowledge. He founded a government based on the eternal principle of equal human rights, with its sole object the freedom and happiness of its people. That alone was sufficient to give him a name in history.

Thirty-seven years elapsed between the founding of Pennsylvania and the death of the founder, and he spent but four of these years in America; yet we are wont to regard William Penn almost as truly an American as was Franklin or Washington, and in the annals of our country his name must ever hold a place among the immortals.

The growth of Pennsylvania was more rapid than that of any other of the thirteen colonies, and though it was the last to be founded save one, it soon came to rank with the most important; at the coming of the Revolution it stood third in population. Penn willed the colony to his three sons, John, Thomas, and Richard, and these with their successors held it until after the Revolution. In the early part of the eighteenth century a great number of palatine Germans, driven from their homes by religious wars, found their way to Pennsylvania, settled Germantown (since absorbed by Philadelphia), and scattered over the Schuylkill and Lehigh valleys. The English were for a time alarmed at the influx of such numbers of a foreign people; but they were not long in discovering that these Germans chiefly of the Lutheran faith, were an industrious, peace-loving people, fairly educated and, while wholly unostentatious, as sincerely religious as the Puritan or the Quaker.

Still greater during this period was the stream of Scotch-Irish from Ulster. These hardy Scotch Presbyterians, who had occu-

pied northern Ireland for two or three generations, were being curbed in their industries for the protection of English industries and annoyed by petty religious persecution. They came to America in great numbers — so great as to form more than half the population of Pennsylvania, and many thousands of their numbers passed on to the southern colonies, settling along the coast and in the wilderness of Kentucky and Tennessee. In Pennsylvania they settled chiefly on the plains and mountain slopes west and south of the Susquehanna. The Scotch-Irish, as well as the Germans and others, were attracted to Pennsylvania because of the liberal, humane government inaugurated by William Penn. Slavery was never popular in Pennsylvania, and the number of slaves was kept down by strict laws against their importation. Before the Revolution many of them had been set free by their masters. Of Redemptioners, mostly Germans and Irish, there were probably more in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century than in any other colony. The majority of them, after their period of servitude, became useful citizens.

During the long period of its colonial youth, we find in Pennsylvania the same kind of quarreling between the people and the governors, the same vagaries in issuing paper money, the same unbridled spirit of freedom, the same monotonous history, as we find in most of the other colonies. Among her governors we find in the early period no really great men, but in 1723 there arrived in Philadelphia a young man from Boston who soon rose to be the leading figure in the colony, and so he continued for more than half a century. This was Benjamin Franklin, who, it may be said, was the greatest character of colonial America.

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CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE OF TWO NATIONS FOR A CONTINENT

IN all the history of the world no other nations contended with each other so often and so long as the two greatest powers of Europe of this period — France and England. Though friends and allies in the recent World War, they had for ages been enemies more often perhaps than friends. The Hundred Years' War, with its intervals of peace, covered the latter part of the Middle Ages and ended in 1453, the year that marks the fall of Constantinople. Later they were at war again and again for more than a century, until the downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. This last series of wars was waged in a large measure for the possession of North America.

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS

Before the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers, or even the founding of Jamestown, the French had made a beginning toward the occupation of Canada. At the moment when Henry Hudson was bartering with the Indians along the banks of the Hudson, Champlain was but a few miles away, exploring the beautiful lake that bears his name; and the year before that he had established a post on a rocky cliff overlooking the majestic St. Lawrence, and had named it Quebec.¹ For many years thereafter the French came in small numbers, scattering through the wilderness, trading in furs, and seeking to convert the Indians to Christianity. The conversion of the Indians became the care of the French government, and the work was intrusted to the Jesuit priests — men who would brave every peril to carry the religion of Rome to the benighted red man. They established missions in many places and at the same time made useful explorations through the great northern

¹ As early as 1534 Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the site of Montreal, and Roberval made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony near the site of Quebec in 1542. The French planted a colony of prisoners on Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia, in 1598, and De Monts settled a colony in Acadia in 1604; but neither colony was permanent. Champlain had made a previous exploring tour (1603) to the American coast,

wilderness. In 1634 Jean Nicollet, sent by Champlain, discovered Lake Michigan. Other Frenchmen discovered Lake Superior and portions of the boundless regions west and south of it.

In 1666 one of these, Father Allouez, went far into the lake region, beyond the head of Lake Superior, and while there he heard of the vast, treeless plains of Illinois and of the great river beyond that flowed toward the south.

Allouez,
1666

Returning to Quebec, Allouez related what he had heard, and the hearts of others were fired with a desire to explore the great valley in the southwest. Among these was Father James Marquette, who had recently come from France.

With another Jesuit priest named Joliet and a few guides and companions, he determined to explore the western wilderness, where no white man's foot had

Marquette
and Joliet,
1673

been. They ascended the Fox River, carried their canoes across the portage to the Wisconsin, and floated down this stream to the Mississippi. They then launched their little boats upon its bosom and floated for hundreds of miles with its current. The shores were covered with dense forests abounding in wild animals, or stretched away in boundless, grassy plains, with here and there the well-known traces of the red children of the forest. On they floated, past the mouths of the turbid Missouri and of the clear, sparkling Ohio, and still on until the semi-tropical plants and breezes replaced those of the rigorous climate of the north. When they reached the mouth of the Arkansas, they decided to retrace their steps, and the toilsome work of rowing up-stream was begun. After a weary journey of many weeks they reached the Illinois River and, ascending it, they crossed the country to Lake Michigan. Joliet now hastened back to Canada to tell of their discoveries, while the self-denying Marquette determined to remain in the wilderness and give his life to the enlightenment of the savages. But his labors were soon to end; one day, as he was kneeling by a rude altar of his own making, his spirit passed away, and his friends found his lifeless body in the attitude of prayer (1675).

Of still greater importance were the achievements of Robert Cavelier de La Salle, a young Frenchman born at Rouen, France. While yet a young man he migrated to Canada. Inflamed with the news of Marquette's discoveries, he determined to explore the great western country, and thus to secure it for his king. La Salle was probably the first of his nation to plan the

La Salle
reaches
mouth of
Mississippi,
1682

holding of the entire Mississippi basin and the lake region by means of military posts. He received permission from Louis XIV to occupy and explore the great valley of the Mississippi. In the spring of 1682 he began one of the most famous exploring tours in the early history of our country. Taking with him a few companions, he floated down the Mississippi, and reaching the mouth of the river on April 9, 1682, took possession of its vast basin in the name of France, calling it "Louisiana" in honor of the king. He then made the long and weary journey back to Quebec, and thence sailed to France, where he soon succeeded in interesting his king in planting a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The king sent La Salle back with four vessels, one of which was an armed frigate, bearing nearly three hundred colonists. It is said that the French king expended more money in fitting out this colony than did all the English sovereigns combined in planting their thirteen colonies in North America.

The little fleet sailed into the Gulf of Mexico, but missed the mouth of the great river and landed on the shore of Texas. One of the vessels was wrecked. Many of the voyagers returned to France, but the dauntless La Salle with a small company remained, built a fort, and spent some months in a fruitless search for the Mississippi. Contentions arose among the men, and one day La Salle was murdered by two of his own countrymen. Thus perished this ambitious Frenchman; his body was left to molder in the wilderness; his dream was unrealized, but his name, in connection with the greatest of American rivers, has a place in history second only to that of De Soto.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1690-1697)

King James II of England, unlike his profligate brother, Charles II, was extremely religious, and his religion was that of Rome. The large majority of the people of England were Protestants; but they would have submitted to a Catholic king had he not used his official power to convert the nation to Catholicism. From the time of James's accession, in 1685, the unrest increased until, three years later, the opposition was so formidable that the monarch fled from his kingdom and took refuge in France. The daughter of James and her husband, the Prince of Orange, became the joint sovereigns of England as William and Mary. This movement is known in history as the English Revolution.

Louis XIV, the king of France, was a Catholic and in full sympathy with James. Moreover, he denied the right of a people

to change sovereigns, and espoused the cause of James; war between the two nations followed. This war was reflected in America, as King William rejected an offer of colonial neutrality, and it is known as "King William's War." The English colonies had long watched the French encroachments on the north; the French determined to hold the St. Lawrence country, and to extend their power over the vast basin of the Mississippi; and each was jealous of the other concerning the fisheries and the fur trade. To these differences must be added an intense religious feeling. The English colonies were almost wholly Protestant except Maryland, and even in Maryland the Protestants were in a large majority. New France was purely Catholic, and the two forms of Christianity had not yet learned to dwell together, or near together, in harmony. King James had not confined his designs to the home country; he had not only revoked some of the colonial charters and sent the tyrant Andros to domineer New England, but he had instructed his Catholic governor of New York, Dongan, to introduce the Catholic religion into the colony and to influence the Iroquois to admit Jesuit teachers among them. It was at this time that Leisler seized the government of New York and called the first colonial congress. Exasperated by these things, the English colonists were eager for the conflict, while the French Canadians were equally ready to grapple with them. King William's War was very different in aim and meaning in the colonies from what it was beyond the Atlantic. In America it was the first of several fierce contests, covering seventy years; or, it may be said, it was the beginning of a seventy years' war, with intervals of peace, for supremacy in North America.

The war began by a series of Indian massacres instigated by Frontenac, the governor of Canada. The first of these was the destruction of Dover, New Hampshire, a town of fifty inhabitants. One night in July, 1689, two squaws came to the home of the aged Major Waldron and begged a night's lodging. Being admitted, they rose in the night and let in a large number of Indians who lay in ambush. Waldron was put to death with frightful tortures, the town was burned to the ground, about half the people were massacred, and the remainder were carried away and sold into slavery. In the following month Pemaquid, Maine, met a similar fate. In February, 1690, a body of French and Indians, sent by Frontenac, came to the town of Schenectady on the Mohawk. For nearly a month they had faced the wintry blasts, plowing their way

Indian
massacres

through the deep snow on their mission of destruction. At midnight they fell with dreadful yells upon the sleeping village. In a few hours all was over; the town was laid in ashes. More than sixty were massacred, many were taken captive, a few escaped into the night and reached Albany. The towns of Casco and Salmon Falls soon after met a similar fate.

The war spirit was now aroused throughout the colonies. It was determined, through Leisler's congress,¹ to send a land force against Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, and a naval expedition against Quebec. The expenses of the former were borne by Connecticut and New York, and of the latter by Massachusetts. Sir William Phipps of Maine, who had this same year, 1690, captured Port Royal in Nova Scotia, commanded the naval force. He had thirty or more vessels and two thousand men. But the vigilant Frontenac, despite his fourscore years, was on the alert. He successfully repelled the land force, which turned back disheartened, and then hastened to the defense of Quebec. But here he had little to do. Phipps was a weak commander and, after reaching Quebec and finding it well fortified, the fleet returned to Boston without striking an effective blow. The people of Massachusetts were greatly disappointed at the failure of the expedition. The debt of the colony had reached an enormous figure, and to meet it bills of credit, or paper money, were issued to the amount of £40,000. Phipps was soon afterward sent to England to seek aid of the king and a renewal of the old charter that Andros had destroyed. King William was hard pressed at home, and he left the colonies to fight their own battles; he also refused to restore the old charter, but he granted a new one, as we have noticed, and made Phipps the first royal governor of Massachusetts.

The war dragged on for several years longer, but it consisted only in desultory sallies and frontier massacres. The towns of York, Maine, and Durham, New Hampshire, and of Groton, Massachusetts, were the scenes of bloody massacres, and hundreds of people were slain.²

¹ See *supra*, p. 129.

² Many were the heroic deeds of those days of savage warfare. One of the most notable was that of Hannah Dustin, the wife of a farmer near Haverhill, Massachusetts. She saw her home burned by the savages and her infant child dashed to death against a tree, while she and a neighbor named Mary Neff were carried away captive. It was not long before she planned her escape. To prevent being followed and to avenge the murder of her babe, she reached a desperate resolve. Twelve Indians lay asleep about them when she and her companion and a boy, who was also a captive, rose at midnight, and with well-directed blows killed ten of them, sparing only a squaw and a boy, made their escape, and returned to their homes. Mrs. Dustin scalped the dead Indians, and received a bounty of £50 for the scalps.

In 1697 a treaty of peace was signed at Ryswick, a village near The Hague, and the cruel war was temporarily over. Acadia, which had been prematurely incorporated with Massachusetts, was restored to France. But this treaty was only a truce. The English and French nations did not learn to love each other, and the questions in dispute made no progress toward settlement.

Treaty of
Ryswick,
1697

After the death of William and Mary the crown of England was settled (1702) on Anne, the sister of Mary. James, the exiled king, died in 1701, and his son, known as James the Pretender, was proclaimed king of England by the French sovereign. This act alone would have brought another war, but there was another provocation. King Louis of France placed his grandson, Philip of Anjou, on the throne of Spain, and thus greatly increased his power among the dynasties of Europe. This was very distasteful to the English, and the war that followed was known as the War of the Spanish Succession. In America, however, it was called Queen Anne's War.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR (1702-1714)

After this brief season of peace the colonists were obliged to face another long and murderous war. In character this war was similar to that which preceded it, a contest over Acadia and New France, consisting of surprises and bloody massacres. Early in the conflict the coast of Maine was swept by bands of savage red men and equally savage Frenchmen, and hundreds of men, women, and children were tomahawked or carried into captivity. On an intensely cold morning in February, 1704, at daybreak, a party of nearly four hundred French and Indians broke upon the town of Deerfield, and with their terrible war cry began their work of destruction and slaughter. Nearly fifty of the inhabitants were slain, and more than a hundred were carried into captivity.¹ A few years later Haverhill, Massachusetts, met with a fate similar to that of Deerfield.

The
Deerfield
massacre

In 1704 the colonists made an unsuccessful attack by sea on

¹ Among the captives were the minister, Williams, his wife, and five children. Mrs. Williams soon perished by the tomahawk. The rest were afterward rescued, except a seven-year-old daughter. Many years later a white woman in Indian garb appeared at Deerfield. It proved to be the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Williams. She had married a Mohawk chief. Her friends besought her to remain with them, but her heart was with her dusky husband and half-breed children, and no entreaties could influence her to remain with the friends of her childhood.

Port Royal, Acadia, and another in 1707; and three years later the British government, having at last decided to aid the colonies, sent a small fleet under Colonel Nicholson, which was joined by an armament from Boston, and a third attack was made. This was successful: Port Royal surrendered and was named Annapolis in honor of the English queen, while Acadia was henceforth called Nova Scotia.

A beginning of English success was thus made, and the bold scheme of conquering Canada was now conceived. Sir Hoven-
 don Walker arrived at Boston with a fleet and an
 Walker army, and these were augmented by the colonists at the bugle call of Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, until the fleet consisted of nine war vessels, sixty transports, and many smaller craft, bearing in all twelve thousand men. Nothing like it had ever before been seen in American waters. In August, 1711, this imposing fleet moved to the northward, and at the same time a land force of twenty-three hundred men under Colonel Nicholson started for Montreal by way of Lake Champlain.

It would seem that New France must certainly fall before such a power, and all Canada be added to the British dominions in America. But there was one fatal obstacle to success, and that was the want of ability in Admiral Walker. He not only lacked capacity to command such a force, but he was wanting in courage. The whole movement came to nothing. Walker lost eight ships and a thousand men in a dense fog at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and refused to go further, believing that the disaster was a blessing in disguise, a merciful intervention of Providence to save his men from "freezing, starvation, and cannibalism."¹ Nicholson, hearing of the return of the fleet, was greatly enraged; he burned his wooden forts, led his army to Albany, and disbanded it.

Vaudreuil, the governor-general of Canada, had heard of the enemy's approach and had prepared for him as best he could. The people were thrown into a state of wild consternation; but when they heard of the disastrous failure of the fleet, they rejoiced and praised God that He had preserved them and dashed their enemy to pieces, and a solemn mass was ordered to be said every month for a year, to be followed by the song of Moses after the destruction of Pharaoh and his host.²

Both nations were now weary of the war, and the Treaty of

¹ Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict*, Vol. I, p. 170.

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

Utrecht was the result. By this treaty Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory were ceded by France to England; and the Five Nations were acknowledged to be British subjects. The aged king of France used the last efforts in his power to avoid giving up Acadia, but all to no purpose.

Treaty of
Utrecht,
1713

The Treaty of Utrecht was signed April 11, 1713, and, like that of Ryswick sixteen years before, was but a temporary peace. The great problems in America were left unsettled. The treaty fixed no limits to Acadia, nor did it mark the boundary between the British colonies and Canada. These were questions that must sometime be settled; but there was another question of far greater importance, and that was whether France or England would obtain control of the great valley of the Mississippi. The embers of war were thus left unquenched, and the time was sure to come when they would burst forth into flame.¹ The Treaty of Utrecht brought a nominal peace that was unbroken for thirty years; but meantime the two nations, like crouching tigers, made ready each to spring upon the other.

The king of France had sullenly given up his beloved Acadia, but he retained Cape Breton Island, still more important because it commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Here, on a tongue of land in the southeastern portion of the island, the king determined to build a fortress far more imposing than any other in America, and to call it after his own name -- Louisburg. This project was scarcely on foot when Louis XIV died, and the plan was carried out by his successors. The great object of this movement was to furnish a base from which to guard the St. Lawrence Valley against all comers, and to reclaim, if possible, the fair land of Acadia.

Louisburg

But the French did not stop with the founding of Louisburg; they spent this season of peace in strengthening their hold on the Mississippi Valley. As early as 1698 a naval officer named Iberville was sent by his king to carry out the great work attempted by the ambitious La Salle -- to plant a colony on the lower Mississippi. Iberville made great haste lest the English precede him to the coveted land. He reached the mouth of the great river and ascended it for some distance. The chief of an Indian tribe gave him a letter that had been written thirteen years before by Tonty, while searching for the lost colony of La Salle. Iberville found no suitable place on the banks of the river, and planted his colony

The Missis-
sippi Valley

¹ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, p. 117.

on Biloxi Bay. A few years later a colony was planted on Mobile Bay. In 1718 New Orleans was founded by Bienville, a brother of Iberville, and four years later it was made the capital of the vast region known as Louisiana.

France now had two heads, as Parkman says, to her great North American possessions — one amid the Canadian snows and the other in the tropical regions of the south. But two thousand miles of untrodden wilderness lay between the extremes of this boundless domain, and the French knew that to hold it something more than merely claiming it was necessary. They began, therefore, the erection of a chain of forts, or military posts. They built forts at Niagara, Detroit, and other points, to guard the great lakes, and they even encroached on the soil of New York and built a fort at Crown Point. In the Illinois country they founded Vincennes and Kaskaskia, and pushed farther southward, while from the Gulf of Mexico they moved northward, establishing one post after another, until by the middle of the eighteenth century there were more than sixty forts between Montreal and New Orleans. France now claimed all of North America from Mexico and Florida to the Arctic Ocean, except the Hudson Bay region and the narrow English margin on the east between the mountains and the sea; and it must have seemed to human eyes that the future development of the continent must be modeled after the Latin civilization rather than the Anglo-Saxon. But a great struggle was yet to determine the trend of American civilization. Before treating of that, however, we must take note of another preliminary skirmish.

KING GEORGE'S WAR (1744-1748)

This war, known by the above name in America, was but the faint glimmer of the dreadful conflagration that swept over Europe at this time under the name of the War of the Austrian Succession. On the death of Charles VI, emperor of Austria, in 1740, the male line of the House of Hapsburg became extinct, and his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, ascended the Austrian throne. But there were other claimants, and the matter brought on a war of tremendous dimensions, embroiling nearly all the nations of Europe. Again we find France and England on opposite sides, war being declared between them in the spring of 1744. Of this great war we have little to record here, as little of it occurred in America. Aside from the usual Indian massacres, but one great event marks King George's War — the capture of Louisburg.

Louisburg, as we have noticed, was built on a point of land on Cape Breton Island; it commanded the chief entrance to the greatest of American rivers, except only the "Father of Waters." It was a powerful fortress; it had cost six million dollars, and was twenty years in building. Its walls of solid masonry, from which frowned a hundred cannon, were from twenty to thirty feet high, and their circumference was two and a half miles. The fort was the pride of the French heart in America. It was looked upon as an impregnable fortress that would keep out every intruder and baffle every foe; yet it was reduced and captured by a fleet of little fighting strength, bearing a few thousand soldiers, chiefly New England farmers and fishermen.

The father of the Louisburg expedition was William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and William Pepperell of Maine was its commander. New England furnished the men, while Pennsylvania sent some provisions, and New York a small amount of artillery. The fleet was composed of more than a hundred vessels of various grades, and just before sailing these were joined by four English men-of-war from the West Indies, commanded by Commodore Warren. On the first day of May, 1745, this motley fleet came under the walls of Louisburg. A landing was soon made, and the "men flew to shore like eagles to their quarry." Every effort of the French to drive them back was foiled. The artillery was managed by the master engineer, Richard Gridley of Boston, who was to figure in the same capacity in two far greater wars. The siege continued for six weeks, when a French war vessel of sixty-four guns, laden with military stores, came to the rescue of the fort; but she was captured by the English fleet in open view of the helpless besieged in the fort. This was the final stroke. The garrison could hold out no longer. On the 17th of June the fort and batteries were surrendered, and the British flag soon waved over the walls of Louisburg.

Capture of
Louisburg,
1745

The French king was astonished at the fall of his great fortress in America and determined to recapture it. He sent D'Annville with a fleet for the purpose, but D'Annville died, and his successor committed suicide, and the project came to naught. The next year the king sent another fleet, but it was captured by the English; and then came the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The peace, as arranged at Aix-la-Chapelle, restored to each power what it had possessed before the war — save the great sacrifice of life and treasure — and this meant that Louisburg must be restored to the French. A wave of indignation swept

over the English colonies when they learned that the fruit of their great victory had been quietly handed back, without their knowledge or consent, to the enemy from whom it had been taken; and here we find one of the many remote causes that led the colonists in later years to determine that American affairs must be managed in America and not by a corps of diplomats three thousand miles across the sea, who had little interest in the welfare and future of their kindred in the New World.¹

Treaty of
Aix-la-Cha-
pelle, 1748

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), like its predecessors at Ryswick and Utrecht, failed to settle the vital question between the rival claimants of North America. A commission of two Englishmen and two Frenchmen sat in Paris for many months after this treaty was signed, endeavoring to adjust the French and English boundaries in America; but they labored in vain.

The first subject in dispute was the bounds of Acadia. The Treaty of Utrecht ceded it to England without defining its bounds, and thus planted the seeds of future quarrels. The French now contended that Acadia comprised only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, while the English claimed that the bounds formerly given to it by the French must now be adhered to. By these bounds the vast territory comprising northern Maine, New Brunswick, and a great portion of the St. Lawrence Valley were included in Acadia. While this question was pending, a more important and immediate one came up for solution, namely, the ownership of the Ohio Valley.

This valley of the "Beautiful River" was a princely domain. It extended southward from Lake Erie and westward from the base of the Alleghany Mountains, comprising an endless succession of hills and valleys, watered by innumerable crystal streams, and stretching on and on until it merged at length into the greater valley of the Mississippi. The French claimed this vast region as a part of the great basin of the Mississippi discovered by Marquette and La Salle, and now secured by a cordon of forts from Canada to the sunny

The Ohio
Valley

¹ The English looked at the matter from a different standpoint. Chalmers complains bitterly (Vol. II, p. 253) that England in this war had lost her reputation and had expended £30,000,000 on which she must pay interest — all for the colonists, who had lost nothing, and who ungratefully continued to defraud the mother country by smuggling. He neglects to state that most of this expenditure took place in Europe and had no connection with American affairs.

climate of the Gulf of Mexico. The English claimed it on two grounds, both of which were as shadowy as the claims of the French: first, the early charters of Virginia and of other colonies (based on the Cabot discoveries) which covered the unknown regions westward to the equally unknown "South Sea"; and second, the claims of the Iroquois. The Iroquois had been acknowledged British subjects by the Treaty of Utrecht, and their lands were therefore British territory, and their conquests were considered British conquests. Roving bands of these Indians had, at various times, traversed this western country, and had here and there driven off the natives or gained some trivial victory; and the English now claimed many thousands of square miles in consequence of these "conquests." They "laid claim to every mountain, forest, or prairie where an Iroquois had taken a scalp."¹

The claims of both nations were extravagant in the extreme. If the French had had their way, the English would have been confined to the narrow space between the crest of the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. If the English boundaries had been accepted, the French would have been hemmed within a small portion of Canada, north of the river St. Lawrence.

Both nations were now moving to occupy the Ohio Valley. The governor of Canada sent Céloron de Bienville, who floated down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers with a company of Canadians and Indians, and took formal possession in the name of his king. At the mouth of a river flowing into the Ohio, he would choose a large tree and nail to it a tin plate bearing the arms of France, while at its root he would bury a leaden plate inscribed with the statement that the country belonged to France. This was done at many places along the Ohio.²

Bienville,
1749

During this same year, 1749, the English made a far more rational and tangible move toward securing the coveted territory. The Ohio Company was formed; it was composed of a few wealthy Virginians, to whom King George II granted five hundred thousand acres of land free of rent for ten years, between the Monongahela and Kanawha

Washing-
ton's jour-
ney, 1753

¹ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, p. 125.

² The plate buried at the mouth of the Muskingum was found half a century later by some boys while bathing. Part of it was melted into bullets, and the remainder is now in the cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society. The plate buried at the mouth of the Kanawha was unearched by floods, and was found by a boy in 1846, ninety-seven years after it had been buried. It is in possession of the Historical Society at Richmond, Va. *Ibid.* p. 48.

rivers, on condition that they plant one hundred families and maintain a fort in their new possessions. A little later the French made an important move. They built a fort at Presque Isle, where Erie now stands. Fort Le Bœuf, twenty miles from this, and Venango, on the site of the city of Franklin, Pennsylvania. This action alarmed Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, as Virginia claimed the whole of the Allegheny Valley by right of her charter of 1609. The governor, therefore, determined to make a formal protest against the occupation of this territory by the French, and in choosing a messenger to make the journey to the newly built forts he unconsciously introduced to the future a young man who was destined to hold the first place in the heart of the great nation that was soon to arise in America — George Washington. Washington was a youth of twenty-one years and was adjutant-general of the Virginia militia. He had seen much experience in the woods as a surveyor. He was tall and stalwart, and he not only excelled all his fellows in athletic sports, but was specially noted for his moral character and for his unswerving fidelity to truth and duty. With the strength and vigor of youth, he and a few attendants made this perilous journey through the unbroken forest. Over hills and mountains, swamps and marshes, encountering deep snows and frozen rivers, and every peril of a wilderness yet untrodden by the foot of the pioneer, he carried the letter of Virginia's governor to the French commandant at Fort Le Bœuf. Washington's chief guides were Christopher Gist, a pioneer noted for his great skill in woodcraft, and Half King, an Indian chief whom he found on the banks of the Ohio. He was treated with much kindness by the French commandant, Saint-Pierre, who, however, declared in his answer that he would remain at his post, according to the commands of his general, but promised to send Dinwiddie's letter to Marquis Duquesne, the governor of Canada.

Washington's return trip was full of adventure. Thinking he could make better time, he left his horses and all his guides except Gist, and started out on foot. At an Indian village called Murdering Town they were shot at by a native whom they caught and whom Gist would have killed but for Washington's interference. Reaching the Allegheny River, they attempted to cross on a raft, but Washington was thrown into the current among the ice floes. He regained the raft, thoroughly drenched with the icy waters, and they reached an island in the river, on which they were obliged to spend a bitterly cold night. Next morning the river was frozen over, and they crossed on the ice and were

soon again speeding through the forest. They reached Williamsburg, Virginia, on January 16, whence they had started seventy-eight days before.

Washington thus won the warm favor of his governor and the attention of all Virginia. Before midsummer of this same year, 1754, Washington, in command of a small body of militia near a place called Great Meadows, fired on a body of Frenchmen under the command of Jumonville, and the latter with nine of his men were killed;¹ and the great war opened, which was to shake two continents and to determine the language and civilization of one of them.

A VIEW OF THE BELLIGERENTS

It is in place here to take a momentary view of the two peoples, as we find them in America, who were about to grapple in a great final struggle for the control of the continent. There are many points of resemblance. Both had occupied portions of the continent for nearly two hundred years, both were intensely religious, representing different forms of Christianity, and each was bigoted and intolerant and jealous of its rival. However, the religious zeal of both peoples had become greatly modified during the two centuries that had passed, owing chiefly to the coming of many who sought only adventure or gain. In 1750 we look in vain through the English colonies for the Puritan of the Winthrop type, and it is almost equally difficult to find in Canada the spirit of Allouez or Marquette. Again, the French and English were alike in personal courage, in a jealous love of the respective countries from which they had sprung; and both had imbibed that spirit of wild freedom inseparable from a life in the wilderness. But their points of difference are more striking than their points of agreement.

Points of
agreement

First, as to motive or object in settling in America. The chief object of the English was to find a home for themselves, far from persecution, where by patient industry they might build up a commonwealth; while secondarily, they would lead the red man to embrace Christianity.

The object of the Frenchman was threefold. First, he would build up a great New France which should be the glory of his native land; second, he would convert the native red man to his religion; and third, he sought the wealth to be derived from the

¹ But on July 4 Washington capitulated at Fort Necessity.

fur trade. Different groups had different purposes. It was the French government, as reflected in its loyal sons, that aimed to build up a New France; it was the French Jesuit, typifying the religious sense of the nation, who labored to convert the Indian; it was the French settler who strove for the wealth of the fur trade.

But while the Englishman would found a new England by migrating in thousands, the Frenchman would do the same for his nation, not by migrating, but by making Frenchmen of the Indians. When the Englishman wished to marry, he found a wife among his fellow-immigrants, or imported her from England; the Frenchman desiring a wife found her in the forest — he married a squaw. The English generally migrated in families, or congregations; the French who came were mostly men, and thus they lacked the indispensable corner stone of the state — the family. One great blunder of the Frenchman was his failure to understand the Indian character. Evidently he believed the Indian more capable of civilization than he was. The Frenchman devoted himself to lifting up the Indian, but more frequently he was dragged down to the Indian standards. He married the squaw and reared a family, not of Frenchmen, but of barbarians. The French made many thousands of nominal converts among the natives, but there is little evidence that the Indian was changed in habits or character by his conversion, or that he was led to aspire to a higher civilization.

A second important difference between the two peoples is found in their relation to their respective home governments. The English colonies had been left by their sovereign to develop themselves, and they grew strong and self-reliant. Two of them, Rhode Island and Connecticut, chose their own governors; and, aside from the ever irritating Navigation Acts, they all practically made their own laws. They were very democratic, and almost independent; and, indeed, but for want of one essential, union, they constituted a nation. The French colonies, on the other hand, were wholly dependent on the Crown. From the beginning the king had fostered and fed and coddled them, and they never learned to stand alone. As a whole they were a centralized, hierarchical despotism. As men they experienced an individual freedom, born of life in the wilderness, but political or religious freedom was beyond their dreams or desires.

Again, the English colonies opened wide their doors to all the world. The English Protestants were intolerant of Catholics, it

is true, and even of one another; but their religious strife was chiefly intellectual and theological, and they continued to dwell together on the same soil. The French, on the other hand, excluded all except Catholics from their new domains. The French Huguenots, who were ill at ease among the English in Carolina, petitioned their king to permit them to settle in Louisiana, where they might still be Frenchmen and still be his subjects; but the bigoted monarch answered that he did not drive heretics from his kingdom only to be nourished in his colonies, and they remained with the English and became a part of them.¹ And the narrow-minded king reaped the reward of his folly; while the English in America numbered, at the opening of the French and Indian War, at least twelve hundred thousand souls, the French population barely reached sixty thousand. The French king might have had, without expense to himself, a quarter of a million industrious people of his own nation dwelling in the Mississippi Valley; but he threw away the opportunity, and that vast fertile region was now peopled only by roving Indian hordes. The French had control of a territory twenty times as great as that held by the English; but the English had a population twenty times as great as the French.

In one respect, and one only, the French had the advantage over the English: they were a unit. The French king had but to command, and all Canada was ready to rush to arms. The English were composed of separate colonies — republics, we may say — each enjoying much liberty without the responsibility of nationality; each joined loosely to the mother country, but wholly separate politically from all its fellows. Each colony had its own interests and lived its own life, and it was difficult to awaken them to a sense of common danger. In 1754, Governor Dinwiddie appealed frantically and in vain to rouse his neighbor colonists to action. Indeed, it required two or three years' warfare to awaken the English to a sense of their duty, and the result was that the French during that period were successful on every side.

The far-sighted Franklin saw this great defect — this want of union; and at a colonial conference held at Albany, in 1754, and known as the Albany Congress, he proposed a plan of union, known as the Albany Plan. This plan provided for a president-general to be appointed by the Crown, and for a council to be elected by the legislatures. But the English government rejected the plan because it was too

Albany
Congress

¹ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, p. 22.

democratic, while the colonists rejected it because they feared it would increase the power of the king. Thus the colonies plunged into this war, as into those that preceded it, without concerted action.

An important consideration at the opening of this great struggle for a continent was the attitude of the Indians. Had all the tribes thrown their weight to either side, the other side would doubtless have been defeated. But it happened that they were divided. The majority of the Indians were with the French, and most naturally so. The Frenchmen flattered and won them by treating them as brethren, by adopting their customs, by marrying into their tribes, and by showing a zeal for their souls' salvation. The Frenchman readily fell into Indian habits. Even the great Canadian governor, Frontenac, is said to have donned their costume at times and entered the uncouth dance, where he would leap as high and yell as loudly as any child of the forest.

The Englishman, on the other hand, never received the native red man on the same footing with himself, never cared for his confidence, nor desired him as a neighbor. Often the two races were friendly, but a mutual suspicion was never absent.¹ Moreover, the English wanted land, which the Indians were loath to yield, and the French wanted furs, which they were always ready to furnish. In view of these facts it is not strange that the majority of the natives sided with the French. Nearly all the Algonquin tribes were French in their sympathies. In this respect they differed from the fierce, warlike Six Nations of the Iroquois, in northern New York, who cast their lot with the English. The enmity of the Iroquois toward the French had its origin in a little skirmish which they had in 1609 with Champlain, when a few of their chiefs were slain. There was also another cause. The Iroquois and the Algonquins were deadly, hereditary enemies, and so they had been from a time far back, beyond the coming of the white man to North America; and the intimacy between the Algonquins and the French proved a serious barrier to the latter when they sought to make friends of the Iroquois.

Nevertheless, for a quarter of a century before the opening of the French and Indian War, the French were making every effort to win the Six Nations, and they would doubtless have succeeded but for the counter influence of one man, William Johnson, the British superintendent of Indian affairs. Johnson spent many years among the Iroquois, knew their language as he knew his

¹ Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, p. 34.

own, married a Mohawk squaw, and was made a sachem of their tribe. It was he above all men who held the Iroquois firm for the English during the French and Indian War.

DUQUESNE AND ACADIA

The earlier colonial wars did not originate in America; they were but reflections or echoes of far greater wars in Europe. But the French and Indian War had its origin on this side of the water, and was caused by boundary disputes between the two great European powers concerning their possessions in North America. And yet this was closely connected with the tremendous war that raged simultaneously in Europe, known as the Seven Years' War, in which Frederick the Great of Prussia contended, at first single-handed, and later in alliance with the British, against the powerful French and Austrian monarchies. The formal declaration of war between France and England was not made till May, 1756; but hostilities broke out in America two years earlier, and the year 1755 is marked by two of the most memorable events of the war — the ill-starred expedition of Braddock against Fort Duquesne and the drastic dealing with Acadia by the English.

One Sunday, late in February, 1755, a British general of stately bearing and in bright uniform came to the home of Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg, Virginia. The governor wrote to a friend: "He is, I think, a very fine officer, and a sensible, considerate gentleman. He and I live in great harmony." The gentleman was General Braddock, and he was accompanied by his secretary, William Shirley, son of the famous governor of Massachusetts. Braddock had come to be commander in chief of the English and American forces against the rising enemy on the north and west. The ministry had decided on three expeditions — against Niagara, Crown Point, and Fort Duquesne, respectively; and to the last of these Braddock was now to address himself. Three months after reaching Williamsburg we find him at the Ohio Company's old trading station, now Cumberland, Maryland, with a motley army of some thirteen hundred men, partly British regulars and partly provincial troops, with a sprinkling of Indians. After much trouble and delay in collecting wagons, food, and forage, which caused the commanding general, as well as his quartermaster, to "storm like a rampant lion," the army was ready to begin its march across the mountains to attack Fort Duquesne.

Fort Duquesne was a French post situated at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, the spot now occupied by the great iron city of Pittsburg, with its teeming life and its hurrying thousands. When Washington made his famous trip to Saint-Pierre two years before, he took notice of this spot, and reported to his governor that an English fort should be planted there. A few months later a body of men were sent to carry out Washington's suggestion; but ere they had finished their task, several hundred French and Indians floated down the Allegheny, drove them away, and erected Fort Duquesne. To capture this strategic fort was Braddock's purpose, and he seemed never to dream of failure. Braddock was haughty and self-willed, but he was brave and not without ability. He refused to be advised by those who knew more of the foe and the country than himself. He looked with contempt on the Virginia troops, and made them feel their littleness in his eyes at all times. Nevertheless one of them, George Washington, was a member of his staff.

Three hundred axmen were sent before to cut a road, and the army began to move from Cumberland early in June. The march was long and toilsome, but the spring was in full bloom and there was much to attract the lover of nature's beauty. Over the hills and ridges, streams and deep gullies, up the steep mountain slopes, the brave, hilarious soldiers marched through the great primeval forest, and the woods rang with their shouts and music.¹ When they had come within eight miles of Duquesne, they suddenly met the enemy whom they sought. Braddock was surprised, but not ambuscaded, as is commonly stated. The enemy were about nine hundred strong; two thirds of them were Indians, the rest French and Canadians. They were led by Captain Beaujeu, who, seeing the English advance column, turned to the motley hordes behind him, waved his hat, and gave the signal. Instantly there was a terrible war cry and the French and Indian forces spread into two parts to the right and left, hid behind trees, and opened a murderous fire. The English column wheeled into line and returned the fire with the utmost courage and steadiness. The enemy were scarcely visible from the beginning; they had adopted the true Indian mode of fighting. The first moments gave promise of English success. The French commander, Beaujeu, was killed at the beginning of the encounter, and most of the French and Canadians wavered and fled. But not so with the Indians. They quickly saw their opportunity—hiding places

¹ See Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, Chap. VII.

in plenty, with an enemy before them that did not know or would not adopt their mode of warfare. They swarmed on both flanks of the English in great numbers, firing as rapidly as they could load from behind trees, bushes, and fallen timber.

The English fired volley after volley, though they could see no enemy — only numberless puffs of smoke from which the bullets whizzed into their ranks like hail. At length they huddled together in disorder and confusion. Braddock knew nothing of Indian warfare, and he was too proud to learn. He galloped forward and back among the men, striving with threats and oaths to form them into battle lines, refusing to adopt Indian methods, and striking down with his sword men who hid behind trees. The Virginia troops knew how to fight Indians, and they might have won the day had they been allowed to use Indian methods, as they attempted to do. But the haughty general refused to permit it and, like the regulars, they were shot down by the invisible enemy. Braddock dashed to and fro like a madman, and at last, when his army had stood this frightful slaughter for three hours and more than two thirds of his men were cut down, he ordered a retreat.

The battle was almost over. Four horses had been shot under Braddock, and he mounted a fifth, when a bullet was buried in his lungs, and he pitched from his horse and lay quivering and speechless on the ground. The ruined army was soon in full retreat, but only a third was left alive and unhurt. Of eighty-six officers sixty-three were killed or disabled. The escape of Washington seemed miraculous; two horses were killed under him and four bullets pierced his clothing. Young Shirley, Braddock's secretary, was among the slain. The loss of the French and Canadians was slight, but a considerable number of the Indians were killed.

The fallen general was carried on a litter back over the rough-hewn road that had brought him to the field of death. His wound was mortal. He was at times silent for many hours, then he would say, "Who would have thought it? Who would have thought it?" It is said that during his last hours he could not bear the sight of the British regulars, but murmured praises for the Virginia troops and hoped he would live to reward them.¹ Four days after the battle he died, near the Great Meadows where Washington had fought Jumonville the year before. His body was buried in the middle of the road, as he had requested and, lest the spot be discovered by the Indians, the whole army — men, horses, and wagons — passed over his grave.

¹ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, p. 226.

Acadia had been settled by the French before the founding of Jamestown; but it was soon in the possession of the English, and again of the French, and so it passed back and forth like a shuttle between the two nations till the Treaty of Utrecht, when it became a permanent English possession. But its inhabitants were French and, led by their priests and encouraged by the home government, they retained the language and customs of France, refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the British king. Furthermore, they fostered a spirit of hostility to the British government, and it was feared that an outbreak against the newly founded English settlement at Halifax might occur at any time. Governor Duquesne wrote in October, 1754, to one of his subordinates, urging that a plausible pretext for attacking the English be devised. At the same time the English, led by Governor Shirley, were planning the most drastic measures — no less than the removal by force of the entire French population from Acadia. Plans were completed during the following winter, and in the early spring the expedition set forth from Boston under Colonel Monckton, with John Winslow, great-grandson of a *Mayflower* Pilgrim, second in command. On the first of June they sailed into the Bay of Fundy and some time later began to carry into effect their cruel decision to deport the Acadians.

The Acadians, some seventeen thousand in number, were a simple, frugal, industrious, and very ignorant people, who lived apart from all the rest of the world. They raised their herds and cultivated their little farms in contentment, and made their clothes from wool and flax of their own raising. In the main they were happy and contented. Up to this time the British government had been fairly lenient with them; it had granted them the free exercise of their religion and had exempted them from military service. Nevertheless, the Acadians, led by their superiors, fostered an unfriendly, almost a hostile, spirit against their government during the more than forty years of British rule.

Again the English thought it a favorable moment for exacting the oath of allegiance which had so long been refused. But it was again refused, and the painful business of deporting the Acadians began early in the autumn. The scenes at Grand Pré, made famous by Longfellow's "Evangeline," furnish a fair sample of the whole. This section was under the charge of Winslow, and he wrote that the duty before him was the most disagreeable of his life. Grand Pré was a quiet rural village, surrounded by broad meadows, their green slopes dotted

with farmhouses. It was now late in August, and the waving fields of grain betokened the industry and thrift of the simple inhabitants. Winslow, with a body of troops, was encamped at the village, and he issued an order for the men of the community to assemble at the church on a certain day to hear a decree of the king; and the glittering bayonets of the soldiers warned them in unmistakable language of their peril if they refused. The men, clad in homespun and wholly unarmed, assembled in the church to the number of four hundred and eighteen, and heard the fatal decree that their houses and lands and cattle were forfeited to the Crown, and that they, with their families and household goods, were to be removed from the province. The men were thunderstruck at the announcement; however, as Winslow says, many of them did not then believe that the decree would be carried out. But it was carried out with merciless severity, and within a few weeks hundreds of them were launched upon the sea for unknown shores, while the lowing of the herds and the howling of the dogs could alone be heard from the desolate farms that had so lately been the scene of life and peace and plenty. Other similar scenes occurred in various parts of Acadia; but the majority of the people escaped to the forests and could not be captured. More than six thousand in all were deported, families usually being kept together. They were scattered among the English colonies from New Haven to Georgia. Many of them afterward returned to Canada, some to their old homes in Acadia; and a large number of them made their way to the west bank of the Mississippi, in Louisiana, where their descendants are still to be found.

It is difficult to pronounce judgment on this merciless dealing of the English with these simple, untutored people of Acadia. History has generally pronounced the deed a harsh and needless one, that has left an indelible stain upon its perpetrators. Assuming that the English had a perfect right to the province, they employed, after forty years of forbearance, perhaps the only means, aside from extermination, by which they could secure their ends and crush opposition to their government. Assuming, however, that might does not make right, the English should not have owned Acadia at all. They held it only by the doubtful right of conquest. The land had been settled and was occupied by the French and, if there is a standard of human rights above the rulings of kings and governments and the results of unholy wars, these people should have been permitted to choose their own sovereign. Viewing the matter in this light (as the Acadians

doubtless did), we must pronounce these simple people the victims of a dastardly outrage, and they must ever elicit the sympathy of mankind.

At the time when the English planned the two campaigns against Fort Duquesne and Acadia, they also decided on two other expeditions — against Niagara and Crown Point. The movement against Niagara was to be led by Governor Shirley, but it came to nothing; that against Crown Point was led by General William Johnson. He had nearly four thousand troops, mostly from New England, and with this army he met Dieskau, a brave and able French commander, with a somewhat smaller army. Several hundred on each side were Indians. The battle occurred near Lake George, and Dieskau was defeated and mortally wounded. The honor of this, the only English victory of the year, belonged rightly to General Lyman of Connecticut. However, Johnson assumed the honor; and through his friends at court he was rewarded with knighthood from the Crown and a bonus of £5000.

Both nations formally declared war in the spring of 1756. Lord Loudon was made the chief commander of the British forces, with General Abercrombie as second in command. The Marquis de Montcalm became the commander of the French. The English planned great things and accomplished almost nothing, while Montcalm captured Oswego, with fourteen hundred prisoners and large stores of ammunition. The only English success was the destruction of Kittanning. This was an Indian village on the Allegheny River, forty-five miles above Fort Duquesne, and was the base of many Indian raids on the Pennsylvania frontier. Early in September, Colonel John Armstrong, with three hundred men, surprised the town one morning at daybreak. A desperate battle ensued; the Indians were defeated and their town was utterly destroyed, and for several years thereafter the settlers of western Pennsylvania had rest from Indian massacres. The year 1757 was even more humiliating to British arms than the preceding year had been. Lord Loudon planned the destruction of Louisburg. But Loudon was wanting in skill as a commander, as well as in the mettle of a true soldier. Hearing that Louisburg was guarded by a French fleet, and that the garrison had been increased, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to New York.

While the English cause languished for want of a leader, the French had found one of great vigor and ability in the person of Montcalm. This intrepid warrior, hearing that Loudon had

drawn heavily on the militia of New York, and had left the northern frontier of that colony but half protected, determined to strike a telling blow for his country by attacking Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. Stealthily through the midsummer forest, along the shore of the silvery lake, over the streams, and among the hills, crept the army of Montcalm. It was seven and a half thousand strong — sixteen hundred were Indians. On the 3d of August the wild war cry and the rattle of musketry from among the timbers told the garrison that the siege was begun. The spot was fast becoming historic; here Dieskau had received his death-wound and here Sir William Johnson had won his knighthood. But this third encounter between the same peoples in this lonely forest seemed to promise victory to the French. Monro, the commander, saw his danger, but he refused the French demand to surrender. For several days the roar of the cannon echoed from the neighboring hills, when the white flag was raised over the fast-crumbling walls.

Montcalm
captures
Fort Wil-
liam Henry

And now was enacted one of those bloody deeds characteristic of early America — a deed of which only savage man is capable. The French commander used every effort to restrain his Indian allies, but a taste of blood had awakened their savage nature and turned them to demons; the practice of generations was too strong to be overcome by the restraints of civilized warfare. They rushed into the fort and tomahawked the sick and wounded, the women and children. But this did not appease their thirst for blood. They even attacked the column of captive soldiers. Montcalm ran among them with wild gestures, striving with threats and entreaties to restrain them. "Kill me," he cried, "kill me, but spare the English who are under my protection." But the savage hordes were not restrained until they had slain eighty of the New Hampshire men in the rear of the column.

WILLIAM, PITT

The fortunes of England were now at the lowest ebb. For three years she had suffered one defeat upon another, and now, at the close of the year 1757, there was not an English fort or hamlet in the basin of the St. Lawrence or in the Ohio Valley. The chief cause of this condition was a want of ability in the conduct of the war. Above all things England wanted a man of ability and decision of character at the head of affairs, and at length she found one in the person of the rising statesman, William Pitt,

the greatest Englishman of his generation. Pitt came into power in the summer of 1757, and his comprehensive mind soon grasped the situation. His touch was the touch of the master; he soon changed the succession of defeats to a succession of victories, and to him above all men was due the fact that England and not France became the possessor of North America.¹

In the early spring of 1758 Pitt sent a powerful fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen to capture Louisburg. The fleet bore ten thousand troops under the command of General Amherst. With Amherst was associated the most brilliant young military commander of England — James Wolfe. After a long and tempestuous voyage, the fleet lined up in the waters of Louisburg early in June, and on the 7th a landing was effected under the leadership of Wolfe. The outposts were soon captured, and the British cannon opened on the French fortress. For many weeks the incessant roar of the bombardment told of the coming doom of Louisburg. By the end of July the walls began to crumble, the French garrison of fifty-six hundred men surrendered to their conquerors, and for the second time the fort passed into English hands. This was the first important British victory in the French and Indian War; and, with all honor to Boscawen, to Amherst, and to Wolfe, the chief glory of the victory must be awarded to William Pitt.

It was during these same weeks when the British shells were bursting over the walls of Louisburg that Abercrombie and Lord Howe led an army through the wilderness of northern New York, only to be defeated by the great French commander, Montcalm. The army was the largest ever yet assembled in America, comprising fifteen thousand men — six thousand British regulars and nine thousand provincials, or, as we must soon begin to call them, Americans. The nominal leader was General Abercrombie, the real leader Lord Howe, a young man of great vigor who may be favorably compared with Wolfe. We find also in this army John Stark and Israel Putnam, who afterward became famous in a greater war. The object of

¹ Pitt and Wolfe. William Pitt, the "Great Commoner," was an aristocrat and by no means a democrat in the modern sense. His egotism was his greatest defect. "I am sure," said he, "that I can save this country and that nobody else can." Frederick the Great said of him, "England has long been in labor and at last has brought forth a man." Pitt was severely criticised for appointing Wolfe to lead the Quebec expedition. "Pitt's new general is mad," said ex-Premier Newcastle. "Mad, is he?" returned Pitt: "then I hope he will bite some other of my generals." This reminds one of President Lincoln's remark about General Grant. Being informed that Grant sometimes drank, he expressed a desire to know the brand of whisky Grant used, as he wished to give some to his other generals.

the army was to capture Fort Ticonderoga, on the shore of Lake Champlain, now held by Montcalm with a force of not less than four thousand men. Howe laid his plans with great skill and approached the fort, but at the first skirmish with the French pickets he was shot dead.¹ His death was an irreparable blow to the English, who nevertheless attacked the fort again and again with heroic bravery. The stupid Abercrombie, himself remaining out of danger, imposed an impossible task upon his brave artillery. Six times in a single day they dashed against the fort with ever increasing slaughter. They were mowed down in hundreds by the hail of musketry, and on the evening of that fatal day 1944 of their number lay dead on the field² — a greater loss of life than was suffered by either side in any battle of the Revolution. The broken army retreated into the wilderness, and Ticonderoga remained in the hands of the French.

There was one ray of sunshine, however, to cheer the defeated army. Colonel John Bradstreet with three thousand provincials set out in August to capture Fort Frontenac. Crossing Lake Ontario in open boats, they landed on the Canadian shore, and in a few days the coveted prize was in their possession. This was a serious blow to the French, as the communication between Quebec and the Ohio Valley was now completely severed.

**Fort
Frontenac**

It remains to say a word of the third great expedition of the year — that against Fort Duquesne. This was in command of General Forbes, ably assisted by George Washington, John Armstrong and the brave Swiss officer, Colonel Bouquet.³ The route selected was not the road cut out by Braddock three years before, but a shorter and more difficult one, over the mountains from the head waters of the Juniata and down the western slope to the Allegheny. Forbes was afflicted with a mortal illness and had to be carried on a litter, but his heart was strong and brave, and the labored march was continued.⁴

¹ Howe was a brother of Admiral Howe and General Howe of the Revolution.

² Sloane, *French War and the Revolution*, p. 69.

³ This army, about six thousand in number, was composed almost exclusively of Americans.

⁴ Colonel Forbes died the following spring. The Indian allies threatened to refuse to follow a leader who had to be carried, when the witty interpreter, Conrad Weiser, quieted them by saying, "Brothers, this man is so terrible in war that we are obliged to confine him, . . . for if he were let loose upon the world, he would deluge it with blood." (Drake, *Making of the Ohio Valley States*, p. 76.) After Washington, sent by Forbes, had taken Fort Duquesne, Captain West, brother of the great artist, led a party to Braddock's battlefield to search for the bones of their comrades. Captain Halket, who was with the party, found two skeletons in each other's embrace, and recognized them by the teeth to be his father and brother. He fainted at the sight. (Parkman, Vol. I, p. 160.)

Washington was sent ahead with twenty-five hundred men, but when he reached the place he found nothing but smoking ruins. The French had fired the fort and abandoned it; and this much-coveted spot, which had cost Duquesne Braddock and his brave army so dearly, passed into English hands without a blow.¹ The place was now named Pittsburg in honor of William Pitt, who had inspired the expedition; and the great city that grew up on the spot retained the name, and is a perpetual monument to the memory of the Great Commoner.

FALL OF QUEBEC

Pitt's success during his first year of power was marvelous. He had played a winning hand in the terrible war that convulsed Europe at the time, and had won the most signal victories in America. Louisburg, Frontenac, and Duquesne had fallen before his victorious armies, and the French hold on the Ohio country was entirely broken. Pitt now planned still greater things for the coming year — no less than the complete conquest of New France, and the expulsion of French authority from all North America. General Stanwix was to guard the frontier between Pittsburg and the lakes; General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson were to advance on Montreal by way of Niagara; while Amherst, who had been made commander in chief, was to lead an army to the Champlain country where Abercrombie had been so drastically beaten the year before. But the most important expedition of the season was to be sent against Quebec under the command of Wolfe.

Prideaux proceeded to Niagara and invested the fort; but at the beginning of the bombardment he was killed by a bursting shell, and Sir William Johnson took command. After a siege of three weeks the fort surrendered, but Johnson made no further effort to reach Montreal. By this victory the entire upper Ohio Valley passed to the control of the English. Amherst gathered his army of ten thousand men at Lake George in June, and the next month he sailed down the lake to Ticonderoga; but the French abandoned the fort for Crown Point, and a little later

¹ **Washington's Modesty.** The Southern colonies took little part in the war during the last years of its progress. Even Washington, after the capture of Fort Duquesne, retired to his plantation, and was soon after elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses. Being called on to give an account of his military exploits, he rose in his seat, but stood abashed and unable to utter a word, when the speaker relieved him by saying, "Sit down, Mr. Washington, your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses any power of language I possess."

retreated from this point, taking up a strong position on Isle-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River. Amherst then spent the summer building useless forts, and made no effort to support Wolfe, as he was expected to do.

Canada was in a deplorable condition in 1759. The harvest of the year before had been meager, and a barrel of flour cost two hundred francs.¹ Many of the horses and cattle had been killed for food, and the people were on short rations ere the summer had begun. And besides, thieving officials robbed the people, and British men-of-war guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence. A bitter quarrel between Montcalm and the boastful Canadian governor, Vaudreuil, added to the confusion. Their dispute was carried to the court at Versailles, and Montcalm was sustained; but the one great desire of his heart, an additional army of veterans, was denied him.

Quebec is situated on a promontory in the northwestern angle made by the junction of the St. Charles River with the St. Lawrence, and from the former extends a table-land eastward to the beautiful falls of the Montmorency, about seven miles from the city. This plateau was occupied by Montcalm with an army of nearly seventeen thousand men, regulars, Canadians, and Indians. Back of the city, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence and westward from the mouth of the St. Charles, lay the Plains of Abraham,² which had been left unguarded, as the rocky steep was supposed to be inaccessible from the river.

General Wolfe was still in his youth; he had just passed his thirty-second year. In appearance he was uncomely, and his health was delicate; but the fire of genius sparkled from his eyes. At the capture of Louisburg his reputation was greatly enhanced, and the keen eye of Pitt now singled him out to command the perilous expedition to Quebec. Wolfe had spent the winter in England and had won the heart of a beautiful maiden; and now he gave her and his beloved mother a fond and final good-by, and launched out upon the journey from which he was not to return.

His fleet, bearing eight thousand men and commanded by Admiral Saunders, entered the St. Lawrence in June, and on the 26th it was anchored off the island of Orleans, but few miles below the city of Quebec. In the English army we find Colonel Monckton of Acadian fame, and Guy Carleton, William Howe, and Isaac Barre — all afterward famous in the Revolution. Wolfe made his camp on the

Wolfe
invests
Quebec

¹ Parkman, Vol. II, p. 172.

² So called from Abraham Martin, who had formerly been the owner of the plateau.

eastern bank of the Montmorency, near its mouth, and opposite the encampment of Montcalm. The dreary weeks of the summer were spent by the two armies lying, each in view of the other, waiting and watching for some advantage. Wolfe was anxious for a general engagement; but Montcalm, distrusting his Canadian and Indian allies, steadily avoided one.

As the summer wore away and the situation remained unchanged, the disappointment of Wolfe threw him into a dangerous fever. He had expected reënforcements from Amherst, but he looked and longed in vain. At length it was determined to attempt to scale the heights of Abraham and bombard the city from there, or force Montcalm into an engagement in defending it. The resolve was a daring and heroic one, but the desperate courage of Wolfe was unlimited. He had just risen from a bed of illness; his fever had subsided, but he was further afflicted with an incurable disease, and he had reached the condition in which a soldier is at his best — he had no hope of returning alive to his native land. To his physician he said, "I know perfectly well that you cannot cure me; but pray make me up so that I may be without pain for a few days, and able to do my duty."¹

The English broke up their camp, and on that moonless night before the fateful day they moved as silently as possible up the river till they had passed the sleeping city. Wolfe had a strange presentiment of death. To a lifelong friend on his flagship he gave a miniature of his affianced bride and requested that it be returned to her. While on the deck of one of the boats he recited with deep pathos portions of Gray's "Elegy," especially the stanza ending with —

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Some hours before dawn the English vessels landed the soldiers on the north shore, beneath the rocky steep that led to the Plains of Abraham, and the men were soon clambering up the cliffs. At the coming of dawn the ever vigilant Montcalm was amazed to find that his enemy had outwitted him — that the heights above the city were crowned with long and threatening lines of British soldiers, almost five thousand in number. The French commander saw that he must do one of two things: abandon the city to its fate and save his army by flight, or grapple with the enemy in a final, desperate struggle for Canada. Montcalm chose to fight, and before noon the two

**The Plains
of Abraham**

**Surrender of
Quebec,
September
17, 1759**

¹ Parkman, Vol. II, p. 268.

armies were engaged in a fierce conflict. The battle was short and decisive. The French gave way, and ran for their lives; and a few days later the city of Quebec passed into the hands of its British conquerors.

But the English paid dearly for their victory. Their noble commander had fallen to rise no more. During the battle Wolfe had hurried here and there amid the hail of bullets, urging and encouraging his men. Twice wounded, he continued his efforts, until a ball lodged in his breast and he sank to the ground. He was carried to the rear and offered surgical aid. "There is no need," was his answer; "it is all over with me."

The next moment he was informed that the French were in full retreat. He received the news as one awakened from a dream, and immediately gave orders that a regiment be placed at the Charles River bridge to cut off the enemy's retreat. Then, turning upon his side, he murmured in a low voice, "Now God be praised, I shall die in peace," and a moment later his soul had passed into eternity.

A similar fate befell Montcalm, the noblest Frenchman of them all. While guiding his flying troops toward the city gates, he received a wound that caused his death. On being informed that his wound was mortal, he answered, "I am glad of it." He then asked how long he had to live, and was answered by the physician that he would probably die within twelve hours. "So much the better," was his reply; "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The body of the dead commander, followed by a sorrowing multitude, was borne through the dusky streets of the city. Beneath the floor of the Ursuline Convent, in a grave partially made by a bursting shell, the remains of the great Frenchman were laid to rest.

Measured by its results, the battle of Quebec was one of the most important ever fought in America. France made a desperate effort the following year to recover the city, but an English fleet came to the rescue, and the effort was vain. Montreal soon after surrendered to General Amherst, and French dominion in America was ended. The conflict had been raging at intervals for a hundred years. The fall of Quebec practically ended the war in America, but a treaty of peace was not signed until three years later, owing to the mighty conflict, known as the Seven Years' War, that was still raging in Europe. Meantime Spain came to the rescue of France, and in consequence lost possession, for a time, of

Cuba and the Philippine Islands, which were conquered by England in 1762.

The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, stands alone among treaties for the magnitude of its land cessions. England gave Cuba and the Philippines back to Spain and received Florida instead. France ceded to Spain, in compensation for Florida, the city of New Orleans and that vast tract¹ west of the Mississippi known as "Louisiana." To Great Britain France surrendered all the rest of her American possessions, including the Ohio Valley, Canada,² Cape Breton, and all her islands except two in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Thus France lost everything, and henceforth that country had no footing on the mainland in the Western Hemisphere.³

But these vast land cessions did not constitute the chief results of this conflict. As before stated, the trend of civilization in North America was to be determined by the outcome of the French and Indian War. Gallican civilization differed widely, as it does to this day, from Anglo-Saxon; and the result of this war was that the latter must prevail, not only in the future nation that was soon to come into existence, but also in the vast dominion on the north now wrested from France to become a part of the British Empire. The war did much also for the English colonists. It brought them into contact with one another, led them to see as never before that their interests and destiny were common, and prepared them for the political union that was soon to follow. It awakened in them a self-consciousness and, as will be noticed on a future page, brought out clearly the true relations between them and the mother country.

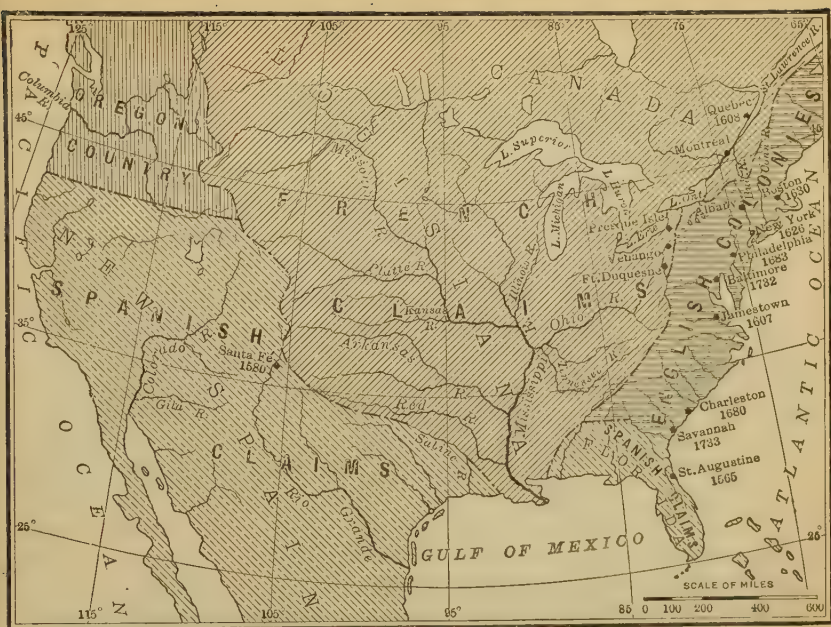
CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC

The fall of French dominion in Canada and the West left the Algonquin Indians unprotected. Since the days of Marquette and La Salle the many tribes of this great family had lived in harmony with the French, and during the late war had been their faithful allies. But they now found in their new masters a people very different in their attitude toward the red man. The

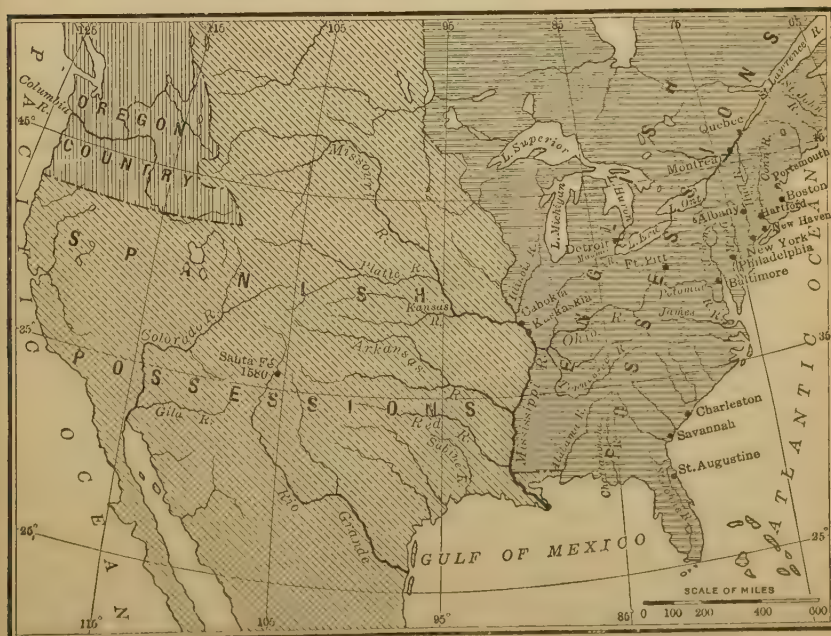
¹ The cessions of Louisiana and Florida were made in 1762.

² In view of the present greatness and future prospects of Canada, it is a strange fact that the English seriously considered leaving Canada, "a wild and barren country," to the French and accepting instead Gaudeloupe Island in the West Indies. The French preferred to retain the island because of its sugar production. Franklin, who was then a good Englishman, wrote a pamphlet advocating the acceptance of Canada because contiguous to the colonies, though admitting that Gaudeloupe Island was of great value.

³ Except the brief possession of Louisiana, 1800-1803, by Napoleon Bonaparte.



BEFORE THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR



AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

French had treated them as equals and brethren; but the English, while they often made friends among the various tribes, never went far out of their way to conciliate them. And now, at the close of this long war, their feelings toward the allies of their enemy were anything but cordial. The French had lavished presents upon them, but the English doled out blankets, guns, and ammunition with a sparing hand.

The proud-spirited Indians were exasperated at the patronizing air of the English, and the rising flame was secretly fanned by the Frenchmen who were still scattered among them. A conspiracy was soon formed to massacre all the English garrisons and settlers along the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the regions of the Great Lakes. The leader of this great movement was Pontiac, one of the ablest Indian warriors ever known to the white race in America. Pontiac belonged to the Ottawa tribe, but it is said that his mother was an Ojibway. He came to be chief of both tribes and of several others, and he was now the soul of the great conspiracy against the English. On a certain day in June, 1763, to be determined by a change of the moon, every English post was to be attacked and the garrison murdered, and all the whites were eventually to be driven eastward beyond the Alleghanies.

Pontiac visited many of the tribes and won them by his extraordinary eloquence. To others he sent messengers, each bearing a wampum belt and a red-stained hatchet. Almost every tribe of the great Algonquin family, and one tribe of the Six Nations, the Senecas, joined in this conspiracy.¹ So adroitly was

¹ **Pontiac.** Pontiac's plan for capturing Detroit was very skillful, but it miscarried. It was not unusual for the Indians to come into the fort and amuse the garrison with their rude games and dances. Pontiac's plan was to lead his warriors within the fort on a pretended friendly visit, each to hold a weapon hidden beneath his cloak, and at a given signal to fall upon the English and murder them to the last man. But on the day before this was to occur, an Indian girl, well known to the English, revealed the plot to Major Gladwyn, and when the Indians came they found the white men drawn up in battle line and armed to the teeth. Pontiac did not give the signal, but afterward attacked the fort, and besieged it unsuccessfully for several months, when it was relieved by General Bradstreet. Gladwyn and Pontiac had both fought on opposite sides in Braddock's battle near Fort Duquesne. Pontiac kept two secretaries, one to read his letters and the other to answer them, and he managed to keep each ignorant of what the other did. To carry on the war he secured loans from the Canadians and gave promissory notes written on birch bark, signing his name by making the totem of his tribe, the figure of an otter. Every note was paid in full. On hearing that a trusted friend of his, a Canadian, had been offered a bushel of silver to betray him, Pontiac went to the friend's house and slept there all night to show his perfect confidence. The genius of Pontiac was very remarkable, and had his great powers been devoted to uplifting and civilizing his race, his name would hold a conspicuous and abiding place in history.

the plot managed that the attack was made almost simultaneously in all parts, and every English post fell into the hands of the savages except three, — Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Niagara. Of these three Detroit, attacked by Pontiac in person, was successfully defended by Major Gladwyn,¹ Fort Pitt was saved by Colonel Bouquet, and Niagara remained free from attack.

The war continued at intervals for three years, when the Indians yielded, and agreed to a treaty of peace. Pontiac a few years later went to the Mississippi Valley, where he perished, like his great prototype, King Philip, by the hand of one of his own race. He was buried on the soil where St. Louis afterward rose and, as Parkman says, "the race whom he hated with such burning rancor trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave."

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The plan adopted at Michilimackinac was similar to that at Detroit. Here the Indians arranged to play a game of ball within the walls of the fort. The squaws were to stand by with concealed weapons. At a certain signal the players ran to the squaws, seized the weapons, and began the bloody work. The English were unprepared, and few of them escaped alive. At Presque Isle the garrison surrendered after a terrible siege of two days. Sandusky was captured by treachery, and every man in the fort was put to death except the commander, Ensign Paulli, who was carried to Detroit as a trophy. He was afterward given his choice of two things — to be put to death, or to marry a squaw. He was not put to death. (Drake, p. 85.)

¹ Sir William Johnson was a power among the Indians, and, with all his shortcomings, he did a great service for his countrymen in keeping the Iroquois (except the Senecas) from joining the great conspiracy. It was to him that Pontiac came to arrange a treaty of peace in 1766, making the long journey to Oswego, New York.

CHAPTER VIII

COLONIAL LIFE

To compare our own age with a former age only to show our cleverness and wisdom over those of our ancestors — to laud and magnify our intelligence and civilization at the expense of our forefathers — is at least of doubtful good taste. Certain it is that we, with the same environment, would be as our grandfathers were, would act, speak, and believe as they did. It cannot be demonstrated that the human race has, in historic times, advanced in mental capacity at all. Our modern civilization has produced no greater figures than Moses, Plato, Aristotle, Hannibal or Cæsar. To approach nearer the time we are treating: Shakespeare died but nine years after the founding of Jamestown, and the same year Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood; yet with all our advance in civilization the world has not produced another Shakespeare, nor has any anatomist of our times made a discovery surpassing that of Harvey. The year before the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers, Kepler discovered the three eternal astronomical laws that bear his name; and the year before Roger Williams fled away to his native land for a charter and the New England Confederacy was formed, Isaac Newton, the discoverer of the universal application of the law of gravitation, was born — and Keplers and Newtons since then have been rare. We may twit the seventeenth century for its religious intolerance, its belief in witchcraft, its ignorance of steam navigation, of electric motors, and of sulphur matches — and here is the answer: "We gave you Shakespeare and Harvey and Kepler and Newton." Verily, we are no better nor cleverer than were our ancestors; yet in one respect we are wiser than they — superior to former generations: we do not persecute our Roger Bacons and Galileos; we welcome them as prophets of good. And herein lies the secret of modern progress. The result has been marvelous. Our modern way of living is quite unlike that of our fathers of colonial times, and a glance at the latter is not only interesting but also highly profitable.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL CLASSES

In 1760 the population of the thirteen colonies was approximately 1,600,000, about one fourth of whom were negro slaves. The people were scattered thinly over the vast region along the seaboard between New Brunswick and Florida, extending from the coast in decreasing numbers to the foothills of the Alleghanies. A few settlers and traders had occupied the valley of the Ohio, but in one colony only, Pennsylvania, had the settlers crossed the Alleghanies in any considerable numbers. About half the population lived on either side of Mason and Dixon's line. The most populous of the colonies was Virginia, Massachusetts coming second, and Pennsylvania third. The largest city was Philadelphia, with 25,000 inhabitants; the only other cities exceeding 5000 were Boston, New York, and Charleston.

Population
in 1760

In New England and the South, the people were almost wholly of English stock,¹ with a sprinkling of Scotch-Irish and other nationalities, and, especially in the South, of French Huguenots and Germans. In the middle colonies less than half the population was English; the Dutch of New York, the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Swedes of Delaware, and the Irish of all these colonies, together with small numbers of other nationalities, made up more than half the population.

In all the colonies there were well-drawn social lines; birth and pedigree counted for more than in the free America of to-day. The lowest stratum of society was composed of African slaves. Slavery existed in all the thirteen colonies, but the great bulk of the slaves, perhaps four fifths of them, were in the South. The institution was not profitable at the North and it was never an important social factor in that section. Few were the rights of the slaves before the law in any of the colonies. With regard to their condition they may be divided into three classes. Those in New England and the middle colonies were for the most part domestic servants, and they usually received mild and humane treatment, they were instructed in religion and morals, and they were sometimes admitted to the family circle. In Virginia and Maryland, where all social life centered round the owners of the great plantations, the slave was a body-servant to his master, or more frequently a plantation laborer, living a life of ignorance and contentment in his rude hut with his family. At cer-

Social
classes

Slaves

¹ New England was of more purely English stock than was the South.

tain seasons of the year his labor was arduous, but, on the whole, his condition was a happy one. Among this class we find mechanics and artisans, trained for the various duties about the plantation. A severer form of slavery marked the third class, which was found farther south, where the blacks were brought from Africa or the West Indies in great numbers, and where, under the lash of the taskmaster, they wore away their lives in the rice swamps with unrequited toil.

For many years there was no particular public sentiment against slavery; but about the time of the English Revolution, the Quakers and Germans of Pennsylvania began to be heard in opposing the institution on moral grounds. Thus began a public feeling against slavery that was destined to increase in volume for more than a hundred and fifty years, and at last to bring about the overthrow of the institution in America.

Next above the slaves, and not far above them, stood the indented white servants. Many of these were criminals, who, being thrust upon the colonies by the mother country, escaped imprisonment or death by a long term of servitude in America. Others were waifs from the streets of London, sold by their inhuman parents, or kidnaped by cruel traders and sold into servitude across the sea. Still others, known as redemptioners or free-willers, voluntarily sold their services for a term of years, not usually more than five, in order to pay their passage across the sea. The shipmaster would bring a company of them to an American port, and dispose of them to the planters, farmers, and merchants. The majority of the redemptioners, after serving their time, merged into the great middle class and became substantial citizens. Many left the scenes of their servitude and pushed out to the frontier, hewed their homes out of the frowning forest, and led a quiet, industrious life. Of the convict class, few were reformed by their service; the majority continued shiftless and worthless, and constituted, especially at the South, the most undesirable element of society. On election days and other special occasions they, and too often citizens of the more respectable classes, would gather at the taverns and courthouses and spend the time drinking, gambling, and fighting. They also, with the free negroes, constituted the chief criminal classes in most of the colonies. Crime was punished by hanging, whipping, ducking, branding, and by exposure in the pillory and the stocks — less frequently by imprisonment, except in some of the northern colonies. The indented servants, like the slaves, were far more numerous in the South than in the

Redemptioners

North, but in no place were they socially or politically of much importance.¹

The next higher class, the most numerous of all, comprised the traders, shop-keepers, and small farmers — the rank and file, the bone and sinew of the land. Especially was this true of the northern and middle colonies. To this class The middle class belonged the great mass of the people, and they were for the most part prosperous, contented, and moderately educated, but not highly cultured. They were sturdy, honest, usually religious, and hospitable to strangers. There is no doubt that in morals the colonists as a whole were equal to any people in the world. Governor Spotswood of Virginia wrote to the bishop of London that in that colony he had observed less profaneness, drunkenness, feuds, and villainy than in any part of the world where his lot had been.

At the top of the social scale stood the ruling class, composed in New England of the clergy, magistrates, college professors, and other professional men; in New York of these The ruling class classes, and, above all, of the great landholders along the Hudson; while in the South the proprietors of the great plantations were uppermost in society, and near them stood the professional men. In all the colonies social lines were distinctly drawn, more so than in our own times. The style of dress was, in some colonies, regulated by law, and no one was permitted to dress "above his degree." Worshipers in church and students in college were obliged to occupy seats according to their social standing. The upper class made much of birth and ancestry; and, whatever our prejudices against rank, it is significant that from this class came many of the leading statesmen and generals of the Revolution. With all the class distinctions, however, it was not unusual in those days, as at present, for an aspiring youth to rise from the lower walks of life and take his place among the leaders of society.

OCCUPATIONS AND CUSTOMS

America in colonial days was a land of farmers. Our forefathers on migrating to America found no great cities with innumerable openings for the industrious and thrifty, no great industries with salaried positions awaiting them. They found only

¹ In Virginia the indented servants outnumbered the slaves for a hundred years. In all the colonies there were strict laws against their running away. Sometimes man and wife, or parents and children, were separated, to meet no more for years, or even for life. See Bolles, *Pennsylvania*, p. 177 sq.

a vast, uncultivated region — the valleys, the plains, the illimitable succession of rolling hills, crowned with primeval forest; and from this they must clear the timbers and delve into the soil for their daily bread. Hence a nation of tillers of the soil. A few ministers and artisans, rulers and merchants, there had to be, but their combined numbers were few compared with the great body of the people, — the farmers.

In New England, however, the soil was not fertile; a farmer could get a living from the soil and perhaps a little more, but he could not thrive and accumulate money, and it was not long before many of the people turned their attention to the sea. They became fishermen and sailors, shipbuilders and merchants. They took cargoes of fish and cattle and the products of the forest and of the soil to the West Indies, to England, and to Spain, and brought in return molasses and the many articles of manufacture that they could not make at home. There were few manufactories, but the people supplied many of their own wants. Nearly every farmer was also a rude mechanic. He and his sons usually made the furniture for the household and many of the implements of the farm as well, while his wife and daughters spun the flax and wove it into a coarse cloth from which the family was clothed.

The New England farmhouse was scantily furnished. It was solidly built of wood, but, as if inspired by their stern Puritan religion, the builders gave all too little attention to comfort, and the average New England farmhouse would have been scarcely endurable in winter but for the great open wood-fire about which the family (usually a large one) gathered in the evening and made brooms, shelled nuts, and told stories. But the "house of the seven gables" was not wanting in New England. Many of the rich in the cities and their suburbs built fine stone, brick, or wooden mansions, and lived on the fat of the land. The furniture in the dwellings of the rich was often imported from England, as was also the tableware — china, wedgwood, cut glass, and silver plate.

Town life in New England was everything, while in the South, as we shall notice later, the county or the plantation was the geographical unit. The Puritans were not great landholders; they were small farmers. Each had his little clearing surrounded by the dark, merciless forest, with its wild beasts and wild men. But he was loath to dwell far from the town, where he attended church and market, and which became his city of refuge on the approach of hostile Indians. Many farmers lived in the village or very near it.

The town was a straggling, rural village with unpaved, shady streets partly covered with stumps of native trees. There were at least three important buildings in the town, always near together — the church, the tavern, and the blockhouse. The church in early Puritan days was built of logs, provided with benches, and never heated. The congregation was summoned by the sound of a horn or a drum, and the people sat in order of social rank and listened to the long sermons. If a man or a boy fell asleep or misbehaved, he received a rap on the head from the rod of the tithingman; while if a woman fell into a doze, she was awakened by the brushing of her face with a rabbit's foot appended to the rod. In early times, when the red man still lurked in the woods, the men went to church armed, and the minister often preached with a musket by his side.

The tavern or ordinary was not only a lodging place for travelers, but also a drinking house, and a place of general gossip for the village and neighborhood. Here the people would gather on special days to take a social glass, to get the latest news, and to discuss politics and religion. The tavern was considered a public necessity, and a town that did not maintain one was subject to fine by the General Court.¹ The principal drinks were rum, small beer, and cider, and these were used freely by men, women, and children. The tavern keeper was a man of great importance — usually a jolly gentleman whose stock of information on all current topics was inexhaustible. He was often the chief man in the town next to the town clerk — member of the town council, land agent, and surveyor. He was required to be a man of good character, and was not permitted to sell strong drink to drunkards.

The blockhouse was strongly built of logs, the second story extending over the first and being provided with portholes so that the occupants could fire directly down on a besieging enemy. In case of an Indian attack the whole population would abandon their homes and rush to the blockhouse, and in this way their lives were often saved. The blockhouse in New England ceased to be of great importance after King Philip's War.

Passing westward into New York, we find a soil very different from the barren lands of New England. The great valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk were exceedingly fertile, and in this colony the majority of the people were tillers of the soil.

But New York was by no means wholly agricultural. The second great industry was that of trade, and this was of two kinds

¹ Field, *Colonial Tavern*, p. 13.

— trade with foreign countries and the other colonies and the Indian fur trade. New York City was the center of all maritime commerce and was a formidable rival of Boston

New York and Philadelphia. The Indian fur trade was very lucrative, and hundreds of men were constantly engaged in it.¹ A trader would go into the Indian country laden with rum and trinkets and implements prized by the natives, and for these he would receive furs and peltries, with which he would float down the Hudson and sell them to the foreign traders of Manhattan.

The character of society in New York was unlike that of any other colony, owing to the patroon system, which continued all through colonial days and far into the national period. The patroon had a luxurious, well-built house of brick or stone, a retinue of servants, large barns, orchards and gardens, and broad pasture lands dotted with flocks and herds. His tenants were scattered for miles about him, and among them he lived much like a feudal lord of the Middle Ages.

The majority of the people, especially in the country, were Dutch, and they clung tenaciously to the customs and habits of their nation. They were a plodding, industrious, religious people, who dwelt in small wooden or brick houses with sanded floors, and high, steep roofs, and, in the villages, with the gable ends, "notched like steps," turned toward the street. The window panes were very small; the doors, each with its knocker of brass or iron, were divided into an upper and a lower section. Country houses were placed as near together as the extent of each farm would allow, often forming a little village street.² A great fireplace in each house was usually built of tiles brought from Holland, and on these were stamped various Scripture scenes, one of which was Lazarus leaving the tomb and waving the flag of the Netherlands.³ One of the features of the Dutch village and farmhouse was the stoop, on which, in summer evenings, the family would sit and chat for hours with their neighbors, the men smoking long Dutch pipes, the women busy with their knitting or sewing.

The Dutch were more liberal in games and amusements than were the Puritans of New England. No people in America presented a more attractive picture of quiet, pastoral contentment, of unruffled satisfaction in life, of thrift and plenty, than the Dutch rural population of New York. Thus these people con-

¹ The fur trade was greatly crippled when, in 1732, England forbade the people to export hats.

² Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*, p. 116.

³ *Ibid.* p. 126.

tinued their rustic life, maintaining their customs and language for nearly two centuries; but after the Revolution they were forced to yield to the ever increasing tide of the English race, until they gradually lost their identity and their language.

In New Jersey the mode of life was somewhat similar to that of New England, from which many of the people had emigrated. This was especially true of East Jersey, while in West Jersey, where the Quakers predominated, the mode of life resembled that of Pennsylvania. The soil, with the exception of the sand regions in some portions of the colony, was fertile, and farming was practically the sole industry. There were few large estates, the great majority of the settlers being small farmers, each with his clearing in the forest; and this, with the fact there were few slaves or indentured servants, brought about a social equality unknown in most of the colonies. There was little culture or education except in the villages that dotted the great highway between New York and Philadelphia. The people were thrifty and honest; houses were left unlocked, and there was little crime. The laws and punishments were modeled after those of New England.

The moment we cross the Delaware into Pennsylvania we find a notable change in colonial society. It is true there were many English Quakers, as in West Jersey, but they were outnumbered by others. There were Germans, Irish, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and Swedes. The tolerant spirit of the Quaker government had attracted men of every nationality and every creed. First in numbers came the Lutherans and Presbyterians, and after these the Dunkards, Moravians, Baptists, Anabaptists, Pietists, and Mennonites, with a sprinkling of Methodists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics. Yet with all the mixture of sect and nationality there was no colony in America more peaceful, contented, and democratic than Pennsylvania. It is true that the Germans and the Scotch-Irish could not get along well together, and they kept apart by settling in separate communities or in parallel bands across the colony, while the English predominated in Philadelphia and vicinity. There was also frequent political strife between the Scotch-Irish and the Quakers, and the latter often combined with the Germans to retain their prestige in the legislature. The chief industry was farming; the soil was rich and productive, and the river valleys were laden with waving fields of grain every year, while the broad meadows and mountain slopes were dotted with grazing herds. But there were other occupations in Penn-

sylvania. Many were engaged in the fur trade and still more in foreign commerce, while the iron industry had its beginning early in the eighteenth century.

Philadelphia was a fine, well-built city with straight streets crossing at right angles — and its plan, originating with Penn, became the model for nearly all the cities of the United States. This city passed New York in population but few years after its founding; about the middle of the eighteenth century it left Boston behind, and so it continued the largest city in America until after the Revolution.

Crossing into Maryland and Virginia, we again find a great change in the social atmosphere. Here there was little or no town life; villages were few and insignificant. The planter or great landlord stood at the head of society; the plantation was the center of social and industrial activity, and the sole important product of the plantation was tobacco. The great estates were situated along the river valleys. In the center stood the well-built and well-furnished mansion of the landlord, and around it were clustered the offices, tobacco houses, barns, stables, and negro huts, the whole presenting the appearance of a small village. The planter enjoyed every luxury of the age. He had blooded horses, carriages, and body servants in abundance, and his dress was fashioned after that of the upper classes in England. His monotonous life in the forest led him to long for company of his own class, and gave rise to the hospitality for which the Southerner became famous. He treated strangers with great cordiality, and often sent to the nearest tavern requesting that any chance traveler might be sent to spend the night at his home.

As we move farther to the southward we find another marked change. Here, especially in South Carolina, the great staple was rice. The rice planters were men of education and culture, and they comprised the ruling class. Most of them lived in Charleston and spent but a few months of the year in the malarial regions in which the rice was produced.

The old colonial aristocracy of the South was not without its shortcomings, but on the whole it was chivalric and picturesque. And it is a remarkable fact that it was this old aristocracy of a single southern colony that furnished the newborn Republic with its greatest soldier, half of its first cabinet, and four of its first five presidents.

The small farmers of the South were a respectable class, and

of course more numerous than the great planters. They were slave owners on a small scale, and many of them rose by genius, or by thrift and industry, to the upper class,¹ while there was an almost impassable barrier between them and the lower classes, composed of servants and slaves.

RELIGION; EDUCATION; MEDICINE

In tracing the growth of the several colonies we have had frequent occasion to notice the religious life of the people, but a few additional words are necessary here. In the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland the Church of England was recognized by law as the State Church; and in Maryland, which had passed through Catholic and Puritan hands, this church was supported by general taxation.² Many of the clergy were men of doubtful morals, men who were foremost at the horse races, and who were seldom outdone in drinking, betting, and gambling. The Established Church had little footing in the North, outside of New York, where it was rapidly gaining. In Pennsylvania and Rhode Island alone were all religions free.

In New England, except Rhode Island, the Puritan or Congregational Church was practically the State Church. In no other part of America had religion taken such a powerful hold on the people as here. The minister was held in the highest esteem and reverence by the people, who considered it a privilege to sit on the hard seats and listen to his three-hour sermon as he dilated on the special providences of God, on some metaphysical abstraction, or on the tortures of the lost soul. The New England ministers were men of profound learning. Many of them could read the Old Testament in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and expound them in classic Latin. The greatest of the New England ministers was Jonathan Edwards, whose work on the "Freedom of the Will" is one of the very few colonial productions that still live in American literature.

Next to religion the Puritans valued education, and they had scarcely become established in their new home when they turned their attention to the education of their children. In 1636 it was voted to found a college at Newtown, now Cambridge, three miles west of Boston. Two years later, John Harvard, a young clergyman, gave the institution a portion

¹ Patrick Henry and John Marshall were striking examples of this class.

² This had been done at times in Virginia and the Carolinas.

of his estate, amounting to about \$4000, — a large sum in those days, — and it was called after his name.¹ In 1647 the General Court of Massachusetts ordered that a common school be established in every township of fifty families, and a grammar school in each of the larger towns. From this crude beginning has developed the public school systems of the United States. The school term in New England was seldom more than four months in the year; the teacher was often a youthful divinity student, and sometimes the minister of the parish, or even the innkeeper. The pupils pondered for long, weary hours over the "New England Primer," the catechism, and various cumbrous textbooks of the time.

In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania commendable effort was made to educate the young, but the schools fell below those of New England, and seldom at this period was a school to be found outside the towns and villages. In the South the education of the masses was almost wholly neglected, except for some feeble efforts in Maryland and Virginia. The rich employed private tutors, the minister, or sometimes an indented servant, while a few of the most opulent sent their sons to England or the North to be educated. There was no public school system in Virginia before the Revolution, yet this colony could boast the second college in America in point of the time of its founding. The efforts to educate the young in many of the colonies was most praiseworthy, but outside of New England and New York there was no public school system till after the Revolution, all efforts to educate the young in other colonies being private.

The practice of medicine in the colonies was in a cruder state even than were the educational facilities. The village doctor was indeed an important personage, quite equal to the schoolmaster or the innkeeper, and not much inferior to the minister. He was at home in every family, and was highly respected by all classes. He was present at every birth and every funeral; he sat with the minister at the bed of death, and put his name with that of the lawyer to every will.² His medical education was usually meager, and often consisted only of a short apprenticeship with some noted physician. No medical college existed in the colonies before the Revolution.

¹ There were nine colleges founded before the Revolution: Harvard, 1636; William and Mary, 1693; Yale, 1701; Princeton, 1746; University of Pennsylvania, 1749; King's (Columbia), 1754; Brown University, 1764; Queens, now Rutgers, 1766; and Dartmouth, 1769.

² McMaster, Vol. I, p. 29.

The practice of bloodletting for almost any disease was universal; and if the physician was not at hand, this was done by the barber, the clergyman, or any medical amateur.¹ The drugs used were few, and their rightful use was little known. St. John's-wort was taken as a cure for many ills, for madness, and to drive away devils. A popular medicine was composed of toads burned to a crisp and powdered, then taken in small doses for diseases of the blood.² There was a great deal of mystery in connection with the practice of medicine. In addition to the regular physicians there were many quacks who hawked their Indian medicines and special cures about the country; but these were not peculiar to colonial times — we have them still.

TRAVEL; MAILS; NEWSPAPERS

In nothing has there been a greater change in the last hundred years than in the means of travel. For two thousand years, as Henry Adams says, to the opening of the nineteenth century, the world had made no improvement in the methods of traveling. That century brought the river steamer, the ocean greyhound, the lightning express train, the bicycle, the electric car, and the automobile. In colonial times travel by land was in the old-fashioned stagecoach, on horseback, or afoot. The roads were usually execrable. Many of the towns were wholly without roads, being connected with their neighbors by Indian trails. The best roads to be found were in Pennsylvania, all centering into Philadelphia, and on these at all seasons the great Conestoga wagons lumbered into the busy city, laden with grain and produce from the river valleys and the mountain slopes. Long journeys were often made on foot by all classes. A governor of Massachusetts relates that he made extensive journeys afoot, and speaks of being borne across the swamps on the back of an Indian guide. A favorite mode of travel was on horseback. A farmer went to church astride a horse, with his wife sitting behind him on a cushion called a pillion; while the young people walked, stopping to change their shoes before reaching the meetinghouse. Great quantities of grain and other farm products were brought from the remote settlements on pack horses, winding their weary way through the lonely forest by the Indian trails. Coaches and chaises were few until late in the seventeenth century. Not until 1766 was there a regular line of stagecoaches between New York and Phila-

Roads

The stage-coach

¹ Eggleston, *Transit of Civilization*, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

delphia. The journey was then made in three days; but ten years later a new stage, called the "flying machine," was started, and it made the trip in two days. A stage journey from one part of the country to another was as comfortless as could well be imagined. The coach was without springs, and the seats were hard and often backless. The horses were jaded and worn, and the roads were rough with boulders and stumps of trees, or furrowed with ruts and quagmires. The journey was usually begun at three o'clock in the morning, and after eighteen hours of jogging over the rough roads the weary traveler was put down at a country inn whose bed and board were such as few horny-handed laborers of to-day would endure. Long before daybreak the next morning a blast from the driver's horn summoned him to the renewal of his journey. If the coach stuck fast in a mire, as it often did, the passengers must alight and help lift it out. When they came to a river, they found no bridge. The crossing was made, at the peril of all, on a rude raft of timbers, or a number of canoes lashed together. After five or six days of such torture the traveler from Boston found himself in the city of New York. The great highways of those early days were those that nature had furnished — the rivers and bays. Without these the people of the different colonies would have been isolated indeed, and would scarcely have known of the existence of one another. Even as it was, only the few ever traveled far from home; the majority of the native common people lived and died in the neighborhood in which they were born.

The mail was carried by postriders, who followed the main roads as far as there were any; on reaching the roadless settlements they found their way through the forest as best they could by the trails and bridle paths. The postman left a city, not at regular intervals, but only when he received enough mail to pay the expenses of the trip. The remote settlements were fortunate if they received mail once a month. Benjamin Franklin was appointed post-master general in 1753, and he served about twenty years.¹ He soon made the service a paying one to the Crown. Yet even then the amount of mail delivered in the whole country in a year was less than that now delivered in the city of New York in one day.²

Newspapers were not carried in the mails, but by private arrangement. The newspapers were small and ill-printed, and contained little that we would call news. The chief contents

¹ As early as 1710 Parliament passed the first colonial post office act,

² McMaster, Vol. I, p. 41.

were bits of poetry, advertisements for runaway slaves and indentured servants, arrivals of cargoes, bits of European news, and essays on politics, morals, and religion. The *Boston News Letter*, established in 1704, was the first permanent newspaper in America. At the opening of the Revolution there were thirty-seven newspapers printed in the colonies, with a combined weekly circulation of about five thousand copies. The first daily was not printed until 1784.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONIES

In addition to the brief account of the government of each colony in our narrative of the settlements, an account must here be given of colonial government as a whole.

The thirteen colonies are usually grouped according to the form of government, into three classes — the Charter, the Royal, and the Proprietary; but recent historical research has evolved a better classification — into the proprietary, the corporate, and the provincial, or royal.¹

Three
classes of
colonies

The corporate colonies were practically self-governing and at the opening of the Revolution there were but two, Rhode Island and Connecticut. The proprietary colonies at that time were Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania; and the royal colonies were Virginia, the Carolinas, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts.²

So variable were the forms of colonial government that but two colonies remained under the same form from the time of their founding to the Revolutionary War. These two were the chartered colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut. It will be noticed that at the close of the colonial period the royal form of government predominated, seven of the thirteen being of this class. The movement against the chartered and proprietary colonies that brought about this condition was begun late in the reign of Charles II, was kept up for half a century, and ended in 1729 when the Carolinas became royal provinces. One colony, Georgia, was founded after this time, and, after flourishing for nineteen years as a proprietary colony, was passed over to the Crown (1752) according to the terms of its charter. Massachusetts was the first to fall a victim to this new policy, losing its charter in 1684. On receiving its new charter, in 1691, Massachusetts became a semi-royal province, and is by some writers

¹ See Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols.

² Massachusetts under the charter of 1691 was essentially a royal province.

placed in a class by itself. New York, New Jersey, and the Carolinas passed into royal hands during this crusade, and even the governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland were each for a short time taken from their respective proprietors.

By leaving out of consideration the two self-governing colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut, we find the colonial governments strikingly uniform. Each consisted of **Three organs of government** three organs,¹ (1) the governor, appointed by the Crown or by the proprietor, or proprietors, (2) the council, also appointed by the Crown, and (3) the assembly or house of representatives, elected by the people. These three, corresponding to the king and the two houses of Parliament, resembled the British government.

The governor directly represented the Crown or the proprietor. His position was a most difficult one to fill. Representing **The governor** a higher power, by which he was appointed and from which he had explicit instructions, he nevertheless owed a duty to the people over whom he was placed, and the interests of the two were so conflicting as to keep the governor in a constant turmoil. The powers of the governor were extensive. He could convene, prorogue, or dissolve the legislature, or veto any of its laws. He had command of the militia, and he appointed many officials, such as judges, justices of the peace, and sheriffs, and, especially in the early period, he had industrial, commercial, and ecclesiastical as well as political duties; but in one respect he was ever held in check — he had no power over the public purse. Many of the governors were honest men and faithful to their duties; but others, and perhaps the majority, were profligate men, the fruits of the spoils system of that day, who sold the offices at their disposal, and who cared little for the welfare of the colonists.

The council consisted usually of twelve men, though in Massachusetts there were twenty-eight, and in early Maryland but **The council** three. They had to be residents of the colony in which they served, and they were usually men of station and wealth. Appointed by the same power that appointed the governor, they usually sided with him in his conflicts with the assembly. The functions of the council were three-fold, — it was a board of advisers to the governor, it constituted the upper house of the legislature, and it frequently formed the highest court of the colony. In Massachusetts, after 1691, the

¹ Except Pennsylvania and Georgia, to be noticed later. See Morey, *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. IV, p. 215.

council was elected by a joint ballot of the legislature, called the General Court. In the other provincial colonies it was appointed by the Crown or the proprietors.

The assembly, or lower house of the legislature, represented the people and was elected by them. It had the chief legislative power; but its acts could be vetoed by the governor, or be set aside by the Crown within a certain time after their passage. But the assembly held the key to the situation by its sole power of taxation. To this right the assembly of every colony clung with jealous tenacity. Through the exercise of this right the colonies may be said to have been self-governing, and their liberties were secure so long as they could retain this sole right of taxing themselves. For many years the British government wrestled in vain with the problem of how to get an American revenue at the disposal of the Crown. The governor, representing the Crown, and the assembly, representing the people, were in frequent conflict during the whole colonial period; and the assembly usually won through its one all-powerful weapon — a withholding of supplies. On many occasions the assembly would refuse to grant the governor his salary until he had approved certain laws it had passed, though often his act was in direct violation of his instructions. Nor was it infrequent that the assembly grew arrogant and meddled in purely executive affairs, such as military matters, the appointment of officials, and the like, all through its power over the purse.

The legislature in every colony was bicameral, except in Pennsylvania and Georgia, in each of which it consisted of a single house. This bicameral system had its model in Parliament, but it seemed to spring up spontaneously in America. It began in Massachusetts in 1644, when the assembly or deputies first sat apart from the council or magistrates, and the two bodies henceforth remained separate. Other colonies soon followed the example, until all the legislatures came to be divided, except in Pennsylvania, where the governor's council had no legislative functions after 1701, and in Georgia. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, and in Massachusetts before 1684, the people elected the governor, and, aside from the Navigation and a few other restrictive laws, were practically independent of the Crown.

The representative system of government, as we have assumed all along in our narrative, was common to all the colonies, though it was not introduced in Georgia before 1752. It began in Virginia with the first meeting of the burgesses in 1619; it was intro-

duced in Massachusetts in 1634, in Plymouth and Maryland in 1639. The system of representative government was allowed, but not required, by the early charters. But after it had sprung up spontaneously in various colonies, it was recognized and ratified by the later charters, as in those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the second charter of Massachusetts, though it was not mentioned in the New York grant. The franchise came to be restricted by some property qualifications in all the colonies, in most by their own act, as by Virginia in 1670, or by charter, as in Massachusetts, 1691.¹ In no colony was universal suffrage to be found.

In the judicial system the justice of the peace stood at the bottom. In most cases he was appointed by the governor, and he tried petty civil cases only. Next came the county courts, before which were tried civil cases involving sums to a certain amount and criminal cases not involving capital punishment. The highest colonial court was usually composed of the governor and the council. But in some colonies the governor appointed a body of judges for this function, while he and the council acted as a court of appeals. In certain cases, also, a further appeal could be made to the Privy Council in England.

A practice of the colonies was to keep an agent in England to look after their interests. This practice originated in Virginia about 1670, and was soon followed by other colonies. Sometimes the same agent represented two or more colonies, as in the case of Franklin. The duties of these men were similar to those of modern diplomatic representatives. To the English Board of Trade, which became a permanent institution after 1696, nearly all colonial questions were referred, and the board reported them to the king, or to a committee of the Privy Council. It was to this board that the colonial agents presented the interests of their respective colonies, and their efforts did much toward bringing about a closer fellowship between the mother country and the colonies. This good feeling between them was at its best about the year 1750.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE COLONIES

In methods of local government the colonies were less uniform than in the general government. As stated in our account of

¹ "Property, not men, voted," says Thorpe. *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, p. 192. The religious test was also applied in some form in every colony.

Massachusetts, the old parish of England became the town in New England. The people, owing to the necessity of guarding against the Indians and wild animals, and to their desire to attend the same church, settled in small, compact communities, or townships, which they called towns. The town was a legal corporation, was the political unit, and was represented in the General Court. It was a democracy of the purest type.¹ Several times a year the adult males met in town meeting to discuss public questions, to lay taxes, to make local laws, and to elect officers. The chief officers were the "selectmen," from three to nine in number, who should have the general management of the public business; the town clerk, treasurer, constables, assessors, and overseers of the poor. To this day the town government continues in a large measure in some parts of New England. The county in New England was of much less importance than the town. Its business was chiefly the holding of courts of law, the keeping of court records, and the care of prisoners.

The New
England
colonies

In Virginia, which may be taken as the type of southern local government, the county, first called the shire, was the unit of representation. The large plantations rendered the compact settlement impossible. At first the parish was the local unit, but it soon gave way to the county. The chief county officer was the sheriff, appointed by the governor. Next to the sheriff stood the "colonel," whose duties were largely military. The counties were divided into parishes which were governed by vestries, whose duties were largely ecclesiastical. Local government, judicial and administrative, was chiefly in the hands of a county court, whose members, usually prominent planters unlearned in the law, were appointed by the governor. This court gradually came to do the business formerly done by the parish. Instead of the town meeting, as in New England, the Virginians had their "court days," on which the people of every rank would gather on the green about the courthouse to transact private business, to engage in sports, and to listen to stump speeches.

The south-
ern colonies

In South Carolina there were parishes, but neither counties nor townships. In the Carolinas the governor and legislature found it almost impossible to govern the mountainous districts, and they were aided by bands of "regulators" organized for the purpose.

In Maryland the "hundred" was the unit of representation

¹ See Shaler, *United States*, Vol. II, p. 475.

till 1654, when it gave way to the county. The officers of the hundred, except the assessor, were appointed by the governor. Maryland discarded the term "hundred" in 1824, but Delaware, having adopted it, retains it to this day. In Delaware the "levy court," composed of the assessors, justices, and grand jurors, met once a year to fix tax rates.

The middle colonies borrowed from both New England and the South; they adopted a mixed system of county and township government. In New York the township was the local unit, and not till after the English conquest was the county organized. Under English rule the town meeting was instituted, but with less power than in New England. They chose "overseers," instead of "selectmen," and other officers. After 1703 they chose a "supervisor" to manage the affairs of the township; and he was also a county officer as a member of the county board of supervisors, which met once a year.

In Pennsylvania the county was at first the only organization for local government.¹ It had charge of the non-judicial, as well as the judicial, business. This was at first among the duties of the court, but at length it was placed in the hands of commissioners elected by the people. As the population increased the township was organized to aid the county in local matters, such as the care of highways and the assessing of property; but the county remained the administrative district and the unit of representation. Nearly all the states organized since the Revolution have adopted the mixed system of New York and Pennsylvania.

THE NAVIGATION ACTS

Throughout the colonial period, after the middle of the seventeenth century, the one great source of irritation between the mother country and her colonies was found in the Navigation Acts. The twofold object of these acts was to protect English shipping, and to secure a profit to the home country from the colonies. As early as the reign of Richard II steps had been taken for the protection of shipping, but not before 1651 were there any British statutes that seriously hampered colonial trade. The Long Parliament, in 1642, exempted New England exports and imports from all duties, and a few years later all goods carried to the southern colonies in English vessels were put on the free list.

¹ Except in Philadelphia. All the county officers were elective in Pennsylvania.

In 1651, however, while Cromwell was master of England, the first of the famous Navigation Acts was passed. The chief provisions were, that no goods grown or manufactured in Asia, Africa, or America should be transported to England except in English vessels, and that the goods of any European country imported into England must be brought in British vessels, or in vessels of the country producing them. The law was directed against the Dutch maritime trade, which was very great at that time. But it was nowhere strictly enforced, and in New England scarcely at all.¹

In 1660 the second of these memorable acts was passed, largely embodying the first and adding much to it. This act forbade the importing into or the exporting from the British colonies of any goods except in English or colonial ships; ² and it forbade certain enumerated articles — tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, dyeing woods, etc. — to be shipped to any country, except to England or some English plantation. Other goods were added at a later date. Such goods were to pay heavy duties when shipped to England, and in 1672 the same duties were imposed on goods sold from one colony to another. Had these laws been strictly enforced, the effect on the colonies that produced the “enumerated” articles would have been disastrous, for they enjoyed a flourishing trade in these goods with other countries. Other articles, such as grain, salt provisions, and fish, were not put on the list, because these were produced in England, and, had the entire colonial production been sent to that country, the English producer would have been ruined.³ Rice was also allowed to be shipped direct to all ports south of Cape Finisterre. Some things, however, the Parliament did purely to favor the colonies, — it prohibited the raising of tobacco in England and kept Spanish tobacco out by high duties, it kept out Swedish iron by a high tariff, to the advantage of the colonies, and it paid a bounty on various colonial products.

In addition to these laws there were two other classes of laws, all, however, belonging to the same system, which tended to impede the development of the colonies — the corn laws and the laws against manufacturing. The corn laws in the interest of the British farmer, beginning about 1666, practically shut out from England grain raised

First corn
laws

¹ Palfrey, Vol. II, p. 393.

² Three years later all ships were pronounced foreign except those built in England or the colonies.

³ Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, p. 72; N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. V, p. 63; Beer, *Commercial Policy of England*, p. 82.

in the colonies. This drove New England and New York to manufacturing, and this again led England to forbid manufacturing

Laws against colonial manufactures in the colonies. These laws were far more effective than the Navigation Acts. It is stated that in 1708 New York manufactured three fourths of the woolen and linen goods used in the colony, and also fur hats in great numbers, many of which were shipped to Europe and the West Indies. This trade was largely suppressed by English laws passed at various times. In 1732 an act forbade the exporting of hats to England, to foreign countries, or from one colony to another. It also limited the number of persons a maker of hats might employ. Iron was found in all the colonies, and forges and furnaces were established in many places. But in 1750 Parliament enacted a law declaring that "no mill or other engine for rolling or slitting iron," "nor any furnace for making steel shall be erected in the colonies"! After this only pig and bar iron could be made. Parliament also enacted laws at various times restricting the manufacture of woolen goods. These laws bore heavily on the northern colonies, but were little felt in the South, where manufactories were rare.

Probably the harshest of England's laws in the suppression of colonial trade was the Molasses Act of 1733. By this act prohibitive duties were placed on molasses and sugar, from the French West Indies to the colonies.¹ New England enjoyed a great trade with the islands, receiving molasses and sugar for flour, stock, lumber, and fish, part of which could not be sold to England owing to the corn laws. Had the Molasses Act been enforced, the prosperity of New England would have been at an end.

The northern colonies, which produced the same kinds of goods as England produced, and consequently were barred from the English trade, suffered deeply by the trade laws, while the southern colonies, which raised commodities, such as tobacco and rice, which could not be duplicated in England, suffered far less.

The Molasses Act, 1733 The Board of Trade and Plantations, established as a permanent body in 1696,² kept account of the acts of colonial legislatures, corresponded with the governors, and informed itself thoroughly concerning all matters of colonial trade. But in spite of all efforts the Navigation Acts

¹ The object of the act was to aid the English sugar islands. France had adopted a liberal policy with regard to the trade of her West India Islands, and this had crippled the trade of the British West Indies. See MacDonald, p. 248.

² Before this date the work was done by a committee of the Privy Council.

could scarcely be enforced at all. It may be said that the whole people became lawbreakers, and often the customs officials and even the governors connived at their practice. Smuggling was universal. It went on regardless of the admiralty courts established in most of the colonies. "Juries found their verdicts against the most undoubted facts."¹ The Molasses Act was certainly an economic and a political blunder; it not only made the people lawbreakers, it led them to hold Parliament in contempt, as not able to enforce its own laws.

But the colonists were not without examples in smuggling. It was estimated that forty thousand people in Great Britain were engaged in smuggling. The illegal imports of French silks, of India tea, and the like exceeded the legal imports.² On moral grounds, therefore, England could not reproach America.

In fairness to England it must be said that not all her colonial trade laws were unfavorable to the colonies. As we have noticed, the raising of tobacco in England was forbidden — at first under James I, because the weed was offensive to that monarch, but later for the protection of the colonies. Furthermore, at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a heavy balance of trade against England with Norway, Sweden, and Russia, from which she purchased large naval stores. To correct this and to discourage manufacturing in the colonies, Parliament offered bounties on American hemp, lumber, tar, turpentine, etc. So effective was this law, passed in Anne's reign, that England was soon exporting a surplus of these articles received from her colonies.³

In viewing the subject of England's colonial policy during this period, two things should be borne in mind; namely, that the subject has usually been treated, on this side of the Atlantic, from a purely American point of view, and that England was no more severe in the treatment of colonial trade than were other countries having colonial possessions. The British government acted throughout on the ground, taken by all European countries at the time, that the existence of colonial possessions was for the purpose of benefiting the mother country. The system involved the subordination of the interests of the colonies to those of the mother country.⁴ The aim of Great Britain was to export manufactured goods to America, and to import raw materials, and at the same time to retain the balance of trade in her own favor. This she usually succeeded in doing. In 1759 New England

¹ Chalmers, *Introduction*, Vol. I, p. 183.

² Stanhope, *Pitt*, p. 215.

³ Beer, p. 102.

⁴ Egerton, p. 69.

sent to England goods to the value of £38,000 and purchased goods to the amount of £600,000¹ — chiefly with money made by smuggling. But in one respect the British policy greatly stimulated American industry. It made New England a ship-building community. This was brought about by the fact that the Navigation Laws placed the colonial-built ship on the same footing with the English-built ship.

On the whole, the British policy was unfortunate for British interests; it served to alienate the colonists, little by little, and prepared them for the final break with the mother land. Lecky, one of the ablest of the British historians, says:² "The deliberate selfishness of the English commercial legislation was digging a chasm between the mother country and the colonists."

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¹ Beer, p. 154.

² *History of England*, Vol. II, p. 241.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLUTION: CAUSES AND OPENING EVENTS

THE American Revolution, viewed from its results, was one of the greatest movements in human history. The expenditure of life and treasure has often been exceeded, but the effect on the political life of the world is not easy to parallel. The chief result was the birth of the first successful federal government in history, a government that was destined to expand to the western ocean within a century and to grow into a nation of vast wealth and power and of still greater possibilities.

It is believed by many that the bond of union which held the American colonies to the mother country might have remained unbroken for an indefinite period, but for the unwise policy that brought about the resistance of the former; others are of the opinion that the child had come of age, and that nothing could have long delayed a separation. Be that as it may, it is certain that for many years before the Seven Years' War there was a strong attachment between the two peoples, and that the thought of severing their bond of union was nowhere entertained. It is true that the royal governors were forever complaining to the Lords of Trade about the unruly spirit of the colonial assemblies; it is also true that the colonists were constantly annoyed by the Navigation Acts, and that they evaded them when they could; but these were only ripples on a smooth sea. And America was happy; the people continued to hew away the timbers and to build villages and churches and schools, to till the soil, to raise grain and tobacco and cattle. They had grown strong in battling with the Indians, the forest, and the wolves; but with all their growing strength, of which they could not have been unconscious, they did not long to escape the mother wings; their proudest boast was still that they were Englishmen.

REMOTE CAUSES

While there was no conspiracy for independence, it must not be overlooked that there was a very real difference between the English and the American people. America had been settled for

the most part by dissenters and radicals — the conformists and conservatives remaining at home — and the descendants of these early settlers had inherited the spirit of liberty and impatience of restraint that had characterized their forefathers.

Furthermore, there were divergent views as to the nature of the empire. The dominant party in England believed that Parliament should govern the empire in all its parts; the American view was that the colonies should manage their own domestic affairs in their own way. It was a contest between imperialism and colonial home rule.

Lecky, the British historian, advances the opinion that the repressive trade laws, the real and genuine grievance, were preparing the way for a disruption of the empire. Could a self-respecting people continue forever under such restrictions?

There were other forces at work that tended also toward a future dissolution of the bond between the two peoples. It must be remembered that, while America was the child of England, it was not the child of the England of 1760, but rather of the England of 1600. The great Puritan immigration ceased with 1640, the Cavalier immigration ceased a few decades later, and during the century that had passed since then, the migration from England had been small. The English institutions, transplanted to America early in the seventeenth century, had developed along purely American lines, had been shaped by the social, political, and economic conditions peculiar to America. The result was that the two peoples unconsciously grew farther apart — so far apart that they were no longer able to understand each other. When England now attempted to play the part of parent, the fact was brought out that the relations of parent and child existed no longer between the two countries. The colonies had reached a point in their development where they could govern themselves better than they could be governed by a power beyond the sea.

Again, the conquest of Canada changed the relations between England and the colonies. So long as this old enemy hung on the north, both England and her colonies were held in check; the colonies felt a certain need of protection and England believed that a contest with the colonies might drive them to a coalition with the French. But now as this obstacle was removed both could be natural in their relations with one another; and this normal relationship soon revealed how far apart they stood. England then failed to recognize this divergence; she attempted to deal with America, not as a part of the empire, which it was,

but as a part of the British realm, which it was not.¹ But for this false assumption by the British government and an attempt to act in accordance with it, the old relations might have continued for years to come.

But an evil day came. The sky had been dotted with a little cloud here and there for many years. Why should so many criminals from the British prisons be forced upon the colonists? This was irritating, and had been so almost from the beginning. Why was the attempt of various colonies to preserve society by checking the African slave trade summarily crushed by the Crown, in order simply to enrich the English trader? Such treatment did not indicate a mother's affection for a child. Again, the overbearing hauteur of many of the royal governors, who were supposed to represent the king, was distasteful to a people who believed themselves as good as any other Englishmen. Still again, during the late war with the French, the British officers were ever ready to show their contempt for the provincial troops, and colonial officers were often replaced by British officers. All these things were at least unpleasant for the American-Englishman to contemplate; but they were not threatening, and their effects would have passed away like a morning mist but for the greater events that were to follow.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

The long war with France was nearing its close; Quebec had fallen and British arms were triumphant in all parts of the earth, but the British debt had risen to alarming proportions. The colonies also had incurred heavy debts by the war, and a small portion of them had been paid from the English treasury. There was now a general feeling among British statesmen that the colonies should, in some regular and systematic way, be made to bear a portion of the burdens of the empire.

George Grenville now became prime minister, and, no doubt with good intentions, he decided on a threefold policy in relation to the colonies. First, the Navigation Acts must be enforced. The high duties of the Molasses Act of 1733, which had always been evaded, were reduced in the Sugar Act of April, 1764, and it was now determined to enforce them. Second, a standing army must be maintained in America. Third, the colonies should be taxed.

Threefold
policy of
Grenville

¹ Snow, *Administration of Dependencies*, p. 149.

In order to enforce the Navigation Laws, custom officers were to be armed with "writs of assistance," or general search warrants (sometimes employed in England), which authorized them to enter any store, warehouse, or private dwelling to search for smuggled goods. This system of spying was very distasteful to the people, and their resentment was intensified by the genius of James Otis, a brilliant young Boston lawyer, who must be considered the pioneer of the Revolution.

Otis was an advocate of the king, but he resigned the office and took up the cause of the people. In a fiery and passionate address before the superior court he sounded a clarion note, declaring that the power used in issuing the writs was the kind of power, the exercise of which had "cost one king of England his head and another his throne," and called upon the people to resist. The people took up the cry, and it spread from the New England hills to the valleys of the Hudson, the Delaware, and the James. In a short time the whole country was roused to resistance against the infringement of their liberties. Otis based his argument on the broad ground of the rights of the colonists as Englishmen. The speech of Otis was an epoch-making one; it sounded the first note of resistance to British authority heard in colonial British America, and has been called the opening scene of the Revolution. John Adams, then a young law student, listened to the passionate eloquence of Otis, and wrote fifty-six years later, "Then and there the child Independence was born."¹

Scarcely had the sound of Otis's eloquence ceased to reverberate when a second note of warning arose. It came from Patrick Henry of Virginia. Henry was a young lawyer of Scotch parentage. As a youth he gave little promise for the future, though he had a fair education. Three years before attaining his majority he was married; he became a storekeeper and failed; then he went to live with his father-in-law, an innkeeper, and became his assistant. The future seemed to promise him little, but he played the violin and seemed contented with his lot. At length he turned his attention

¹ Otis soon after was elected to the Massachusetts assembly, became the leader of the popular party, and wrote several vigorous pamphlets. Some years later, in an altercation with a customs official, the latter struck him on the head with a cane, inflicting a wound that impaired his health for life. He fought as a private in the battle of Bunker Hill. Otis retired from public life long before his death, which occurred in 1783. He had often expressed a desire to die by a lightning stroke, and one day, as he stood in his door during a thunder shower, his wish was gratified; he was instantly killed by lightning.

to the law, and after six weeks' reading was admitted to the bar. For several years his clients were few and he barely earned his daily bread, but still he was happy with his violin. It was after ten years of married life, when in his twenty-eighth year, that his remarkable genius was discovered. He burst forth suddenly upon the public; he became the most eloquent public speaker of his generation.

The matter that brought Henry to the front is known as the Parson's Cause. It had no connection with navigation acts nor with writs of assistance; but the principle involved was one and the same. Virginia still paid its clergy in tobacco; but back in the fifties, under pressure of the war, the assembly passed an act permitting the payment of public dues, including the salaries of the clergy, in provincial money. All went well for several years, when the clergy, feeling themselves defrauded, complained to the bishop of London, who laid the matter before the king, and the king summarily vetoed the Virginia law. Rev. James Maury now made a test case, sued in the court for damages, or back salary, and won his suit. A jury was to fix the amount of damages, and it was before this jury that Patrick Henry pleaded the case.

Parson's
Cause

Henry was in the wrong, or rather the Virginia assembly had done wrong, for it partially repudiated an honest debt by forcing payment in a depreciated currency. But that was not the point uppermost in the mind of Henry. The question was, What right has a king three thousand miles away to interfere in the private, internal affairs of Virginia? Virginia has the right to make her own laws, was the burden of his speech; in annulling a law at the request of a class, "a king, from being a father to his people, degenerates into a tyrant, and forfeits all right to obedience." The friends of his Majesty cried "treason," but the people were ripe for such a prophet and heard him gladly; so with the jury, for they awarded the parson only a penny. The fame of the orator spread far and wide. The people admired the rising genius, and, as in the case of Otis, their admiration was inseparably linked with what he had said about their rights and the infringement of those rights by the king; and thus were sown in the American heart the seeds of discontent.

It may be stated at this point that the religious question played some part in bringing about the Revolution. John Adams declared that it "contributed as much as any other cause." There were about 250 Episcopal clergymen in the colonies, all ordained in England, and it was rumored that the British govern-

ment intended to establish bishoprics in America. This condition fostered the antagonism of the Presbyterians and especially of the New England Congregationalists whose ancestors had fled the mother country chiefly to escape Episcopalianism.

Every source of English revenue was drained on account of the great war debt, and it was proposed to lay a tax on the colonies. The purpose of this tax was not the payment of the interest on the national debt, nor expenditure in England in any way, but solely the protection and defense of the colonies. It was thought necessary to maintain a standing army in the colonies to preserve order and to prevent Indian outbreaks, and this belief was confirmed by the great conspiracy of Pontiac. The colonists, however, strenuously denied the need of British troops on American soil in time of peace. They believed that the true reason was to hold them in awe. Franklin, who was then in London, stated to a committee of Parliament that there was no occasion whatever to inaugurate such a movement, that the colonists when but a handful had defended themselves against the Indians, and that they were more competent to do so now than formerly. But all protest was unavailing, and the government decided to quarter an army of ten thousand men among the Americans, and to tax the latter for its partial support. Lord Grenville sought to raise the revenue by the easiest method without offending the colonists. There is little doubt that he was sincere and that he did not mean to offend them. A stamp tax suggested itself; and he asked the colonies to propose, if possible, a better method for raising the necessary revenue.¹

A year passed, and a majority of the colonial assemblies spoke against the proposed law, none offering an alternative; the universal voice from America was against it, but this warning was not heeded. In March, 1765, the Stamp Act was passed and it was to go into operation on the first of the following November. The death penalty was provided for counterfeiting the stamps. The fate of one accused of violating the law rested with a single man, the judge of the court of admiralty, a creature of the Crown. John Adams wrote, "What can be wanting after this but a weak or a wicked man for a judge to render us the most sordid and most forlorn

¹ Pitt was not in favor of it. "I will never burn my fingers with an American stamp tax," said he. As early as 1732, when a stamp tax for America was proposed to Premier Sir Robert Walpole, he answered, "I will leave the taxation of America to some of my successors who have more courage than I have." See Lossing's *Cyclopedia of United States History*, p. 1334.

of slaves?" The colonies were not without friends in the House of Commons during the debate that preceded the passage of the law, the foremost of whom was Colonel Barre, who had fought by the side of Wolfe at Louisburg and Quebec. In a sudden burst of eloquence, in answer to the statement that the colonies were "children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms," Barre made his famous reply: "They planted by your care! No; your oppression planted them in America. Nourished by your indulgence! They grew up by your neglect of them. They protected by your arms! Those sons of liberty have nobly taken up arms in your defense."¹

Colonel
Barre

The stamps, ranging in value from a half penny to six pounds, were to be placed on newspapers, marriage licenses, deeds, shipping bills, and many kinds of legal papers — fifty-four kinds of documents in all.

The advocates of this law in Parliament doubtless expected some protest from America, but they were not prepared for the violence of the opposition that was awakened. A few weeks after the news of the act reached the colonies the storm broke forth in all its fury. The Virginia legislature was then in session, and Patrick Henry, who was now a member, offered a series of resolutions in which he declared that the people of that colony were entitled to all the privileges of natural-born subjects of England; that they, through their assembly, had the exclusive right to tax the colony; that they were not bound to yield obedience to any law, except of their own making. In supporting his resolutions, Henry made one of his great speeches, in which the well-known passage occurs, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III" — "Treason," shouted the speaker, and the cry was echoed from the chamber. "George III," continued Henry firmly, "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." The old conservative members opposed the resolutions, but Henry's impetuous eloquence carried them through by a narrow margin.² These ringing resolutions were sent over the land to the North and to the South, and by midsummer they had been published in all the leading newspapers in America.

The Virginia
resolutions,
May 30,
1765

¹ The expression "Sons of Liberty" was soon caught up in America, and made the party name of a patriotic society that spread through all the colonies.

² Next day, in the absence of Henry, the resolutions were reconsidered and modified, and the most violent one was struck out. But they had been given to the public in their original form, and in this form they were published broadcast over the land.

Massachusetts again joined hands with Virginia in upholding colonial liberty. The legislature, led by Otis, issued a circular letter to all the colonies, calling for a general congress to meet the following autumn. The Stamp Act Congress, in response to this call, met in the city of New York. Nine of the colonies were represented, while the remaining four sent their expressions of good will. This congress sat but three weeks. Otis was its leading spirit, ably seconded by Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina.¹ It framed a Declaration of Rights, and respectfully petitioned the king and both houses of Parliament. Gadsden, in a notable speech, used the significant words, "There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorkers, known on the continent, but all of us Americans." This congress was important in that it fostered concerted action and established a precedent for union.

During the summer, the opposition to the Stamp Act grew in intensity. The Sons of Liberty organized in every colony determined to prevent the operation of the law. Most of the colonial legislatures took action against it, and as the time drew near, riots occurred in various sections, and mass meetings were held to denounce the odious law. As the first installments of stamps began to arrive and the names of the distributors were made known, the rioting increased and reached its culmination in Boston, where the usual meeting place, Faneuil Hall, became known as the Cradle of Liberty. Boxes of stamps were seized and destroyed by the mob; distributors were burned in effigy. The fine residence of Chief Justice Hutchinson of Massachusetts was sacked and his valuable library destroyed. In New York Lieutenant Governor Colden attempted to enforce the act, but the people were furious. He threatened to fire on the crowd, and was informed that if he did so he would speedily be hanged to a lamp-post.² Colden's best chariot was seized, dragged through the streets with the images of himself and of the devil sitting side by side in it, and burned in the open square in view of his own house. Merchants and business men banded together and agreed not to import goods from England until the law was repealed; newspapers came out with a death's-head and cross-bones where the stamps were required to be. In short, the opposition was so determined and widespread that it was evi-

¹ In the Stamp Act Congress we find Livingston of New York, Dickinson of Pennsylvania, Rodney of Delaware, and Rutledge of South Carolina, the last of whom was chosen president. All were leading men of the Revolution.

² Fiske, *American Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 24.

dent that the law could not be enforced except at the point of the bayonet.

It must be confessed that no better or more equitable method of taxing the colonies could have been found than by means of stamps, if it be conceded that England had the right to tax them at all. But the colonists denied this right. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," became their battle cry. Lord Mansfield and others explained that the colonies were represented in Parliament, as every member of the Commons represents in a broad sense the whole British Empire, and that the colonists were as truly represented as were eight ninths of the inhabitants of England, who had no vote for members of Parliament and yet were taxed by them. The Americans answered that there was a great difference between the Englishman who had no vote and the colonist; as the former was a part of the British public to which the member of Parliament was responsible, while the latter, three thousand miles away, could not appeal to his interests or his fears.¹ If we agree that America was not represented in Parliament it cannot be denied that the colonists were clearly in the right. It is a badge of slavery to be taxed by a foreign power. The men that lay a tax should be a part of the people that pay the tax. Thus they are taxing themselves as well as their fellows, and the danger of abuse is reduced to a minimum.

The British Parliament heard the wild clamor from the American wilderness. Under a new ministry with the Marquis of Rockingham at its head, the subject of repealing the Stamp Act became the principal business. William Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, rose from a sick bed to make one of his great speeches in favor of the colonists, rejoicing, as he said, that America had resisted. Pitt took the moderate ground that while Parliament had a right to lay external taxes, as in the navigation laws, she had no right to lay internal taxes. Pitt carried the day, and the law was repealed in February, 1766.² In March, shortly after the repeal of the

Repeal of
Stamp Act,
February,
1766

¹ Lecky says, "Parliament could never long neglect the fierce beatings of the waves of popular discontent around its walls. It might long continue perfectly indifferent to the wishes of a population 3000 miles from the English shore."

² The clamor for the repeal of the Stamp Act was almost as great in England as in America. The want of American goods closed factories and ruined shipping. Idle men by thousands walked the streets of the cities. Petitions for repeal came to Parliament from all sides. In the long debate in the Commons Pitt said, "I will beg to tell the House in few words what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed, abolished totally and immediately." After a tumultuous all-night session the repeal was carried by a vote of 275 to 167. Later it was passed by the Lords and signed by the king. The rejoicing was great all over England and still greater in America.

In Boston an extensive celebration was staged, "under the deepest sense of duty and loy-

Stamp Act, Parliament passed the "Declaratory Act," which asserted that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

The Americans gave little heed to the Declaratory Act. They rejoiced in the repeal of the Stamp Act, and were ready to return to their former allegiance. But the very next year Parliament, with a foolhardy rashness that admits of no explanation, wantonly probed into the half-healed wound. The Rockingham ministry soon fell, and the Great Commoner was called again to take the helm. He became nominal premier, but his health was broken and he retired to the country. The ministry was com-

The posed of men of various shades of political doctrine,
Townshend and each became practically the master of his own
acts, June, department. Against the wishes of Pitt, Charles
1767

Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer, and held in his hands the matter of taxing the colonies. He was a man of brilliant talents, but without the conservatism and foresight necessary to statesmanship. He was not willing that the Declaratory Act be left on the statutes a dead letter. He would tax the colonists again without delay and show them who was their master. Townshend seemed utterly without regard for American feelings. He advocated revoking all colonial charters, governing the colonies from London, and even canceling or redrawing colonial boundaries. It was Townshend, above all men except his sovereign, who was responsible for the Revolution. Through his guidance Parliament passed three acts, the chief provisions of which imposed an import duty on tea, glass, paper, lead, and a few other articles imported into the colonies. The revenue thus raised was to be used in paying the royal governors and the other officials appointed by the Crown. This form of taxation, known as "external" as contrasted with the "internal" taxation of the Stamp Act, had been acknowledged to be legal by the colonists. But they could not escape the belief that the act was meant to annoy and humble them. The colonists had always insisted on paying the salaries of their own governors, and thus making them feel responsible to the respec-

alty to our most gracious Sovereign," wrote the town clerk. A huge pyramid was illuminated by 280 lamps and showed various human figures. At the base was a huge Indian chief, recumbent and in distress, labeled, "America in Distress." The British prime minister was advancing bearing a heavy chain while the devil was flying toward them with the Stamp Act in his claws. To the rescue were coming Pitt, Barre, and King George. Later the king's birthday was celebrated in many places with the boom of cannon. The Americans seem to have been under the delusion that their best friend was King George. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, I, Ch. II.

tive assemblies; and to have this privilege taken out of their hands without their consent was not conducive to harmony. All this was irritating in the extreme, and the colonists, who had discovered their strength in opposing the Stamp Act, were in no condition to be thus dealt with. Their fury rose again, and for the third time within six years colonial America, from the mountains to the sea, was aflame with indignation against the mother country.

A new light now arose in the Massachusetts assembly in the person of Samuel Adams, who became the most powerful political leader during the early years of the Revolution. John Dickinson, of the Pennsylvania assembly, in a series of able "Letters from a Farmer," attacked the British position with great force, while George Washington led the planters of Virginia to resistance. Led by such men, the colonists determined to purchase no English goods on which the import duties had been laid. The Massachusetts assembly sent a circular letter to the other colonies, setting forth the rights of the colonists, and a still bolder circular calling for union was issued by the burgesses of Virginia.

Protests
from the
colonies,
1767-1768

Regiments of British troops had been sent to Boston to enforce the Townshend acts. For several months there were clashes and street fights between the "towners" and squads of soldiers in the streets of Boston. At length, one night in March, 1770, the soldiers fired into a jeering, taunting crowd and killed several men and boys.¹ This occurrence became known as the "Boston Massacre." The people were maddened by the massacre; a great meeting was held in Old South Church, and through Samuel Adams they demanded that the troops be instantly removed from the town. They were removed to Castle William on a little island in the harbor.

Boston
Massacre

In 1771 Governor Tryon of North Carolina, with fifteen hundred troops, fired upon the people who had organized as "regulators" to maintain public order. The coast of Rhode Island had been menaced by an armed British schooner, the *Gaspee*, whose captain, in pretense of enforcing the revenue laws, committed many outrages upon the people. In June, 1772, its career ended when it was burned to the water's edge by a band of infuriated citizens. The ministry then ordered that the offenders be sent to England for trial, but the Rhode Island authorities declined to obey the order.

The *Gaspee*

¹ The offending soldiers were tried in a Boston court and acquitted. They were defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy.

Up to this point the king had remained for the most part in the background. The contest with America had been carried on by Parliament and there is no denying that it had been floored. It had failed in its writs of assistance, its stamp tax, and its Townshend duties.¹ Now the king stepped to the front and assumed the management of affairs. How easy it would have been for him to put an end to the whole trouble, had he intimated that Parliament was too drastic in dealing with his subjects overseas; that even though England had the right to tax the colonies, why do so if it irritated them? Why not show them that we love them and hope they will ever be loyal to the empire? Had the king taken such a course he would have won unbounded popularity in America and in a year or two the troubles with Parliament would have been forgotten. But George III was not capable of rising to such heights. In fact he took the opposite course. When the Townshend duties were repealed, it was the king who urged the retention of the duty on tea, not to raise revenue, but to maintain the principle at stake, the right to tax the colonies.

GEORGE III

In 1760 occurred the death of the second of the Hanoverian sovereigns of England; and his grandson, a youth of twenty-two years, ascended the throne as George III. The **Accession of George III** young sovereign was received with universal applause throughout the empire, including America. Fair and promising were his prospects for a long and successful reign. For two generations England had been governed by Parliament, and Parliament had been in the hands of a few great Whig families. The first two Georges had little to do in the management of the empire, but the third was not long in his high station before he determined to take the reigns of government into his own hands — to obey the frequent mandate of his mother, “George, be king!”

The times were specially favorable for his purpose. The Old Whigs, who had retained their power in large part by the open purchase of seats in Parliament, were fast losing the confidence of the people. For two hundred years there had been no redistribution of seats, and many old towns, known as “rotten boroughs,” which had dwindled to almost nothing, were still rep-

¹ The Townshend duties had produced but £295, owing to the non-importation agreement, while the expenses incident to their attempted enforcement reached £170,000.

resented, while growing cities like Manchester and Leeds had no representation in Parliament. The Tory party, after a long exile from power, owing to its adherence to the pretending Stuarts, was now rapidly gaining ground. George III took advantage of these conditions, and, putting himself at the head of the Tories, soon became the real master in English politics; and in the purchase of seats in the Commons for his favorites he outdid the Whigs in the worst days of their corruption.

It was a sad day for the British Empire when King George became its political master. He was a man of narrow intellect, and lacked every element of greatness of statesmanship. "He had a smaller mind," says the British historian, Green, "than any English king before him save James II." He showered favors on his obsequious followers, while men of independent character whom he could not bend to his will became the objects of his hatred. Pitt he pronounced a "trumpeter of sedition"; Burke and Camden were the objects of his wrath. He had not the capacity to compensate for his own littleness by surrounding himself with great men, as many a mediocre sovereign has done. He despised Grenville for his independence and got rid of him as soon as he could. He recalled Chatham to the premiership because he could not help doing so, but he rejoiced that the old Commoner was broken with age and infirmity, and even expressed a wish that he would die. At length, in 1770, the king, having become supreme in the government, chose as his chief minister a man that he could mold as the potter molds his clay, a man of many noble impulses, but of the class who believed that the king could do no wrong.¹ This man, whose "lazy good nature and Tory principles" Character of the king led him to defer to the king's judgment rather than Lord North to his own, was kept at the head of the government, even against his own will, for twelve years, until the Revolution had been accomplished and America was free. Yet King George had his redeeming traits; he was a man of prodigious industry, he was devoid of hypocrisy, and he led a moral life in the midst of a corrupt court.

At the door of George III must be laid the American Revolution. What the future might have unfolded had not this union been broken when it was must be relegated to the field of conjecture; but that this union was severed between the "beautiful mother and the more beautiful daughter" in the last half of the eighteenth century was chiefly the work of George III. After

¹ After the Revolution we find North allied with the king's opponents.

the colonies had once offended him by defying British authority, he determined to humble them at all hazards. When the English merchants made an outcry against the Townshend duties, on account of their loss of trade, it was the king, as stated above, who retained the duty on tea. Thus he kept alive the embers until they burst forth into the flame of war.¹

The Americans now refused to purchase tea from England; they smuggled it from Holland. The English then, by an ingenious trick, made their tea cheaper in America than it was in England, or than that smuggled from Holland. They did this by removing the duty always paid at an English port by the tea merchant on his way from the Orient to America. But the colonists still refused to buy the tea. The principle was at stake, — the right of Parliament to tax them at all, — and they were as determined as the English king. Tea-laden ships reached Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston late in the autumn of 1773. Excited meetings of citizens were held in all these cities. In Charleston the tea was landed, only to rot in storage; the Philadelphians refused to permit the ships to land.

Three ships lay in the harbor at Boston, but the people demanded that the tea be taken back to London and they kept watch day and night to prevent its being landed. Meetings were held nightly in Faneuil Hall, or Old South Church, and at length, on December 16, after every legal method for returning the tea had been exhausted, a body of seven thousand men resolved that it should not be landed; and a band of men, in the disguise of Mohawk Indians, after giving a war whoop, ran silently to the harbor, boarded the ships, broke open the tea chests, and threw the contents into the sea. The people looked on from the shore, taking the proceedings as a matter of course. Boston slept that night as if nothing had happened. Who these Indian-garbed king-detiers were was not known; but it is known who instigated the mob, who was the mouthpiece of Boston at this moment, and of

Boston Tea
Party

¹ The principle for which the colonies contended was not misunderstood in England. In reply to the statement that the tax on tea was trifling, Edmund Burke (April 10, 1768) replied: "Could anything be a subject of more just claim to America, than to see you go out of the plain high road of finance . . . merely for the sake of insulting your colonies? No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of threepence. But no commodity will bear threepence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the colonists are the same as those of Mr. Hampden when called on for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave."

Massachusetts, of New England, of America — it was Samuel Adams, the "Palinurus of the Revolution."¹

England stood aghast at the temerity of her sometime docile colonists. The irate king, with monumental obstinacy and inability to discern the signs of the times, resolved to humble the Americans once for all; nor did his shortsighted Majesty seem to doubt for a moment his ability to do so. Of the colonists he writes, "They will be lions while we are lambs: but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek."² King George now led his Parliament to pass in quick succession four drastic measures against the people of Massachusetts. The first, the Boston Port Bill, removed the capital from that city to Salem and closed the port of Boston to the commerce of the world. The second, the Regulating Act, annulled the Massachusetts charter and reduced the colony to an absolute despotism. The third act provided that persons accused of certain crimes in connection with riots be transported to England, or to some place outside of the colony for trial, and the fourth made it legal to quarter troops in any town in Massachusetts. These were soon followed by the Quebec Act, which extended the province of Quebec to include all the territory west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio River to the Mississippi — except what had been granted by royal charter. It is supposed that the act was intended to prevent pioneers from settling in the Ohio country, and to win the favor of the French Catholics. It is probable that a large majority of the English people, thinking that England had sufficiently humiliated herself in repealing the Stamp Act and removing the tax on other articles than tea, were now in sympathy with the king.³ At least two prominent Englishmen, one of whom was Adam Smith, the great economist, advocated a final separation of the two countries as the only possible solution.

Two years before these acts were passed (1772), Massachusetts, led by Samuel Adams, had made an important move toward concerted action. "Committees of Correspondence" had been appointed in every town in the colony for the purpose of guarding

¹ Many of them later became known. About 150 men took part, many from surrounding towns. Only one was arrested and during his short imprisonment the Sons of Liberty cared for his family. The tea destroyed was worth £18,000. On the day after the event Paul Revere started on a fleet horse to carry the news to New York and Philadelphia.

² This was quoted by the king from Genera. Gage. See Knight, *History of England*, Vol. VI, p. 58.

³ Lecky, Woodburn Edition, p. 164.

Four intolerable acts,
1774

Quebec Act,
1774

the interests of liberty. The next year Virginia suggested the forming of a permanent Committee of Correspondence to extend to all the colonies. This was gradually done, and the system was very effective in spreading the doctrine of resistance.

Against the drastic British measures Massachusetts now made an appeal for aid, and through these committees the people were prepared for an immediate response. From Maine to Georgia they made common cause with their brethren of the Bay colony, and South Carolina sounded the keynote in these ringing words, "The whole country must be animated with one great soul, and all Americans must stand by one another, even unto death." Washington offered to arm and equip a thousand men at his own expense and to lead them to the relief of Boston. Thomas Jefferson set forth the view in a pamphlet, the "Summary View," that Parliament had no right to any authority whatever in the colonies. Nearly all the colonies joined in an agreement of non-intercourse with England. As the day approached for the Port Bill to take effect, cattle, grain, and produce from the other colonies began to pour into Boston. The day came, and throughout the country it was generally kept as a day of fasting and prayer; the church bells were tolled, and flags were put at half-mast on the ships in the harbors. Had the English king been able to glance over America on that day, he must have abandoned every thought of punishing a single colony without having to deal with them all; he must have seen that but two courses lay before him — to recede from his position, or to make war upon a continent.

THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

The events above noted gave unmistakable evidence of the unity of the colonies against British oppression; but something more must be done to bring about united action. Philadelphia, September 5, 1774 There must be some central authority to which all the colonies could turn for guidance. This political union came about in the formation of a Continental Congress. This Congress was the result of a spontaneous and almost simultaneous movement throughout the country. From New York came the first call. Paul Revere was again sent from Boston to rouse the people of New York and Philadelphia, but ere he reached the former the Sons of Liberty had taken action for a congress. The Massachusetts legislature added its voice in June. Delegates were chosen in all the colonies except Georgia.

They met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. Among them we find such leaders as Washington, Lee, and Henry of Virginia, Dickinson of Pennsylvania, Samuel and John Adams of Massachusetts,¹ Roger Sherman of Connecticut. The Congress was not a constitutional body; many of its members had been chosen irregularly. Its authority was limited to the willingness of the people to respect and obey its suggestions and mandates. The very fact of its existence had a meaning of great significance, but it was too profound for the comprehension of George III. It was less a congress than a national committee, an advisory council of continental magnitude. It attempted no national legislation. Its delegates fell into two well-defined groups, the conservatives led by Joseph Galloway and the radicals led by Samuel Adams. It was controlled by the conservatives, who counseled moderation. They prepared their "Declarations and Resolves," mild but deeply sincere; they prepared an address to the king, disavowing a desire for independence, another to the people of England, and still another to the people of Canada.² They also approved the policy of non-intercourse with Great Britain, and formed an association to carry it out. The forming of this association, which at first constituted the revolutionary machinery, was an act of great importance. Its object was to secure a redress of grievances by peaceful methods, by enforcing the non-importation and non-consumption agreement. To carry out this purpose committees were to be formed in every county or township in the colonies. These worked under the guidance of the Committees of Correspondence. The local committees marked out for persecution every loyalist who refused to comply with the recommendations of the Congress. The loyalists made a feeble effort at counter organization;

**Committees
of Corre-
spondence**

¹ The Massachusetts assembly was very anxious to choose delegates to the Congress to meet in September at Philadelphia; but it was known that at the first hint at such business the governor would dissolve the assembly. On June 17, 1774 (made famous a year later at Bunker Hill), the favorable moment came. The door was locked and delegates were nominated. Some of the members were frightened and sought to go out, but Adams pocketed the key. At length one of the loyalist members pretended to be very ill and was allowed to go. He ran to the governor and told the news. Governor Gage instantly sent his secretary with a writ dissolving the assembly, but the secretary found the door locked. He then read the writ in a loud voice from the steps outside. Meantime the assembly had elected four delegates — the two Adamses, Robert Treat Paine, and Thomas Cushing — by a vote of 117 to 12. See Fiske, Vol. I, pp. 104-105.

² This Congress was certainly not very consistent. In an address to the English people it appealed to their anti-Catholic prejudice (owing to the Quebec Act) by declaring that the Catholic religion had deluged their island in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, and persecution through every part of the world; and in an address to the French Canadians, hoping to alienate them from England, declared that the differences in religion should be no bar to their amity and coöperation.

but the patriots were so furious in their opposition that little came of it. Not until the next year, 1775, did the patriots begin to form associations pledged to oppose the aggressions of the king by force of arms.

Among other things this Congress indorsed a set of resolutions from Suffolk County, Massachusetts, drawn up by Joseph Warren. By these it was declared that the king who violates the chartered rights of the people forfeits their allegiance, that the Regulating Act was null and void. After Congress adopted them, Massachusetts, in accordance with their spirit, proceeded to set up a provisional government.

This Congress sat for about seven weeks and then adjourned, after appointing the 10th of the following May for a second Congress, in case it was needed. When the addresses issued by this Congress reached England, Chatham paid the following remarkable tribute to the men who framed them :

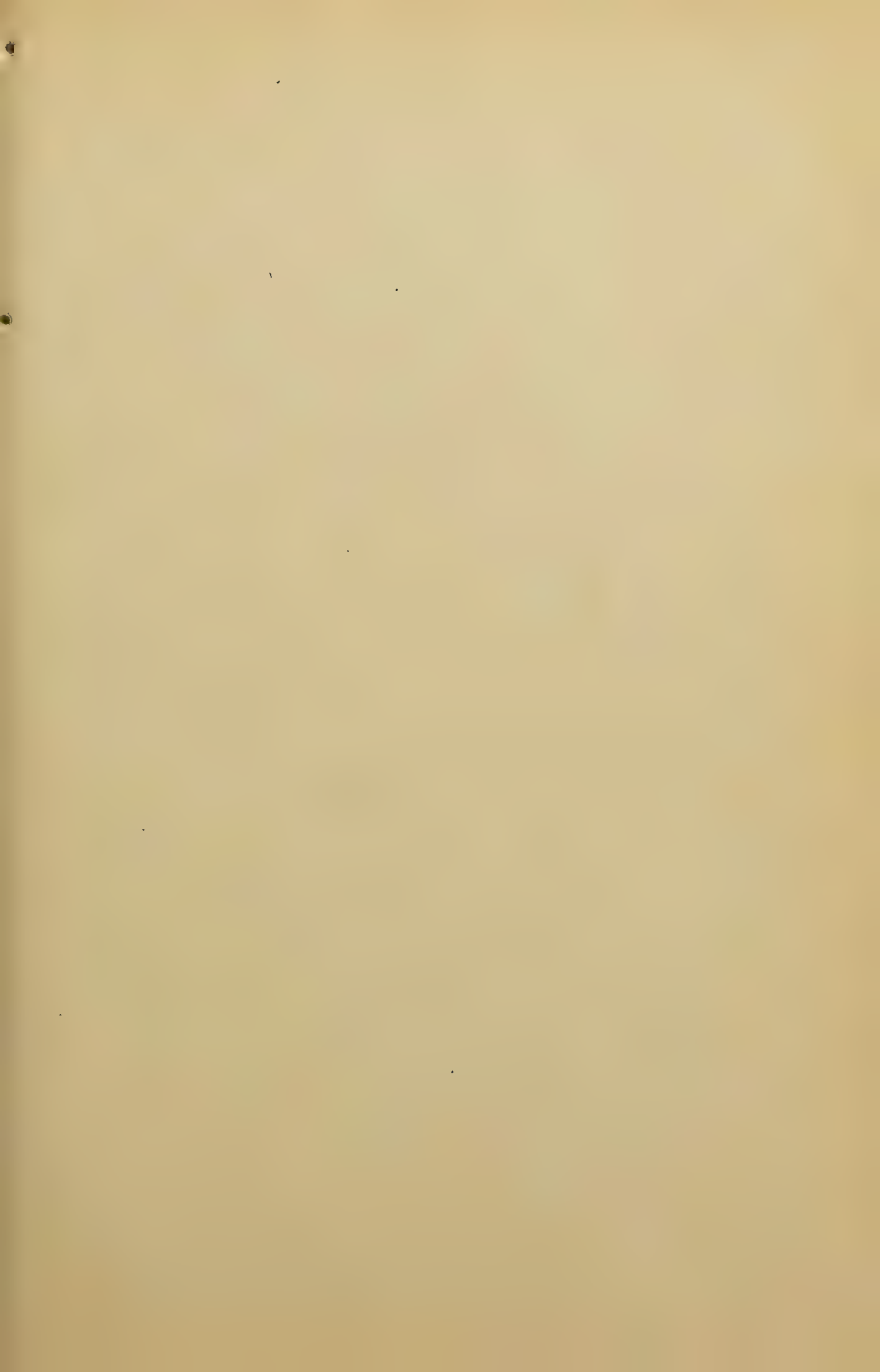
“When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America — when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause. . . . For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation . . . that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion . . . no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the Congress at Philadelphia. I trust that it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal.”

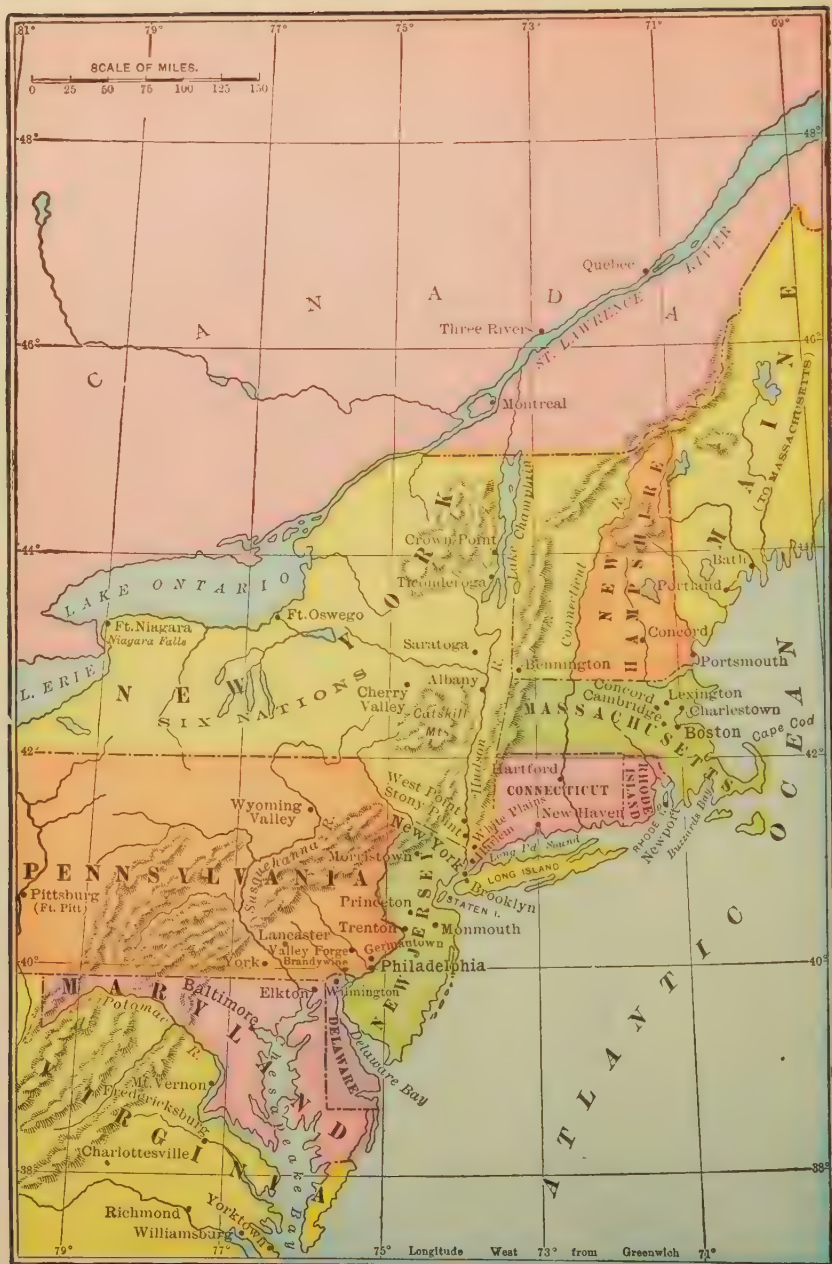
Chatham's
tribute

THE FIRST ARMED CONFLICT

In Massachusetts the summer had been one of unusual excitement. The people set the Regulation Act at defiance and banded together in thousands to prevent its operation. They surrounded the courthouses and forced the king's officers to resign; they refused to serve as jurymen; they met for military drill on the village green of every town. The leaders of the people, in the absence of Samuel Adams, were John Hancock, a man of refinement and culture and the richest merchant in New England, and Joseph Warren, a prominent physician, a man of unsullied patriotism, and the bosom friend of Adams.

General Gage had returned to Massachusetts with an army with which to awe the people, and he was made civil as well as military governor. The people answered these proceedings by organizing into bands of “minutemen,” ready to move on a min-





SCENE OF WAR IN THE NORTHERN AND MIDDLE STATES

ute's notice. On one occasion Gage sent a party of soldiers to seize some powder at Charlestown; the rumor spread that they had fired on the citizens, and in less than two days twenty thousand farmers were under arms, marching toward Boston. But the rumor proved false, and they returned to their homes. Late in October, 1774, a provincial congress met at Concord, with Hancock as president and Warren the chairman of a committee appointed to collect military stores. This congress dissolved in December, and another met at Cambridge in February and proceeded to organize the militia and to appoint officers.

During the winter and spring of 1775 the estrangement continued to increase, and every index pointed to a conflict of arms. The king and Parliament and Gage had miscalculated when they believed that the presence of an army would awe the colonists and change them from roaring lions into fawning lambs. Nor were the colonists making a leap in the dark; they were strong, and they knew that they were strong. Their bodies had been developed in clearing away the forest, in tilling the soil, in fishing and shipbuilding; they had become expert marksmen in fighting Indians and wild animals, and many of them had gained an excellent military training in the late war with France. Gage issued a proclamation offering full pardon to all the people, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, if they would yield to his authority; but the people did not heed him; they only kept on organizing, drilling, and collecting military stores in the towns. Gage had been ordered to arrest Adams and Hancock, who had been elected to the Second Continental Congress, and to send them to England for trial. The two patriot leaders, fearing arrest, were at Lexington in hiding. The British general discovered their hiding place, and, on the night of the 18th of April, sent a body of eight hundred regulars to make the arrest and, at the same time, to move on a few miles farther and destroy the military stores at Concord. Silently in the darkness the troops were rowed across the Charles River, and by midnight they were well on the way to Lexington. Every precaution for secrecy had been taken, but the vigilance of the patriots was too keen to be eluded.

Paul Revere, one of the noblest of the Sons of Liberty, stood by the river, his steed by his side, waiting for a lantern signal from the belfry of the North Church, which would inform him of the direction the troops had taken. The signal appeared, and a moment later he was galloping through the night toward Lexington. At every door, as he dashed along, he shouted the thrilling news that the

Paul
Revere's
ride

British were coming. Reaching Lexington, he came to the house of the Rev. Jonas Clark, where Hancock and Adams were sleeping. The door was guarded by minutemen, who warned him not to disturb the inmates with his noise. "Noise!" cried Revere, "you'll soon have noise enough; the regulars are coming!"¹ Hancock, at an upper window, knew his voice and invited him in; and a few hours later, when the enemy came up, the two patriots had quietly proceeded on their way to be present at the Second Continental Congress which was soon to meet in Philadelphia.²

The news of the approaching enemy sped on to Concord, and to the surrounding towns and farmhouses; and the men arose, seized their guns, and hastened to the scene of the coming conflict. Colonel Smith, in command of the English, saw but too plainly, by the flickering lights on the hills, by the sound of bells and of signal guns, that his movements were known, and he sent back to Gage for reinforcements while he dispatched Major Pitcairn forward with six companies of infantry to secure the bridge at Concord. Pitcairn reached Lexington at sunrise, and found himself confronted by some forty minutemen under Captain John Parker.³ With an oath he called upon them to disperse, but they stood as motionless as a wall, and he ordered his men to fire.⁴ The volley laid seven of the patriots dead and ten wounded upon the village green. Parker was greatly outnumbered, and, after making a feeble resistance, ordered his men to retire. But the day's business was only begun. The British troops hastened on to Concord and entered the town unopposed, as the minutemen, to the number of two hundred, had withdrawn to the top of the hill beyond the river, taking with them or hiding most of the cannon and stores. The regulars destroyed the

Lexington
and Con-
cord, April
19, 1775

¹ Fiske, Vol. I, p. 121.

² **Paul Revere.** — One of the most heroic minor figures of the early years of the Revolutionary War was Paul Revere, and his name has received a permanent historic setting in the poem of Longfellow. He was of Huguenot descent; he served in the French War as lieutenant of artillery. By profession he was a goldsmith and copperplate engraver. He engraved the plates for the "Continental money." In 1775 he was sent to Philadelphia to learn to make powder, and on his return he set up a powder mill. He also became a manufacturer of church bells and cannon. Revere was forty years old at the time of his famous midnight ride. He was captured by the British while on that ride, between Lexington and Concord, but was soon set free. He lived nearly forty years after the Revolution, dying in 1818, at the age of eighty-three.

³ Parker had said to his men, "Don't fire unless you are fired on; but if they want war, it may as well begin here." Parker was the grandfather of the great New England preacher and abolitionist, Theodore Parker.

⁴ There are different statements as to the opening shots.

little they found, cut down the liberty pole, and set fire to the courthouse. But their work came to an abrupt close. Two hundred of their number had been left to guard the North Bridge that spanned the little river near the village, and on these the patriots, now increased to four hundred, made a descent and opened fire. The firing of both sides, the river flowing between them, was brisk for some minutes and a few of each were slain.

Colonel Smith now understood the peril of his position, and determined to retire. But it was already too late. The whole surrounding country was roused; the farmers and villagers swarmed to the scene, and, without a leader, without order, from every hiding place — trees, fences, thickets, and hillocks, in true Indian fashion — they poured an incessant fire into the retreating British. The latter were not wanting in courage; they made a brave effort to retreat in order, but the retreat became a rout, and every attempt to halt and form into line was thwarted by the deadly hail of patriot bullets from every side. Many of them fell dead or dying on the road; the rout became a race with death. They had marched all the night before; the day was hot, and they were well-nigh exhausted. The whole force would have been killed or captured but for the coming of reënforcements. When they reached Lexington, they were met by Lord Percy with twelve hundred men coming to their rescue. Percy opened his ranks to admit the fugitive soldiers; and they ran in, as a hunted fox finds his den in the mountains, and fell to the ground, with their tongues hanging from their mouths in sheer exhaustion. As Percy began his march toward Boston the battle was renewed and it ceased only at nightfall when the British found shelter under the guns of the royal ships in the harbor. The British loss was 273 and the American loss 93.

Thus ended the first armed conflict of the Revolution.¹ That night was one of intense commotion in the vicinity of Boston. The patriots did not return to their homes; they encamped on the ground, and their numbers were rapidly augmented from the hills and valleys of New England. Israel Putnam of Connecticut left his plow in the furrow to lead a band of fellow-farmers to Cambridge; Benedict Arnold brought a company from New Haven; John Stark arrived from New Hampshire with twelve hundred men, and Nathanael Greene from Rhode Island with a thousand. Within a few days after the affair at Lexington and

¹ In the wilderness of Kentucky the pioneers were settling a town when the news of the battle reached them, and they named the town Lexington.

Concord, Boston was beset by an untrained army of sixteen thousand men.

The news of the battle soon spread beyond the confines of New England, and the whole country was aroused. Within a short time every royal government in America had **Surrender of Ticonderoga, fallen.**¹ In New York the patriots set the royal **May 10, 1775** officials at defiance, and seized the munitions of war; New Jersey and Pennsylvania rejected all overtures of reconciliation and began to train their militia; Governor Dunmore fled from the infuriated people of Virginia; and from the far South the voice of Georgia joined in the general chorus. Exactly three weeks after the Lexington fight the fine fortress of Ticonderoga, which guarded with its two hundred cannon the watershed between the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, was surrendered "in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" (which met on that day) to Ethan Allen² with less than a hundred "Green Mountain Boys"; and on the same expedition the fortress of Crown Point fell into the hands of another Vermonter, Seth Warner. Meantime General Gage, on June 12, issued a proclamation to the "infatuated multitude," misled by "certain well-known incendiaries and traitors," to lay down their arms and receive from his Majesty "his most gracious pardon," except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who should be reserved for "condign punishment." The people gave no heed to the proclamation.

Every indication now pointed to a long and bloody war. Franklin, just returned from England, declared that the colonies were lost forever to the British Crown. Yet the thought of independence had scarcely at that date entered the colonial heart; reconciliation was still possible, but only on the ground that England would yield every point at issue. This the proud, obstinate monarch could not do, and events moved rapidly on till the opportunity was lost.

¹ Governors Tryon of New York and Franklin of New Jersey maintained a semblance of power for some months longer.

² **Ethan Allen.** — In the early part of the war, and not long after his bold capture of Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen was made prisoner and carried in irons to England. The captain who brought him back to New York, however, was a humane man, and Allen became greatly attached to him, and saved his life by preventing a mutiny among the prisoners on the ship. Allen was released on parole, the condition being that he must not leave New York. Meantime every effort was made to induce him to join the British ranks, but no power could move him. Among other things he was offered a large tract of land in New Hampshire or Connecticut, when the country should be conquered. His answer was characteristic. He said it reminded him of an incident related in Scripture, where the devil took Christ to the top of a high mountain and offered him all the kingdoms of the world, "when all the while the damned soul had not one foot of land on earth."

SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

It was on May 10, 1775, the day that had witnessed the capture of the powerful fortress at the base of the Adirondacks by the intrepid Allen, that the Second Continental Congress met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. **Member-ship and work**

It was composed of the best brains of the land. Most of the old members of the preceding Congress were present, but some of the strongest men in the body now took their seats for the first time. Among these were Thomas Jefferson, a youthful Virginian, Benjamin Franklin, the only American who enjoyed a world-wide fame; and John Hancock, who was chosen president in defiance of the king's proscription.¹

The Congress was a conservative body. Only a few of the members — the two Adamses, Franklin, and possibly Jefferson and Hancock — honestly believed that a reconciliation with England was past all hope; but even these **Washington chosen commander**

were agreed that any consideration of the subject was not then in place. This Congress, like its predecessor of the year before, was only a great committee, or a combination of committees, met for the avowed purpose of seeking and, it may be said, demanding a redress of grievances. Yet it was forced by existing conditions to assume some of the functions of a national government. Its most important act was to adopt the straggling army around Boston as the "Continental Army," and to appoint for it a commander in chief. George Washington, at the suggestion of John Adams, was chosen to be commander of the army. As Adams described, in an elaborate speech, the high qualifications necessary to the position and reserved mentioning the name of his choice to the close, Washington sat near and watched his face intently, and hearing his own name mentioned, perhaps without any expectation of it, he quickly arose and went into an adjoining room. A recess was then taken that the members might talk the matter over privately; and when they reassembled Washington was elected unanimously.² This choice was made for two reasons. First, the Continental army was thus far a purely New England army, and it was felt that a commander must be chosen from the South in order to

¹ Peyton Randolph was again chosen president, but he was called to Virginia; and Jefferson, who had been elected as an alternate, occupied his seat while Hancock was made president.

² Hancock expected and desired the appointment. Congress at the same time appointed four major generals — Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam — and eight brigadiers.

secure the more firmly the aid and sympathy of that section and to allay any feeling of jealousy that might arise. Second, Washington was honestly believed to be the best choice that could be made. His military reputation was second to none in the country. The remarkable journey he had made while still a youth through the wilderness of Pennsylvania at the behest of Governor Dinwiddie had not been forgotten; nor his saving of Braddock's defeated army just twenty years before the meeting of this Congress. He was now commander of the Virginia militia, and, moreover, he was noted for his stanch character, his stalwart, commanding appearance, his marvelous self-control, and above all for his extraordinarily sound judgment.

This Congress, while recognizing a state of war and preparing for its vigorous prosecution, disclaimed any intention of casting off allegiance to the Crown of England. On the contrary, led by Dickinson and Jay, it prepared a new petition to the king, almost fulsome in its tone, and sent it to London by a special messenger, Richard Penn, who was himself a Tory. Addresses were sent to the people of Great Britain, to Ireland, and to Canada. Congress also authorized the issue of two million dollars in bills of credit, or paper money, set apart a day of fasting and prayer, authorized various colonies to form local governments, and did many other things. Thus gradually, as circumstances required, Congress was forced to assume sovereign powers. Meanwhile matters had reached a crisis at Boston, and before the coming of midsummer, before the arrival of the newly appointed commander, the most famous of all the battles of the Revolutionary War had been fought.



BUNKER HILL

Notwithstanding the Lexington disaster, British hopes again ran high in Boston harbor during the spring of 1775. The arrival in May of Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, with another army, raised the British force to ten thousand men.

Boston, a city of some seventeen thousand people, was situated on a peninsula jutting northward, while farther to the north, across a narrow channel of water, was the Charlestown peninsula, connected with the mainland by an isthmus known as Charlestown Neck. On the point of this peninsula lay the village of Charlestown, and back of the village rose an elevation called Breed's Hill, while farther back was situated a higher elevation known as Bunker Hill.

The American army occupied the mainland and extended in a grand semicircle for sixteen miles. It was under the command of an honored veteran of the late war, General Artemas Ward, whose headquarters were at Cambridge. Hearing that Gage intended to occupy the hills above Charlestown, Ward sent a force of twelve hundred ¹ men on the night of the 16th of June to fortify and possess Bunker Hill and thus to forestall the English. Under Colonel William Prescott, who had witnessed the dispersion of the Acadians twenty years before, this band of men marched silently to the place. Passing Bunker Hill, for

some cause unknown, they reached Breed's Hill at midnight and began to throw up embankments. Faithfully they toiled on till break of day revealed their work to the gaze of the astonished British.

The British commander sent Howe with 3000 men to storm the American works. Up they marched, in line of battle, with undaunted courage. General Putnam rode along the American lines and ordered the men not to fire until they could see the whites of their enemy's eyes. When the British had come within a few rods, a flame of fire swept along the American lines and the front ranks of the enemy were cut to pieces. Another volley followed, and another, until the British fell back in disorder, leaving the hillside strewn with dead and wounded. Scarcely fifteen minutes elapsed before they had re-formed their lines and made another dash up the hill, only to receive again such a murderous fire from the breastworks as no army, however brave, could have endured. Again they rolled down the hill in confusion.

An hour later the British made a third attack. The first volleys of the Americans swept down their front ranks as before. But the Americans were running short of powder and as the assailants noted the slackening of the American fire, Howe ordered a charge with the bayonet. Madly the English rushed forward



¹ These figures are given by Frothingham, *Battle of Bunker Hill*, pp. 17 and 40.

and leaped over the parapet. The Americans were without bayonets to their muskets, and the fight was now an unequal one. Prescott, seeing the folly of continuing the struggle, ordered a retreat, and the British were left in possession of the field.

One of the last to leave the redoubt was General Joseph Warren, who lingered in the rear as though he disdained to fly, and this cost him his life. He had joined the ranks as a volunteer and had fought bravely during the day, but with the last English volley he fell dead with a bullet in his brain. Through his death the American cause suffered the most serious loss in a single life during the war.

Death of
Warren

The victory won by the British at Bunker Hill ¹ was a costly one. They lost in killed and wounded 1054 men, one tenth of whom were officers. Pitcairn was among the dead. Howe was wounded in the foot. The victory enabled the English to hold Boston for nine months longer, but the moral effect lay wholly with the Americans, whose loss was 449. At Bunker Hill they had discovered their own prowess, their ability to stand before the regulars; and Bunker Hill became a rallying cry of the patriots in every contest of the war.

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Of the older general and standard histories, Bancroft, *History of the United States*, and Hildreth, *History of the United States*, are valuable.

¹ Most of the fighting occurred at Breed's Hill, but the battle received its name from the higher eminence near by.

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLUTION: PROGRESS OF THE WAR AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

WASHINGTON AND THE ARMY

AFTER an overland journey from Philadelphia, that resembled an ovation, Washington arrived in Cambridge two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill, and the next day, beneath the shade of a great elm tree, he formally assumed command of the Continental army. The new commander was warmly welcomed by the army. The local officers yielded gracefully to his superior authority. Some of them were men destined to achieve abiding fame in the coming war. The ablest among them was Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island. As a farmer boy, and later a blacksmith, he had lacked the means of a higher education, but being fond of books, he acquired much knowledge by private study. He read law, general literature, and especially military tactics. He was a born soldier, and before he knew that he was to spend a portion of his life in the field he was thoroughly familiar with the theory of warfare. He was in most of the battles of the war, and was implicitly trusted by Washington, to whom he was scarcely inferior in generalship. Greene was a man of rare sweetness of character and purity of morals. In the later years of the war he became the savior of the Southern states; and after peace had come to the newborn republic, he left his native state to spend the evening of his days among the people of Georgia, who, in grateful remembrance of his services, had presented him with a fine plantation. From the hills of New Hampshire had come two men, opposite in characteristics, both of whom have left a permanent name in the annals of their country — John Sullivan, who represented wealth, refinement, and culture, and John Stark, who had shown his mettle at Bunker Hill, and whose dashing vigor and almost fierce patriotism mark him as one of the most heroic figures of the war. Here also was Henry Knox, a Boston bookseller, a corpulent man with a winning smile and a jolly laugh, who soon won his way into Washington's heart, and who many years later

became a member of his first Cabinet. The most picturesque figure of all was Daniel Morgan, the leader of the Virginia sharpshooters. Morgan was a giant in size, genial and affable, but fierce and recklessly daring in battle. In youth he had received five hundred lashes for insulting a British officer, but his spirit was unsubdued. He had escaped a murderous band of Indians on horseback after a musket ball had passed through his neck. He now joined the army of Washington and did valiant service for liberty throughout the war. These and many other Sons of Liberty now made the acquaintance of the commander in chief on the Cambridge Common. On July 10 the new commander in chief wrote the president of Congress a hopeful letter, praising the army and declaring that he was greatly in need of more engineers, clothing, munitions, and tents. He also stated the necessity that the army be enlarged.

Sir William Howe had succeeded Gage as commander of the British army, and his brother, Lord Richard Howe, was made admiral of the fleet. Howe remained inactive during the summer and autumn, and this again proved a great advantage to the Americans, for Washington needed the time to drill and reorganize his army and to secure an adequate supply of ammunition. The new-made soldiers soon grew tired of warfare, and as their terms of enlistment expired they departed for their homes by hundreds. Reënlistments were slow, and it was with great difficulty that Washington kept an army about him. He practically disbanded one army and enlisted another — all within musket shot of the British regiments.

Within this period a remarkable expedition to Canada had been undertaken by General Richard Montgomery. He captured Montreal and was later joined by Benedict Arnold with 1100 men. With Arnold was Aaron Burr, whose name, like that of Arnold, was to become famous, then infamous, in American history. After a desperate attack on Quebec¹ in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded, the army returned broken and decimated. The expedition ended in disastrous failure.

Washington was severely criticised for his long delay before Boston; but he was wiser than his critics. He spent every day in perfecting his army and preparing to strike a blow. By the 1st of March, 1776, a great many of the cannon captured at Ticonderoga the year before had been drawn on sledges all those hundreds of miles to the Conti-

**Expedition
to Canada**

**Dorchester
Heights**

¹ The city was defended by Sir Guy Carleton.

mental army at Cambridge. The commander now determined to wait no longer. He sent two thousand men on the night of the 4th of March to fortify the peninsula south of Boston, known as Dorchester Heights, which commanded the city and harbor even better than did Bunker Hill. During the night the Americans kept up an unceasing cannonade from Roxbury and other points for the purpose of drowning the sound of the pick and the hammer, the noise of the moving wagons, and of the dragging of siege guns; and Howe, all unwittingly, aided him in the good work by replying with his cannon.

At the dawn of day the British general opened his eyes in astonishment upon the work that had been wrought in the night on the heights of Dorchester. What could be done? Washington could now destroy every ship in the harbor with shells. Howe determined to storm the works; but his men remembered Bunker Hill, and the memory left them spiritless. There was but one thing left for the English to do — to abandon Boston and the Boston harbor; and ere the end of the month General Howe, with all the British ships, bearing eight thousand soldiers and nearly two thousand American royalists, launched out upon the deep and sailed away to Halifax. Thus the old Bay colony, the scene of the opening acts of the Revolution, after six years of incessant annoyance, was set free from the enemy; and never again, from that day to the present, has a foreign army trod the soil of Massachusetts.¹

Evacuation
of Boston,
March, 1776

This was Washington's first stroke in the war, and it was one of his most brilliant. With little loss he had cleared New England of the enemy, and had sent a thrill of joy over the whole country. In their haste the British left behind more than two hundred cannon and great quantities of muskets and ammunition, all of which became the property of Washington's army. Furthermore, the news of Howe's departure did not reach England for several weeks, and meantime vessels were being sent to Boston to supply the wants of the army — and so they did, but not of the British army. They sailed innocently into the harbor and were captured. Their contents went to increase the stores of the Continental army.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Let us now go back a half year and shift the scene again to Philadelphia. The drama, covering some eight months, is one

¹ Except in the district of Maine in the War of 1812.

of the most dramatic in our history. Early in the autumn of 1775 the Continental Congress was waiting to hear from the king.

**The king's
attitude**

In deference to his Majesty, who would not recognize the Congress as a legal body, the members signed their humble petition, not as a group but as individuals representing their respective colonies. This alone proves their sincerity, and absolutely disproves any intention to strike for independence at that time. The petition reached London in August. The answer came late in October, and it was a stunning blow, even to the most sanguine. King George had declined to receive the petition, or to see the messenger that bore it! He had only recently thundered forth a proclamation declaring the colonists in a state of rebellion and no longer under his protection. And this was not all. The irate monarch, unable to secure at home the troops needed in America, hired a large number of soldiers from the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and other German princes, to fight his subjects in America.¹ These Hessians, as they were called, were for the most part honest, sincere men, and they came to America only because they were sold by their inhuman masters.

The news of the rejection of their "Olive Branch" petition, of the king's proclamation, and of the hiring of foreign mercenaries, reached America at about the same time, — the last days of October, — and the sensation created was profound and widespread. It was evident that the king meant to awe the colonists into submission, but he only deepened the resentment against him, and thousands who had been lukewarm were now converted to the cause of the patriots. From this moment Congress assumed a bolder tone. It appointed committees to correspond with foreign nations, and urged South Carolina to seize all English vessels within its waters. When in March the news reached America that the British Parliament had passed an act closing all American ports and authorizing British commanders to seize and impress American crews and to force them into British service, Congress made answer by authorizing the fitting out of privateers to prey on English commerce. It also opened American ports to the vessels of all nations. No more disclaimers of a desire for independence do we hear, no more talk of reconciliation with the king.

¹ King George first applied for troops to Catherine II of Russia, who declined, sarcastically asking the king if he thought it compatible with his dignity to employ foreign troops against his own subjects. (See Fiske, Vol. I, p. 161.) The total number of "Hessians" employed during the war was about thirty thousand. Congress offered them grants of land if they would desert the British, and many of them did so.

This change of attitude toward the mother land was not confined to Congress. The majority of the people were soon convinced that their sovereign did not love them, and it was not long before the subject of independence, which before had been only whispered in the corner, began to be proclaimed from the house-top. The subject was debated on all sides, and the idea of independence grew steadily during the winter and spring. But the people were not unanimous. A large minority, probably one third of the people, was in sympathy with the English cause to the end, and it is noteworthy that in New England and the South the tendency to make a final break with the king was more pronounced than in the middle colonies. In January, 1776, appeared a remarkable pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," from the pen of Thomas Paine. This was published broadcast, and its concise, simple, and unanswerable style won thousands to the cause.

Up to April, 1776, all the talk of independence had been private talk. This showed the drift of popular feeling, but something more must be done to achieve it. North Carolina won the honor of being first to make an official move. On the 12th of April that colony instructed its delegates in Congress "to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances."¹ This was a move of the greatest importance, and it was but a short time until Rhode Island and then Massachusetts followed the example of their southern sister. The fourth colony to pronounce for independence was Virginia, which went farther than the others by instructing its delegates to propose independence to the Continental Congress. This bold resolution was sent by special messenger to Philadelphia.

State movements
toward inde-
pendence

Congress during this time was making history rapidly. It had practically assumed sovereign power in its conduct of the war. On the 15th of May, 1776, it passed a set of resolutions, offered by John Adams, authorizing the several colonies to set up state governments independent of the Crown, and several of them, as

¹ **The Mecklenburg Declaration.** — This dates from the preceding year. The county committee of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on May 31, 1775, resolved that as the king and Parliament had "annulled and vacated all civil and military commissions granted by the Crown," etc., the provincial congresses, directed by the Continental Congress, are invested with all legislative and executive power, independent of the Crown, until Parliament should resign its arbitrary pretensions. This was a bold and admirable resolution, and it formed the basis many years later of the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, very similar to the great Declaration of 1776. This spurious Mecklenburg Declaration was never published till 1819.

Virginia and New Jersey, proceeded to do so.¹ This was altogether an act of sovereignty, and it rendered necessary, as a logical consequence, a declaration of independence of the Crown. But so vast and so vital did this subject seem — the founding of a nation — that Congress felt that it could not grapple with it alone; on this one subject it could act only at the mandate of its master — the People. The majority of the members had come to favor a final break with England. The leader of this party was Samuel Adams, who, like Otis and Warren, was among the few that had aimed at independence from the beginning. The opposite party, led by Dickinson, was equally patriotic, but it counseled delay and a further effort toward reconciliation.

The messenger from Virginia arrived early in June. What his message was we have seen. On the 7th of that month

Lee's resolution Richard Henry Lee, one of the foremost delegates from that colony, rose before Congress and solemnly offered the resolution, in obedience to his constituents, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown." The colonies had not all been heard from, and Lee's resolution, after a brief debate, was laid on the table for three weeks. A committee was then chosen to prepare a declaration in a suitable form to be sent forth to the world. This committee was chosen by ballot, and Thomas Jefferson, receiving the highest number, became the chairman of the committee and the writer of the immortal document. By the 1st of July all the colonies except New York had granted the necessary authority to their respective delegations, and on that morning Lee's resolution was taken up. For two days the subject was debated with great vigor, the chief speaker being John Adams. There is no doubt that the speech he made on this occasion was the most powerful delivered on the floor of Congress during the Revolutionary period. Dickinson answered him as best he could, but years afterward he acknowledged that he had been on the wrong side. On the afternoon of the 2d the resolution was passed by the unanimous vote of twelve colonies, New York not voting. Each colony had but one vote, the majority of the delegation casting it.

Jefferson had ere this put the sentiments of Congress into a terse and fitting form; in other words, he had written the

¹New Hampshire and South Carolina framed constitutions on the advice of Congress (November, 1775) that the colonies set up temporary governments. Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, p. 504.

"Declaration of Independence" as we know it. This document was now taken up, and, with a few slight changes,¹ was adopted by the vote of the twelve colonies on the evening of the 4th; and this day became the recognized national birthday of the newly founded nation.² New York joined with the twelve on the ninth, and the thirteen colonies were then unanimous. This Declaration practically ignored Parliament and the English people, and laid the entire blame for the dissension on the king.³ In short, nervous, almost passionate sentences, it recounted the political crimes of his Majesty and characterized him as a despot and a tyrant. It pronounced the colonies absolved from all allegiance to the Crown, and invested them with imperial power. The Declaration, whatever its defects (and it is not above criticism), was a true expression of the popular will. The people were not unmindful of the gravity of the step they were taking, of the vastness of the responsibility they were assuming. They knew that a long and bloody war must follow — that it meant untold suffering and sacrifice, vacant chairs at the family fireside, widowed mothers and fatherless children. But they took no step backward; they saw in the dim future a new nation born, commercial and political freedom, self-government. "America was never so great," says a famous English writer, "as on the day when she declared her independence."⁴

The news of the great act rang forth to the expectant city in joyful peals of the old bell in the tower of the statehouse, and the people were thrown into a state of delirious joy. Post riders were sent in all directions with the great news, and in many places people abandoned themselves to the most unrestrained enthusiasm. In New York a leaden statue of George III was torn from its pedestal in the public square and melted into bullets. The Declaration was read at the head of each brigade in the army, from the pulpit and the public platform; and it was welcomed everywhere with shouts and processions, with the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, with bonfires and illuminations. For fifteen years — since the granting of the writs of

¹ Congress made but two changes of importance; a clause condemning the slave trade and another censuring the English people were struck out. The other members of the committee that framed the Declaration were Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston — no two from the same colony.

² The Declaration was signed by the members at a later date.

³ Winsor, Vol. VI, p. 246.

⁴ Some writers seem to delight in attacking the Declaration, especially that awful statement, "all men are created equal." Jefferson unfortunately failed to add the three words, "in their rights," which he obviously meant.

assistance in 1761 — the people had borne one indignity upon another; they had groped in the dark, unable to divine the next move on the great chessboard. Now there was a goal, a prize for which they were willing to stake their all — their “lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.”

EARLY BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTION

The first day of the memorable year 1776 was marked by two events that are still remembered in Revolutionary annals — the burning of Norfolk by the fleet of Governor Dunmore, who had been driven to the sea by the infuriated people of Virginia; and the unfurling of the flag over the Continental army at Cambridge. Before the close of this same month, January, General Clinton was sent from Boston to hold the colonies of the South. In May he was joined in southern waters by Sir Peter Parker with an English fleet of ten warships, bearing a body of troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis, who was destined later to be a leading figure in the war. Meantime, in February, a fierce battle had occurred in North Carolina at the mouth of Moore's Creek. The patriots were completely successful, routing the enemy and taking nine hundred prisoners, including the commander.

The fight at Moore's Creek worked like magic on the people of North Carolina, and in a few days ten thousand men were armed and ready to expel the invaders of their soil. Clinton now decided, after the arrival of Parker and Cornwallis, to attack Charleston. But in front of the city on Sullivan's Island the Americans had made a strong breastwork of palmetto logs and sandbags, and this was defended by several hundred men commanded by William Moultrie.¹ The English fleet attacked the rude fort, but was repulsed with great damage to the ships. The heroism displayed in the defense of the fort, afterward called Fort Moultrie, was equal to that of Bunker Hill or of any other engagement in the war. It was on this day that Sergeant William Jasper, an illiterate youth, leaped over the bastion, in the face of the enemy's fire, and recovered a fallen banner. And the story is still related at the American fireside as an example of heroism.

¹ Congress had appointed General Charles Lee to take general command at the South, but Lee did little else than find fault. He would have stopped the proceedings of Moultrie but for the determined interference of Rutledge, the president of the provincial congress.

After spending three weeks in repairing his ships, Clinton sailed for New York, and the South was free from invasion for nearly three years, when it became the scene of the final conflict of the war.

The success of Washington at Boston and of Moultrie at Charleston sent a wave of exultation over the land; but this was followed by a feeling of depression caused by half a year of unbroken disasters. The British had decided to sever the colonies in twain — to cut off New England from the South — by occupying New York City and conquering the Hudson Valley. General William Howe came down from Halifax, and was joined by his brother, Admiral Howe, with a powerful fleet from England; and these were joined in the New York harbor by Clinton and Cornwallis from the South. At the same time Sir Guy Carleton was ordered to descend with an army from Canada, to capture Ticonderoga, and to hold possession of the upper Hudson.

In August the British had thirty-two thousand veterans on Staten Island. To oppose this force Washington, who, divining the intention of the enemy to strike New York, had moved his army thither in the early spring, could muster but eighteen thousand men, and many of these were new recruits and in no sense to be compared with veteran soldiers. Before opening hostilities Admiral Howe offered the olive branch, which he had fresh from Lord North, a gracious offer from the king to pardon all rebels who would lay down their arms and assist in restoring order. It was sent by special messenger to "George Washington, Esq." But as "George" Washington, the citizen and planter, had no authority to deal with national questions, and as "General" Washington had not been addressed, he declined to receive the communication. The next act in the drama was the opening of hostilities. Washington occupied Manhattan Island, and Brooklyn Heights, which commanded the city. Howe determined to assault Brooklyn Heights, which was occupied by about half Washington's army under General Putnam. The English advanced and, on two sides, attacked the Americans under Sullivan, whom Putnam had sent out to meet the enemy. Between two galling fires, it was not possible for the Americans to hold their ground, and nearly the whole force, including the commander, General Sullivan, were made prisoners of war. Another division of fifteen hundred American troops, under Lord Stirling,¹ was

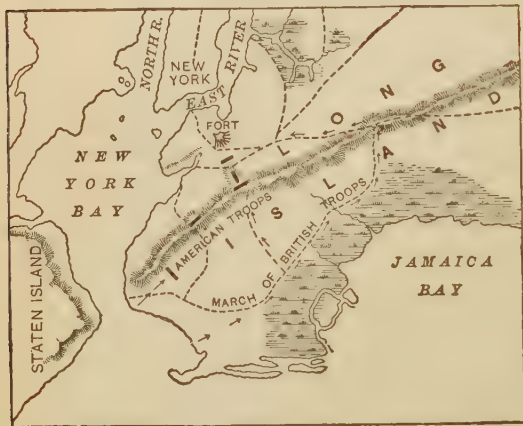
Brooklyn
Heights and
Long Island

¹ This American "Lord" was William Alexander of New Jersey. He had inherited a lapsed Scotch title and was always known as Lord Stirling.

attacked and put to flight. Stirling was captured, but most of his men escaped.

Washington had witnessed the disaster from a distance with deep emotion. "My God," he cried, "what brave fellows I must lose this day!" Howe closed in around the American fortress, and Washington,

expecting an immediate storming of the works, brought troops from Manhattan. But Howe decided to settle down to a siege. The American commander seeing that he could not stand a siege, determined to elude his enemy by night, and this he did with re-



markable skill. The night was favorable, as a dense fog enveloped the moving army. Every manner of craft on the East River, from the yacht to the scow and rowboat, was pressed into the service; and on the morning of the 30th, the entire army with its stores and artillery was safe in New York, and Howe had lost the rarest opportunity of his life of crushing the rebellion and ending the war.

Lord Howe again made overtures for peace. He sent the captured Sullivan, a "decoy duck," said John Adams, to Philadelphia to make proposals to members of Congress and to request a committee of conference. Franklin, Rutledge, and John Adams were appointed; they met Howe on Staten Island, but as they refused to treat with him, except on the ground of independent America, the conference came to nothing.

After losing Brooklyn Heights, Washington could no longer hold New York, and his next move was to fall back with the army to the heights along the Harlem River. But before Putnam, with the rear-guard of four thousand men, could leave New York, Howe had crossed the East River, and occupied the city. Putnam was in imminent danger of capture, and was saved by the clever strategy of a woman. As Howe reached Murray Hill, the fine country seat of Mrs. Murray, — now a

fashionable portion of New York City, — that lady sent him a pressing invitation to stop for luncheon. Howe accepted the kind offer, and while he and his officers spent two hours with their hostess, whom they no doubt supposed to be a royalist, Putnam made his escape up the Hudson to the main army.¹

But the Hudson was guarded by two strong forts — Fort Washington on the upper end of Manhattan Island and Fort Lee across the river on the Palisades — and for nearly a month the two armies lay glaring at each other. Washington then moved his main army to White Plains. Howe followed him, and, despairing of gaining his rear, made an attack in front. This skirmish is known as the battle of White Plains. Howe then retired down the Hudson after Washington had taken a strong position at North Castle, near the scene of the battle.

White
Plains,
October 28,
1776

NEW JERSEY AND TRENTON

The remaining two months of this memorable year — save only the final week — must be pronounced the darkest days of the Revolution. A chain of unfortunate events came near bringing ruin upon the cause of American independence. The officious interference of Congress, a serious blunder by General Greene, and the disobedience of Charles Lee, who had arrived from the South, brought about the famous retreat across New Jersey and produced an appalling depression of spirits throughout the land.

Washington, seeing that the fort called by his name, now held by Greene, could not prevent the enemy's vessels from passing up the Hudson, decided to abandon it. But Congress now interposed, and resolved that Fort Washington² should not be

¹ **Nathan Hale.** — After the Continental army had reached Harlem Heights above New York, Washington, desiring to be made acquainted with the force and probable purpose of the enemy, applied to Colonel Knowlton for some capable man who would be willing to attempt the dangerous task. Knowlton chose Nathan Hale, a brilliant young captain, aged twenty-one, a graduate of Yale and, before the war, a Connecticut school-teacher. Hale volunteered his services and crossed the sound at Fairfield in September, 1776, disguised as a school-teacher. He reached New York, made a careful study of the enemy's fortifications, drew plans, and was waiting for the ferry to return by way of Brooklyn when he was betrayed by a Tory kinsman who recognized him. His arrest followed, and Howe turned him over to the inhuman provost marshal, Cunningham, who hanged him the next day without a trial, and even refused him the services of a clergyman or the use of a Bible. Hale's dying utterance is well known: "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country." While Hale was engaged in this business, Colonel Knowlton, who had sent him, was killed in the battle of Harlem Plains.

² Fort Washington had been built early in the spring by Rufus Putnam, afterward called "Father of Ohio," a cousin of General Putnam.

given up unless through dire necessity. Greene for once trusted the judgment of his commander and followed the advice of Congress. The mistake was a disastrous and costly one. Howe stormed the fort with almost his entire army, and, after losing five hundred men, forced the surrender. His prize was three thousand men and a great quantity of cannon, muskets, and military stores. The fall of Fort Washington was a terrible blow to the patriots, and Greene never forgot the costly lesson it taught him. It was now determined to abandon Fort Lee, on the west side of the Hudson.

For several months one misfortune had borne upon another, and thousands of people now came to believe that the patriot cause was lost. Seldom was Washington's army in a condition to meet the enemy in the open field; but equal if not greater skill is required in conducting a retreat, and in wearing out a large army with a small one; and in this Washington was a master. His diminished and discouraged army now lay at Hackensack, New Jersey, and the troops were leaving for their homes as fast as their brief enlistments expired. The commander had urged upon Congress the importance of long enlistments, and that body had complied, but their action had not yet borne fruit.

He had with him but six thousand men, having left seven thousand with Lee at North Castle, in New York, with orders to cross the Hudson and join him as soon as practicable. But Lee hesitated; and Washington, moving on to Newark with Cornwallis in pursuit, sent messengers again and again, urging Lee to join him with all possible haste. Lee sent excuses, argued, dissembled, pretended to misunderstand, and refused to move; and the commander in chief was forced to his inglorious retreat across New Jersey with but a fragment of his army.

Charles Lee requires a little special attention at this point. He was English born, the son of a British officer. He served in various European wars and in the French and Indian War in America. Having returned to Europe, he again came to America when he saw that the people were about to grapple with the mother country, and offered his services to the patriot cause. He succeeded, by constant boasting, and by reckless criticisms of military affairs, in making the American people believe that he was a great commander. Tall, hollow-cheeked, and uncomely, he was irascible, selfish, pompous, and censorious; but these qualities were regarded as but pardonable eccentricities of a great man. All classes, including

Congress and the commander in chief, at first greatly overrated Lee. In truth, he was an adventurer, a seeker of fame and fortune, and, as revealed by his private letters unearthed in London nearly a hundred years later, a traitor to the American cause.

While Washington was fleeing before the British regulars and urging Lee to join him, the latter was plotting for the overthrow of his chief, whispering slanders, and writing to governors of states and members of Congress, asserting that the recent disasters were due to Washington's incompetency, and that it would all have turned out differently if his advice had been heeded. Many of the uncritical, in whose minds Washington's star had recently waned, firmly believed Lee to be the greater general of the two.

The hour was dark and threatening indeed. Half the army was fleeing like a hunted fox across the Jersey plains, while the men were departing for their homes by hundreds, believing the cause to be a lost one; the other half was held inactive by a traitor a hundred miles away. Furthermore, the gloomy outlook had led some three thousand of the leading Jersey farmers to accept Howe's latest offer and to swear allegiance to the Crown, and some hundreds of them enlisted in his army. Surely the infant life of the republic quivered in the balance. At this dark hour Congress came to the rescue. Silver and gold it had none; but it could do something, and so it did. It answered Lee's intrigue and gave to the country its opinion of Washington. It made him military dictator for six months.¹

Washington had reached the bank of the Delaware before Lee moved hand or foot to join him. Then Lee crossed the Hudson and leisurely proceeded westward. But ere the middle of December, after he had spent a night at a village tavern, and just as he was finishing a letter to Gates in which he spoke of Washington as "damnable deficient," a band of British riders did the American people a lasting service by making Lee a prisoner. Thus a large portion of the army, released from the baneful influence of this designing self-seeker, became again useful to the commander in chief.²

Lee's capture

Howe had fully expected to catch his prey in West Jersey; but the unwearied vigilance of Washington had saved the American army from capture, and landed it safely on the western bank of the Delaware. Intense was the excitement in Philadelphia

¹ This action was taken the day after Washington's success at Trenton, to be noticed later, though Congress had not yet heard of the victory.

² Thomas Paine was with the fleeing army and *en route* wrote *The Crisis*.

when it was learned that the patriot army was fleeing before the enemy toward the city. Congress fled to Baltimore, all business was suspended, and the stores and schools were closed; excited multitudes gathered in the streets, and a few days later the roads leading from the city were crowded with all sorts of vehicles bearing women and children and household goods to places of refuge.¹ A great mass meeting, held in the statehouse yard, was addressed by Thomas Mifflin, and the result was that several hundred men shouldered their muskets and set out to join the army.

The patriot cause had now reached its lowest ebb. Howe believed that armed resistance had collapsed, and retired to New York, while Cornwallis prepared to take ship for England. New Jersey was held in the firm grasp of the British. Count Donop was at Bordentown with a body of men; a small force was stationed at Princeton, another at New Brunswick; while a larger body, some twelve hundred Hessians under Colonel Rall, occupied Trenton.

But the dawn was beginning to break upon the darkness. The volunteers from Philadelphia arrived in camp; Sullivan came with the troops that Lee had held so long at North Castle; and Horatio Gates joined the army with two thousand men, sent by Schuyler from the upper Hudson. Washington now determined on a bold stroke. He would recross the Delaware by night and attack the Hessians at Trenton. He chose the most opportune time, — the day after Christmas, — judging wisely that after the festivities of the holiday the soldiers would be ill prepared for defense. The whole project was planned and executed by Washington. Gates, who was expected to assist, had gone off to Baltimore to intrigue with Congress; Putnam, who was guarding Philadelphia, could spare no men for the enterprise.² But nothing could

Crossing the
Delaware

¹ Winsor, Vol. VI, p. 371.

² General Putnam, farmer, innkeeper, and soldier, though almost threescore at the opening of the war, and never a master of military science, was yet one of the most heroic and picturesque figures of the war. He commanded a body of rangers in the French and Indian War, was present at the capture of Montreal, and of Havana, Cuba, and was a colonel in Bradstreet's Western expedition against Pontiac in 1764. In the French War he was taken captive by the Indians, bound to a tree till the battle had ceased, and then taken into the forest to be tortured to death. He was stripped and tied to a sapling; and the fagots piled at his feet were already ablaze when a French officer dashed through the savage horde, rescued Putnam, and carried him to Montreal, whence he was exchanged.

The best known and perhaps the most daring feat in Putnam's checkered life was his riding down a precipice at West Greenwich, New York. He had but one hundred and fifty men, and was attacked by Governor Tryon with ten times that number. Ordering his men to retire to a swamp inaccessible to cavalry on the near approach of the enemy, he rode down a hundred stone steps that had been cut into the solid rock for foot passengers.

The victory at Trenton astonished everybody, so closely had Washington guarded the secret of his intentions. As the news spread through the country there was great rejoicing. The captured Hessians were marched through the streets of Philadelphia to give the people ocular proof of the American triumph. The people thanked God for the victory, and took courage to renew the struggle for liberty. "The Lord of hosts has heard the cry of the distressed," exclaimed the Lutheran patriarch, Mühlenthal, "and sent his angel to their assistance."¹

Cornwallis, on hearing of the American victory, gave up his visit to England and hastened to Trenton. Washington had recrossed the swollen river with his spoils, but a week later we find him again at Trenton with a larger and more hopeful army. The terms of enlistment of a large number of his men expired with the year 1776, but by pledging to them his private fortune (an example followed by John Stark and others) and by the use of \$50,000 placed in his hands by Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, he induced them to remain. Cornwallis marched upon Trenton with eight thousand of his best troops. Washington had taken a stand on the banks of a little river south of the town. But he saw that his force was much inferior to that of his antagonist, and he dared not risk a battle. Cornwallis now determined to throw his entire force against Washington, crowd him to the bank of the Delaware, and capture his whole army. But his men were weary and it was evening. He decided to wait till morning, never doubting the success of his plans. He retired in high spirits, saying, "At last we have run down the old fox and will bag him in the morning."² But the fox was too wily to be caught. Keeping his camp-fires brightly burning all night, and a few men busily throwing up embankments within hearing of the British sentinels, Washington silently removed his entire army and by daylight they were marching happily toward Princeton. As the army neared the town a detachment under General Hugh Mercer encountered some two thousand British on their way to join Cornwallis. An immediate conflict ensued. After a fierce opening fire, the British rushed upon the patriots with the bayonet; and the latter, being without bayonets, fled through an orchard, leaving their valiant commander mortally wounded on the ground. Washington soon arrived with the main army and the battle became general.

¹ Winsor, Vol. VI, p. 376.

² Fiske, Vol. I, p. 232.

At this battle of Princeton Washington signally displayed that marvelous physical courage which characterized him. The Pennsylvania militia wavered and seemed on the point of breaking, when the commander, to encourage them, rode to the front in the midst of the flying bullets and drew rein within thirty yards of the enemy's lines. One of his aids drew his cap over his eyes that he might not see his chieftain die. Next moment a cloud of smoke enveloped rider and horse and hid them from view, but as the smoke cleared away and the commander sat unhurt, a wild shout of joy arose from the army.

Battle of
Princeton

The British were soon put to flight, and the battle was over. Cornwallis was amazed to discover, on the morning of January 3, that his prey had again escaped him. The distant boom of cannon at sunrise told the story. He broke camp and made a dash for Brunswick to save his stores collected there, while Washington moved northward to Morristown and went into winter quarters.

In three weeks Washington had done a marvelous work for liberty. Frederick the Great is said to have pronounced his achievements in those three weeks the most brilliant in military history. In that time Washington, with a small, half-trained, half-hearted army, had won two victories, had taken a large number of prisoners, had greatly increased the size of his army, and, above all, had turned the tide of popular feeling and infused a new and living hope into the hearts of the patriots from Maine to Georgia and from the mountains to the sea. The star of Liberty, that had seemed so near its setting, was mounting again toward the zenith.

STRUGGLE FOR THE HUDSON VALLEY

The episode in New Jersey, resulting in the retreat of Washington across the state and his later success at Trenton and Princeton, did not belong to the immediate general plan of the British ministry. That body, of which Lord George Germain, the secretary of state, was the mouthpiece and one of the leading spirits, had set its heart on dividing the colonies into two parts by conquering the great valley of the Hudson River. A year's campaign had resulted in the occupation of New York City alone, while all the vast region to the north, even to the Canadian border, was still held by the Americans. The British now determined on a desperate and final move.

It was decided that an army should invade New York from Canada, and that it should be commanded by Lieutenant General John Burgoyne, who had succeeded Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, in command at the north. From this army a detachment of a thousand men under St. Leger was sent by way of Lake Ontario to land at Oswego, to proceed inland, capture Fort Stanwix on the upper Mohawk, sweep down the Mohawk Valley, and eventually join Burgoyne at Albany. From the south, General Howe was to move up the Hudson, destroying every vestige of opposition to the Crown, and at length to join his brethren in the general festivities at Albany. This was the plan for the summer of 1777. It would divide colonial America; it would sever New England from the south, break down the rebellion, and bring back the erring colonists to their former allegiance. And it was perfectly easy to carry out — on paper.

The defeat of the whole enterprise had its origin in a little slip of memory amounting to criminal negligence on the part of the one who, above all men, except his sovereign, desired the conquest of America — Lord George Germain. He had sent Burgoyne peremptory instructions to proceed down the Hudson, and the instructions to Howe to move up that river were equally peremptory. But before the latter order was signed he made a holiday excursion to the country, and on his return he forgot all about the paper, which lay in a pigeonhole for several weeks. The delay was fatal. At length the mistake was discovered and the order sent; but when it reached Howe, late in August, he was far from New York, — he had sailed to the Chesapeake, and was moving northward to meet Washington on the banks of the Brandywine. Who can measure the importance to American liberty of this little blunder? The fate of Burgoyne hung on the coöperation of Howe, and it is possible that the fate of the Revolution hung on the success or failure of this campaign.

During the closing days of June, 1777, General Burgoyne, with a well-trained army of eight thousand men, was sailing in high spirits up Lake Champlain toward Fort Ticonderoga. Four thousand of these were British regulars, three thousand were Hessians, a few hundred were Canadians, and Indians.

Burgoyne was a gentleman of culture and education, eloquent, generous, and brave. He was a member of the British Parli-
 Burgoyne ment, as were several others in his army. Among
 his subordinates were General Phillips, an artilleryist
 with an enviable reputation; General Fraser, a veteran com-

mander of much ability; and, not inferior to either, Baron Riedesel, who commanded the Hessians. The American commander at the north was General Philip Schuyler, who had recently placed Arthur St. Clair in command of Ticonderoga with a garrison of three thousand men. But scarcely had the British landed near the fort when they scaled a rocky height which commanded the fort, and the Americans were obliged to abandon it. The British flag was soon unfurled over the walls of the noble fort from which it had been so unceremoniously dragged by Ethan Allen two years before.

Recapture of
Ticonderoga

The news of the fall of this citadel of the Hudson Valley soon reached England, and occasioned the greatest rejoicing among the Tory party. The end of the rebellion was believed to be at hand. The king lost his self-control and, rushing into the queen's apartment, clapped his hands and shouted, "I have beat them! I have beat all the Americans!"¹ On the other hand, the Americans were deeply depressed by the news. Schuyler and St. Clair were fiercely denounced for not having fortified the fort, and St. Clair was tried the next year by court-martial, but acquitted.

The strange fact remained, which neither the English nor the Americans at that moment saw, that Burgoyne had done nothing toward conquering the Hudson Valley. He had done himself injury rather than good. He had captured the great fort, but the Americans did not need it; and it became a burden to its possessor, as a goodly portion of his army was required to hold it.

Still more important, the people of New York and New England were aroused as never before since the battle of Lexington, and they soon began pouring into Schuyler's camp by hundreds. Washington sent Arnold and Lincoln and Daniel Morgan with his five hundred Virginia sharpshooters to join Schuyler. Schuyler rose to the occasion. He removed all the cattle and provisions from the country round and forced the enemy to draw his daily bread from Canada and England; he felled trees and otherwise obstructed the roads, destroyed all bridges, and placed great stones and logs in the fords of the streams. Thus he obstructed the progress of the enemy, while his own army was daily increasing. Burgoyne was twenty-four days marching twenty-six miles, and every soldier that fell by the way — and they were many — was a net loss, for none could

¹ Fiske, *American Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 271.

be replaced. It was now the middle of August, and ere the close of that month an irreparable double calamity befell the British at Oriskany and Bennington.

Oriskany was, without exception, the bloodiest single conflict in the war of the Revolution. It occurred near Fort Stanwix, at the head waters of the Mohawk, and General Oriskany, August 6, 1777 Nicholas Herkimer was its hero. Herkimer was an aged German resident of that country, a veteran of the French War and now commander of the county militia. With 800 militia he met St. Leger in a deep ravine and while a fierce electric storm was raging the two forces grappled in deadly conflict. A ball killed Herkimer's horse and gave him a mortal wound; but he placed his saddle at the root of a tree, sat on it, and continued shouting his orders to the end of the battle.

At length, when one third of each army had been cut down, the British and Indians left the Americans in possession of the field. Two weeks later Benedict Arnold came to the rescue of Fort Stanwix and, by a most clever ruse, frightened St. Leger and his Indian allies from the country.¹

Burgoyne's army was beginning to suffer from hunger. At the foot of the Green Mountains, in the village of Bennington, were patriot stores and ammunition, and the British commander decided that he must have them. On August 13th he sent a force to make the capture. Perhaps Burgoyne did not know that John Stark was in the neighborhood. Stark had done valiant service at Bunker Hill and Trenton, but he had retired to his New Hampshire home because Congress had promoted others and not him, as it should have done. But now he redeemed himself, and posterity remembers him more for Bennington than for anything else. His speech to his men is well known, "They are ours to-night, or Molly Stark is a widow" — and so they were, and Molly Stark's husband survived the battle for forty-five years.

¹ While en route Arnold captured several Tory spies, among whom was a half-witted fellow named Yan Yost Cuyler. All were condemned to death. The mother and brother of Cuyler, hearing of this, hastened to the camp to plead for his life. At length Arnold offered him his freedom if he would go to the camp of St. Leger and spread the report that Burgoyne was totally defeated and that a great American army was coming to the rescue of Fort Stanwix. Cuyler agreed, and his brother was detained as a hostage to be put to death in case of his failure. Cuyler did his part well. With several bullet holes in his coat he ran into the British camp and declared that a great American host was close at hand, and that he had barely escaped with his life. He was known to many of the British as a Tory, and they readily believed his story. The Indians instantly took fright and began to desert. The panic soon spread to the regulars, the camp became a pandemonium, and, ere noon of next day, the whole army was in full flight to Canada. See Fiske, Vol. I, p. 294.

The Americans captured in all seven hundred men and a thousand stand of arms.

Burgoyne's difficulties were now multiplying. His provisions were well-nigh exhausted, and his ranks were diminishing while those of his enemy were increasing. Now came the news of the disaster at Bennington, and ere he had recovered from the shock he heard of Oriskany and of the disgraceful flight of St. Leger. His only salvation lay in coöperation from the South, and for news from that quarter he waited daily, but he waited in vain.

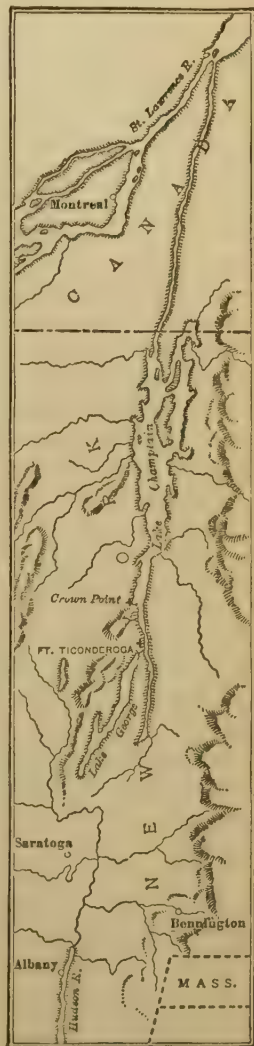
With sincere regret we must now record an act of Congress by which Schuyler was superseded by Gates in command of the army. The latter was a self-seeker, and his intrigues in Congress had at last been successful. Schuyler was a truer patriot, an abler soldier; but he had enemies, and they gained the object they had sought. So perfectly had Schuyler managed that the Americans must have won, even without a commander, and Gates came only to receive the laurels that had been gathered by other hands. Schuyler bore the humiliation like a true patriot and offered to serve Gates in any capacity.

Gates succeeds
Schuyler

Burgoyne's condition grew worse day by day. Lincoln harassed him from the rear, the main army of the patriots confronted him, while the men of New Hampshire "hung," to use his own

First battle
of Saratoga,
September
19

words, "like a gathering storm on the left." To retreat to Canada was impossible; to risk a battle was perilous, as the Americans now numbered fifteen thousand; and he longed for Howe — but Howe was far away on the banks of the Brandywine. At length, in desperation, he determined to hazard a battle. He led



his army across the Hudson in mid-September, and on the 19th a desperate battle was fought. The Americans were strongly entrenched at Bemis Heights, which had been fortified by the Polish patriot, Kosciuszko. Gates had intended to act wholly on the defensive, but the dashing Arnold begged and received permission to advance upon the enemy. With three thousand men he met the British, at Freeman's Farm.¹ After a sharp fight Fraser attacked Arnold fiercely, and later in the day Riedesel joined him. Arnold sent to Gates for reënforcements, but the latter, with more than ten thousand idle troops about him, refused; and Arnold, though with inferior numbers, again dashed into the battle and kept it up till nightfall. Neither side could claim a victory; but the British loss was much greater than the American.

The conduct of Gates in refusing Arnold reënforcements was outrageous, and can be explained only on the ground of jealousy. The army, however, sounded Arnold's praises, and this awakened the envy of Gates. A quarrel arose between the two, and Gates dismissed Arnold from his command. The latter was about to leave for Pennsylvania, but his brother officers begged him to remain, and he did so.

Eighteen days after this battle a second took place on the same ground as the first. Burgoyne found that he must cut his way out of the trap in which he was placed, or perish, and he had a little hope of success. He had heard that the dashing Arnold was now without a command, and he had little respect for Gates, whom he called "an old midwife." With fifteen hundred picked men he attempted to turn the American left, but was driven back at every point by Morgan's sharpshooters and the New England regulars.

Arnold was watching the conflict from a distance and could endure being a spectator no longer; he leaped upon his charger and was soon in the midst of the battle. The men shouted for joy at the sight of their old commander. The British were thoroughly defeated, and General Fraser, one of Burgoyne's ablest commanders, was mortally wounded. As evening was closing the battle, a wounded German soldier lying on the ground fired at Arnold and shattered his left leg, the same that had been wounded at Quebec. A rifleman who saw the incident rushed upon the German with his bayonet and would have run him through the body, but Arnold

¹ Of the four names by which this battle is known the reader can take his choice: Saratoga, Stillwater, Bemis Heights, and Freeman's Farm.

cried, "For God's sake, don't hurt him! he's a fine fellow!" and the man was spared. It has been well said that this was the hour when Benedict Arnold should have died.¹ Had it been so, what a name he would have left in the annals of America! but how painful for the historian to record the later career of this daring, brilliant soldier.

The British army was now weary unto death, and a braver army never wielded the sword. The Hudson was guarded at every point by the Americans, who were fast closing around their intrepid foes. The wife of General Riedesel, with her three little children, had followed the fortunes of her husband through the war. For six days she crouched in the cellar of a large house with her children, her maids, and several wounded officers, while the Americans, thinking the place a lodging for officers, trained their guns on the house, and eleven cannon balls passed through it in one night.

General Fraser died soon after the battle. He had requested that his body be buried at the twilight hour on a green hill not far from the river. This was done, and as the little group of officers stood sadly around the grave of their fallen comrade, the scene was rendered more solemn and awful by the peals of the American artillery that mingled with the broken voice of the chaplain.²

What now could the British army do but surrender? It was practically surrounded by the Americans, whose cannonade was

¹ I have borrowed the account of this incident from Fiske.

² **Baroness Riedesel's diary.** — The wife of Baron Riedesel, one of Burgoyne's ablest generals, who accompanied her husband throughout the memorable Saratoga campaign, kept an elaborate diary that gives a remarkable insight into the daily life of the army. She tells how the soldiers at first were "very merry, singing songs, and panting for action," and how terrible was the suffering just before the surrender. From this diary, describing incidents of the surrender, we take the following: "As I passed through the American [lines] I observed, and this was a great consolation to me, that no one eyed us with looks of resentment; but they all greeted us and even showed compassion. When I drew near the tents, a handsome man approached me, took my children and hugged and kissed them. 'You tremble,' said he, addressing himself to me, 'be not afraid. . . . You will be very much embarrassed to eat with all these gentlemen; come with your children to my tent. . . .' 'You are certainly a husband and a father,' I answered; 'you have shown me so much kindness.' I now found that he was General Schuyler. Some days after this we arrived at Albany, where we so often wished ourselves; but we did not enter it as we expected we should — victors! We were received by the good General Schuyler, his wife, and daughters, not as enemies, but kind friends; and they treated us with the most marked attention and politeness, as they did General Burgoyne, who had caused General Schuyler's beautifully finished house to be burnt. In fact, they behaved like persons of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollections of their own injuries in the contemplation of our misfortunes. General Burgoyne was struck with General Schuyler's generosity, and said to him, 'You show me great kindness, though I have done you much injury.' 'That was the fate of war,' replied the brave man; 'let us say no more about it.'"

incessant, day and night; its supplies were cut off, and there was no hope of rescue. Sir Henry Clinton¹ was at last moving up the Hudson with a small army, and had won some successes; but it was not possible for him to reach Burgoyne before the surrender. Had he done so the result might have been the surrender of two British armies instead of one, for the patriots were now twenty thousand strong and were still swarming in from the valleys and the hills.

Burgoyne asked for a conference with Gates on October 12. The latter at first demanded unconditional surrender, but the English general refused and declared that his men would first fall upon their foe and accept no quarter. **Surrender of Burgoyne, October 17, 1777** Gates then gave better terms. The British were permitted to stack their own arms and were promised transportation to England on the condition that they must not serve again during the war.² The number of men surrendered was 5799, with all the cannon, muskets, and munitions of war; but the entire British losses from the beginning of the campaign exceeded ten thousand men.

After the surrender the American army melted away as rapidly as it had assembled, leaving but a nucleus of regulars. The militia returned to their homes, feeling confident (and this feeling was shared throughout the country) that the crisis of the war was past and that the complete independence of America must in the end be achieved.

¹ Clinton had sent a messenger to Burgoyne with a letter written on very thin paper and encased in a silver bullet. At Kingston the messenger was caught, swallowed the bullet, but it was recovered by means of an emetic. The messenger was hanged, and Burgoyne waited in vain for the news from Clinton.

² In the convention between Gates and Burgoyne, the former agreed that the British soldiers be transported to England on the condition that they were not to serve again during the war. But ere long the belief gained ground that they would be used in Europe to take the place of other troops who would be sent to America. Congress, therefore, found one excuse after another for not carrying out the convention. First, it demanded pay for the soldiers' subsistence since the surrender, not in Continental money, but in British gold. Congress thus made a spectacle to the world by refusing to accept its own money. In various ways Congress evaded carrying out the agreement. The British soldiers were in fact never sent home. After being kept a year in New England they were sent to Charlottesville in Virginia, making the overland march of seven hundred miles in midwinter. Here a village of cottages was built for them. When, in 1780, Virginia became the seat of war, they were scattered, some being sent to Maryland, and others to Pennsylvania. Meantime their number had constantly diminished by desertion, death, and exchange. At the close of the war most of the Germans remained in America. Burgoyne was permitted to return to England soon after the surrender. He resumed his seat in Parliament, where he proved himself a gentleman of the highest honor. If not an open friend of the Americans, he at least never failed to do them justice. See Washington's *Works*, VII, 222.

FOREIGN AID

The crisis of the Revolution had passed before the colonists received any substantial military aid from abroad, and they would probably have won their independence had they been left wholly to themselves. Nevertheless the help that at length came was received most gratefully. France was the first to stretch forth a helping hand. Scarcely had the breach between England and her colonies begun when the French sought to widen it. Early in the contest Arthur Lee, then living in London as the agent of Virginia, secured from the French government, under the name of a fictitious business firm, military stores to the amount of \$200,000. Congress then sent Silas Deane to join Lee, and it was not long before French vessels had landed in America two hundred heavy guns, four thousand tents, a large supply of small arms, and clothing for thirty thousand men. This was done secretly, as France was not yet ready to break with England.

French sympathy

Soon after the Declaration of Independence had been adopted Congress sent Franklin to join Lee and Deane in Paris. Before the opening of the war Benjamin Franklin alone, of all the American people, enjoyed a fame bounded only by civilization. It was said that Franklin's fame was more universal than the fame of Newton, Voltaire, or Frederick the Great. He had won a great name as a philosopher and a writer of epigrams, and now he was about to prove himself one of the leading diplomats of his time. On reaching Paris Franklin was welcomed with an outburst of popular applause. Every class of French society, from the nobility to the peasant, paid homage to the genius who could "snatch the lightning from the sky and the scepter from tyrants."¹ Franklin's simple ways, his witty conversation, his refusal to ape French manners or to don court dress enhanced the public interest. He sat for artists and sculptors and his beaming likeness was set in medallion in rings, watches, and bracelets and sold by the jewelers of Paris. When he attended banquets and entertainments he was courted and fawned upon as few had ever been. It was certainly a fortunate hour for America when Franklin was chosen for this important mission.

Franklin in Paris

For more than a year he labored with unwearied zeal at the French court to secure the recognition of the United States. At first the French were unwilling to go to such lengths, but Ver-

¹ It was Turgot who said of Franklin, *Eripuit celo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis.*

gennes, the foreign minister, made a secret arrangement to convey to America two million francs a year in quarterly payments, to be repaid eventually in merchandise. Three ships laden with army stores were also sent; two of them arrived in safety, but the third was captured by the British.

Vergennes worked night and day to convert the French king to the American cause and also to enlist Spain in the same undertaking. Stimulated by the news that the Declaration had been passed and greatly aided by Beaumarchais, a noted French author and courtier, Vergennes was on the verge of success when the chilling news of Washington's defeat on Long Island reached Paris. The movement was decidedly checked. Another year passed and during this time Franklin and his companions were steadily molding French opinion in favor of America. At length, late in the autumn of 1777, the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached Paris, and the excitement was scarcely less there than in America. The popular enthusiasm reached the court, and ere the close of December the king sent word to Franklin that he was ready to acknowledge the independence of the United States. His haste was doubtless caused by a fear that the English would now offer terms acceptable to the Americans. Negotiations were immediately begun, and on February 6, 1778, a secret treaty was concluded between the two countries — a compact of friendship to be made public, and a treaty of alliance to be made public only when England declared war against France. By this treaty the Americans made a solemn agreement not to make terms with England until that country had acknowledged their independence.

The treaty of 1778 was an event of supreme importance to the new American republic in its birth struggle. It gave a damaging if not a fatal blow to the loyalists; it roused the patriots to a new enthusiasm, and it brought home to the English mind, perhaps for the first time, the consciousness that the probable outcome of the war would be a final severance of America from the British Empire. This treaty gave the Americans an international standing; it was the recognition by a great European power of the struggling republic as one of its own class. It meant, of course, immediate war between France and England and that meant that France during the remainder of the war would be a military ally of the Americans. No wonder that the Americans, who had cherished an age-long hatred of the French, gradually veered around until they regarded the French as their

best friends in the world. It is often asserted that the chief motive of the French in making this alliance was to take revenge on her old enemy who had only recently robbed her of Canada. This may be true, but France had one other very cogent reason for her action. Independent America would open to her a vast field of commerce which had hitherto been greatly restricted by the British trade laws.

Then, it must be added, there was in France a romantic interest in the American struggle. There was a spirit of unrest throughout the nation that only waited an opportunity to vent itself. Taught by such men as Voltaire and Rousseau, Montesquieu and Turgot, the French people had come to that state of discontent which first found expression in a desire to aid the struggling Americans, and later in the violent Revolution that swept over their own land.

France thus won the American heart. For long years before the Revolution, the filial love of the colonists for Great Britain was unbroken, while there was a feeling of dislike toward France, the rival claimant of the soil of North America, and toward Frenchman, whom they had often met on the field of battle. But in the fifteen years following the Stamp Act, this feeling was reversed, and the effects of that change have not been eradicated to this day. It is true that America has come to love old England again, as it should; but France has never been forgotten for her timely aid in this trying hour. And this sympathetic bond is strengthened by the remembrance of the personal service of that brilliant young French nobleman, the Marquis de Lafayette.

At a dinner party in Germany he heard of the revolted colonies battling for freedom in America. His inborn love of liberty was aroused, and he determined to offer his life and his fortune in the glorious cause, believing, as he said, Lafayette that "the welfare of America is closely bound up with the welfare of mankind." He had inherited a large fortune, and, fitting out a vessel secretly at his own expense, he embarked on the sea and reached the shore of South Carolina — two years to the day after the battle of Lexington. Proceeding to Philadelphia, he offered to Congress his services without pay, was made a major general by that body, became a member of the military family of Washington, and soon entered the depths of that great man's heart. Valiantly he served through the war; and he returned, rejoicing at its close, to rejoin his youthful wife in his native land. In the course of our history many other foreigners have won the

applause and homage of the American people; but the name of no other stands, or can ever stand, so high as the name of Lafayette.

There were a few others also from foreign shores whose services in the War for Independence cannot be forgotten by a grateful people. Among these was another liberty-loving Frenchman, the Baron de Kalb, who came in the same ship with Lafayette. Faithfully he served as a major general in New Jersey and Maryland and later in the South, where he fell at Camden with eleven wounds, and died soon after the battle. Among the names not to be forgotten is that of the Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. A youth of twenty years, he joined the army in 1776, and as an engineer became one of the most useful men in the service. At the close of the war he returned to his native land and became the leader of his countrymen against the combined attack of the powers that had determined on the division of Poland. But his little band was routed at Macieowice by a vast army, and Kosciuszko fell, covered with wounds, uttering the sadly prophetic words, "This is the end of Poland."¹ Still another brave defender of liberty we must

note from this same unhappy Poland, Count Pulaski, the son of a rich nobleman who perished in the defense of his country. Pulaski made his way to America, became an effective leader of cavalry, and at last, in the siege of Savannah, gave his life to the cause that he loved above all things — the cause of Liberty. One of the most useful of our foreign helpers

was the German nobleman, Baron Steuben. He joined the army late in 1777, was made inspector general, and greatly raised the effectiveness of the army by introducing discipline and drill according to the best European standards. At the close of the war Steuben was granted a pension by Congress, and a large tract of land near the site of the battle of Oriskany by the state of New York. On this tract he built a house and lived happily among his servants and tenants until his death in 1794. Among the friends of America at this period we cannot omit the name of Frederick the Great, king of Prussia.²

¹ To this fall the poet Campbell refers in his couplet: —

"Hope for a season bade the earth farewell,
And Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell."

After the downfall of his nation Kosciuszko lived quietly in France. He visited the United States in 1797 and received a pension and a grant of land from Congress.

² The long-current story that Frederick sent Washington a sword is now believed to be mythical. See *Century Magazine*, Vol. XIX, p. 945.

Frederick was then the most powerful personage in Europe. He had been greatly aided by England during the Seven Years' War; but he could not conceal his sympathy with the patriots, and he proved it by opening the port of Dantzic to American cruisers and by refusing to permit any more Hessians to pass through his dominions en route to America. He refused, however, to negotiate a treaty at that time with the Americans.

In the spring of 1778 an astonishing bit of foreign news reached America. The surrender of Burgoyne had spread dismay in the royal party of England and on February 17 Premier North rose in the House of Commons and proposed bills yielding every point for which the colonists had contended in the beginning, and providing that commissioners be sent to America to negotiate a peace. The proposals of Lord North were astonishing even to his own party. But they were passed by both houses; in March they were signed by the king, and the commissioners reached America in June. They offered to Congress practically everything that the colonists had demanded, except independence, and even went beyond their instructions, declaring that European troops should not again be sent to America without the consent of the assemblies and proposing American representation in Parliament. For two reasons, in addition to the fact that the Americans had set their heart on independence, these new proposals could not be met. First, the alliance with France bound the Americans in honor not to make peace without conjunction with that country, with independence as an absolute condition; second, the men who made the offer, including two of the three commissioners, were the very men who had been the most implacable and rancorous opponents of the colonists from the first. Could they now be trusted? The commissioners then appealed to the people over the head of Congress. They offered the same terms to each separate state, threatening a desolating war in case of their rejection. Not one of the states yielded to their overtures or was cowed by their threats.

British
Proposal
Rejected

When the news of the French treaty and later of the failure of the commission became known to the British public a wave of despair and panic overspread the land. There was a widespread belief that the empire was crumbling.

It was a terrible moment in English history, says Lecky. England had not an ally in the world. Lord North determined to resign his office and the nation in its distress turned to the one man who, it was believed, might yet prevent a catastrophe

and save America — Lord Chatham. Even his long-time enemies, Lord North, Bute, and Mansfield, the leading men in the country, the voice of the people on all sides, cried out for the Great Commoner. The call seemed unanimous over the whole land — with the single exception of King George III. The obstinate monarch, with an implacable hatred of Chatham that seemed to presage the insanity that overtook him in later years, refused to be moved by the entreaties of his people. To Lord North he wrote: "I declare in the strongest and most solemn manner . . . that no advantage to this country, no present danger to myself, can ever make me address myself to Lord Chatham." Such at a moment of extreme peril, in defiance of unanimous public opinion, was the attitude of this mediocre person, who had chanced to inherit a crown, toward the greatest Englishman of his time! Need one go much farther for a reason why the American people at the end of the war refused to set up a monarchical form of government?

It is doubtful if Chatham, had he become premier, could have saved America to the empire. The Americans had gone too far to recede for any cause from their position. Moreover, the hand of death was upon the Great Commoner. He appeared before the Lords and made the last great speech of his life; his subject was that America must not be lost to England. Bandaged in flannels and leaning on crutches, he awakened to his theme, and the light of other days shone from his eyes. He finished, but soon rose again to answer a reply, when he fell to the floor in a swoon. He was carried to his home by loving hands, and a few weeks later he passed away, at the age of threescore years and ten. North was now prevailed on to continue as premier, and the war went on.

FROM MORRISTOWN TO GERMANTOWN

We must now go back and take up the thread of the story of the war in America. During the year 1777 the military operations were carried on in two parallel lines. The one we have traced to its culmination in the surrender at Saratoga. The other lay in a different field and with different surroundings, and although no brilliant victory rewarded the American commander, his generalship was this year, as usual, superior to that of any of his fellow-commanders.

We left Washington encamped for the winter at Morristown. With the opening of spring, new recruits having arrived, his

army numbered some eight thousand men. General Howe had spent the winter at New York, and his plan now seemed to be to dash across New Jersey, capture Philadelphia, and return in time to assist Burgoyne. Washington, divining this, planted his army stubbornly in the way. His army was but half the size of Howe's, and he refused to be drawn into open battle; but he harassed his enemy from every side, and after eighteen days of this watchdog policy, actually drove Howe back to Staten Island. Washington, supposing that Howe would proceed up the Hudson, prepared to coöperate with Schuyler. But Howe embarked upon the sea and sailed to the Chesapeake Bay, landing near Elkton, Maryland, the last of August.

Washington was amazed to discover that Howe had abandoned Burgoyne; such a military blunder was almost inconceivable. And besides, the possession of Philadelphia could be of little advantage to the British, as the city was not a military, nor even an administrative, center. Congress could easily fly to a neighboring town and continue its business. But Howe acted as though the goal of the war was to take the "rebel capital." Soon after he landed at the head of the Chesapeake, however, Washington was there to confront him with an army now raised to eleven thousand. Howe's army was much larger and better drilled, but Washington determined to risk a battle. He was driven to this, it may be said, by public sentiment. The people could not understand the Fabian policy, of which he was such a master; and had he given up Philadelphia without striking a blow, he would have been severely censured by the public. He saw that it was better to suffer a defeat than to yield the city without a struggle, and he met Howe in southern Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Brandywine.

In the battle that followed Washington had in his service Lafayette, who received a painful wound, Sullivan, Wayne, and Greene; but Howe with a larger army, and with Cornwallis and Knyphausen, the ablest of the Hessian commanders, except Riedesel, to lead his forces, won a signal victory.

Battle of
Brandy-
wine, Sep-
tember 11,
1777

Brandywine decided the fate of Philadelphia. Washington knew that the capital must be given up, but he determined to harass and detain the enemy as much as possible, his chief object being to prevent aid being sent to Burgoyne on the Hudson. So vigilant was Washington in retarding the British that it required fifteen days for them to march twenty-five miles. They entered the capital on September 26. Congress

had fled to Lancaster, after again making Washington dictator — this time for sixty days. Howe encamped his main army at Germantown, then a village of one long street a few miles north of Philadelphia; and here, on the 4th of October, Washington again gave battle.



This battle might have proved a glorious victory for the Americans but for an unfortunate accident caused by a dense fog.

German-
town, Octo-
ber 4, 1777

Washington had planned the battle admirably. Sullivan, in command of the main army, swept down from Chestnut Hill and met the British advance guard at Mount Airy, a slight elevation between Chestnut Hill and Germantown. Joining with Wayne at this point, Sullivan charged the guard and soon put it to flight. The British were thrown into confusion, and there was every promise of a brilliant American victory, when, in the dense fog, a brigade of Greene's division fired on Wayne's men, mistaking them for the enemy. A panic soon spread through the army, and a general retreat was ordered. The British saw their sudden advantage, re-formed, and pursued the Americans for several miles.

This battle, which occurred thirteen days before the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, though resulting in a defeat,

came so near being a victory that the American army was rather elated than depressed by the result. The British general, after opening the Delaware to his brother's fleet by reducing forts Mercer and Mifflin at the cost of half a thousand men, settled snugly in Philadelphia for the winter; while Washington, after hovering threateningly about for some weeks, led his army to Valley Forge.

VALLEY FORGE AND MONMOUTH

Every American reader is familiar with the story of the sufferings of the patriot army at Valley Forge. To this valley among the hills that border the winding Schuylkill, some twenty miles from Philadelphia, Washington led his half-clad army of eleven thousand men about the middle of December, 1777. As the men marched to this retreat their route could be traced in the snow by the blood that had oozed from broken shoes. On reaching the place they found it shelterless, and for two weeks they toiled in the bitter weather, building huts in which to spend the winter. Many were without blankets, and had to sit by the fire all night to keep from freezing. Washington informed Congress, on December 23, that he had in camp 2898 men "unfit for duty because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked." The rudely built hospitals were soon crowded with the sick and dying. "The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything," wrote Lafayette years afterward; "they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes, their feet and legs froze till they became black, and it was often necessary to amputate them." Thus that long and dreary winter was spent by the patriots who won for us the independence of America.

But our pity is mingled with indignation when we consider that most of this suffering arose from mismanagement and the incompetency of Congress. The country was full of clothing and provisions; "hogsheads of shoes, stockings, and clothing were lying at different places on the roads and in the woods, perishing for want of teams, or of money to pay the teamsters." Congress had degenerated woefully since the passing of the great Declaration. Franklin was in Paris, Henry was governor of Virginia, Jefferson, Rutledge, and Jay were no longer on the roll. The wily politician was too often chosen instead of the statesman and the patriot, and his baneful influence has not ceased to be felt from that time to the present. Incompetent men were promoted in the army by Congress, in spite of the protests of the commander

in chief, and the result was mismanagement and widespread demoralization.

It was during this fateful winter also that the detestable plot known as the "Conway Cabal" took place. Thomas Conway was an Irishman who had long been in the service of France, and was an officer of some reputation. He had been in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and was about to be promoted when Washington, believing the movement unwise, protested. Conway was highly offended, and in a short time he had concocted a scheme to overthrow Washington, and to elevate Gates to his place. Anonymous letters, attacking Washington and comparing his failure in Pennsylvania with the success of Gates at Saratoga, were spread about, and many of the uncritical were won over. Even Congress seemed to favor the plotters. Matters seemed to be moving to a focus, when suddenly the whole scheme exploded and came to naught. Young James Wilkinson, a member of Gates's staff, while merry with wine, disclosed the secret correspondence between Conway and Gates. Washington set about probing the scheme with a quiet dignity that won the admiration of all. In a few weeks public sentiment was so changed that no one could be found who would acknowledge having had anything to do with the plot. Even Conway, being wounded in a duel and expecting to die, wrote Washington a letter expressing his sincere grief at what he had done.

One thing more must be mentioned in connection with this winter at Valley Forge — the coming of Steuben. The army was but half trained until it was taken in hand by this noble old German, who had been schooled on the staff of Frederick the Great. With infinite pains he drilled the men day after day. Losing his patience at times, it is said that he would exhaust his vocabulary of French and German oaths, and then call on his aid to curse the blockheads in English.¹ He acknowledged afterward, however, that the Americans were wonderfully quick to learn; and it is certain that from this time to the end of the war the patriot soldiers could measure up almost, if not fully, to the standard of the British regulars.

While the Americans were enduring the hardships of Valley Forge, the British were living in luxury in Philadelphia. Most of the patriots had fled the city, and the loyalists and the soldiers spent the winter in a round of gayeties, — theaters, balls, and

¹ Fiske, Vol. II, p. 54.

parties, — and to these were added gambling, cockfighting, and horse racing. Franklin wrote from Paris that Howe had not taken Philadelphia, but Philadelphia had taken Howe. While the army at Valley Forge was drilling and becoming more inured to the hardships of war, that at Philadelphia was deteriorating through luxury and idleness; and their relative efficiency was greatly changed when they met again on the battlefield.

General Howe had undertaken the task of subjugating the colonies with much reluctance, and he never proved himself a vigorous, dashing commander. Neither his operations during the preceding summer nor his winter of pleasure in Philadelphia was pleasing to the authorities, and his recall was determined upon. (See note, p. 290.) Sir Henry Clinton was chosen to succeed him, and he was ordered to evacuate Philadelphia and move his army to New York. Three thousand loyalist residents, afraid to face their countrymen, begged to be taken away, and Clinton sent them to New York by sea, while he proceeded to cross New Jersey with his army. The ever-vigilant Washington was on the alert, and his army, after the long winter of privation, took courage with the dawning of spring and with the glorious news of the French alliance, and came forth with the vigor of a well-trained athlete. It was the 18th of June when Clinton's rear guard left Philadelphia, and before sunset of that day the Americans occupied it. But Washington was not content to occupy the city; he determined to strike the British ere they reached New York.

The British
leave Phil-
adelphia

Clinton was greatly encumbered with a baggage train twelve miles long, and Washington soon overtook him. The two armies were about equal in strength, each containing some fifteen thousand men; and for once — thanks to Baron Steuben — the Americans were equal to the enemy in fighting qualities. Clinton would gladly have avoided an engagement, but Washington was eager to attack him. The battle would probably have been the greatest of the war — a fight to the finish between two armies of equal strength — but for the disobedience and treachery of one man, Charles Lee, who had lately been exchanged. As stated before, Lee was a traitor to the patriot cause; but Washington, not suspecting this, gave him his old command as senior major general. Lee now opposed an attack on Clinton and, being overruled, he sullenly refused to lead the attack. Lafayette was appointed to take his place, but next day Lee, professing to have changed his mind, requested to be allowed to lead the

charge, as his rank entitled him to do. Washington, with the consent of Lafayette, magnanimously, but very unfortunately, granted the request.

In the early morning Washington sent Lee forward to attack Cornwallis in flank, while he, with the main army, would come up and make the attack general. Lee advanced **Battle of Monmouth, June 28** and took a strong position, partially surrounding Cornwallis, when, to the astonishment of the enemy as well as of his own men, Lee ordered a retreat across a swamp. Clinton saw the strange movement and was quick to follow up the advantage it gave him. Lafayette was about to dash his force against Clinton when Lee stopped the movement. Washington, amazed at hearing of Lee's retreat, galloped to the front, and, meeting Lee at the head of the retreating column, demanded in a terrific voice an explanation of his conduct. Lee quailed at the impetuous anger of his chief, who was usually so calm and self-contained. He muttered something about his not having favored a general engagement, when Washington, losing all self-restraint, shouted that he must be obeyed. He then wheeled about and put a stop to the disgraceful retreat, and, meeting Lee again, ordered him to the rear and himself took immediate command of the battle.

The British were soon checked, and then steadily pushed back until the Americans occupied the high ground from which Lee had retreated in the morning. The battle raged until nightfall, when the darkness ended it. Washington determined to renew the attack at daybreak; but Clinton silently withdrew in the night, and at the coming of dawn was far on his way toward the seacoast.

The battle of Monmouth was the last general engagement on northern soil. English historians have usually pronounced this a drawn battle; but while it was not a decisive victory, the advantage lay clearly with the Americans. The British loss was over four hundred, and exceeded the American loss by nearly a hundred. Within a week after the battle some two thousand of Clinton's soldiers, mostly Germans, deserted him, and most of them became substantial American citizens.

The extraordinary conduct of Lee at this battle can be explained only on the assumption that he was a traitor to his adopted country. Most historians have sought to **Charles Lee** condone Lee's action and to claim him still among the patriots. This view might be accepted were it not for the discovery, many years later, of his private correspondence with

Howe, in which he advises the latter as to the best means of conquering the colonies. His aim at Monmouth was, doubtless, to compass the defeat of the Americans and to throw the blame on Washington for not taking his advice. If then Congress had honored him for his superior wisdom with the chief command, he would probably have opened peace negotiations with Clinton. But Lee's plan was frustrated, and he soon found himself under arrest for writing an impertinent letter to his chief. A court-martial suspended him from command for a year and ere its close he got into a broil with Congress and was expelled from the army. Lee retired to a plantation which he had in Virginia, surrounded himself with pet dogs, and lived among them, apart from humanity, until 1782, when he made a trip to Philadelphia, where he suddenly died of fever. He was buried at Christ Church, and thus his last wish, that he might not be buried within a mile of a church, was disregarded.

A few weeks after the battle of Monmouth we find Washington encamped at White Plains, east of the Hudson, while Clinton occupied the city of New York; and here the two commanders remained watching each other for three years while the seat of war was transferred to the South.

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CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTION: THE LAST YEARS AND VICTORY

THE story of the Revolution would be incomplete without some notice of the border warfare that raged at intervals through the half-settled wilderness of the frontier. The dreadful massacre of the innocents during that period by the savage natives of the forest is usually laid at the door of George III. and it is certain that the bloody work was approved by him and instigated by his still more heartless minister, Lord George Germain; but in fairness to the British people it must be said that most of them, on both sides of the Atlantic, were not in sympathy with this cruel business. Nor can we believe that the work was carried on usually from a spirit of vindictive cruelty, as many think, but rather to terrify the patriots into submission and to break the spirit of rebellion.¹ The result, however, was favorable to the Americans, for it unified them, and even turned many royalists against the English cause.

FRONTIER WARFARE

At the very threshold of the long war, even before the battle of Lexington, there occurred at Point Pleasant, on the Great Kanawha River, near its junction with the Ohio, one of the most desperate battles with the Indians ever fought on American soil. A thousand Virginians lay sleeping under the trees, when at daybreak they were surprised by a larger body of Indians who had crept with catlike tread upon the sleeping army. They were led by the fierce warrior, Cornstalk, and his lieutenant, the famous and eloquent Logan, chief of the Mingos. The battle raged till toward evening, when the Indians broke and fled in every direction. About one fifth of each army was slain; but the rout of the red men was complete.

¹ The patriots also enlisted some Indians in the war; but in no case are they known to have aided or encouraged the massacre of women and children, as was frequently done by the enemy.

The Indians were now willing to make peace, and five months after the battle, on a sunny day in March, twelve hundred warriors gathered on the green at the white settlement of Watauga; and here they were met by some hundreds of white men, among whom were John Sevier and James Robertson, the great colony builders of the Southwest, and Daniel Boone, the most famous of American pioneers.¹ Here again the children of the forest promised to live at peace with their pale-faced brethren, and they ceded to the latter Kentucky, the broad and beautiful tract south of the Ohio, the paradise of the buffalo. But the peace was short-lived. A month after it was made came the fight at Lexington; the royal governor of North Carolina declared the treaty illegal, and soon again the Indians were on the warpath. A desperate attack was made on the Watauga settlement by the Cherokees and loyalists in 1777, but Sevier and Robertson saved the colony from destruction, and at length forced the Indians to give up all their lands between the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. A stream of emigration soon began to pour into the great Tennessee Valley, and the memory of General Nash, who perished in the battle of Germantown, has been kept green by the beautiful town founded on the Cumberland, and called after him, Nashville.

The temporary peace after the Point Pleasant affair enabled Daniel Boone to move into Kentucky with his family, where he founded a settlement and built the fort called Boonesborough. Born and reared in the forest, Boone loved above all things a wild life in the wilderness, untrammelled by the restraints of civilization. The roaring of the wild beast and the yells of the Indian had no terrors for Boone, and the screaming of the wild bird in the lonely night was music to his ears. He lived in the wilderness because he loved it. Boone was not a colony builder nor a state founder in the true sense, nor had he a thought, perhaps, of leaving a name in history. He was simply a frontiersman, a hunter, an Indian fighter; and in these respects, and in woodcraft, his skill was so marvelous as to attract the attention of the world. During the last years of the Revolution Boone figured in various battles with the Indians, the most destructive of which was the battle of the Blue Licks, fought on the banks of the Licking River, in August, 1782. Soon after this George Rogers Clark led a thousand men into the Indian country of western Ohio and spread havoc on every

Daniel
Boone

George
Rogers
Clark

¹ See Gilmore, *Rearguard of the Revolution*, p. 97.

hand. So weakened were the Indians by this raid that they never again led an army into Kentucky. But the greatest achievement of Clark, and that which gave him a permanent name in our history, had already been won. Late in the autumn of 1777 the thrilling news of Burgoyne's surrender spread through the South. At this time, George Rogers Clark, a young surveyor, a member of the Virginia assembly, stalwart, brave, and patriotic, conceived the plan of conquering the Illinois country from the British. His plan was approved by Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia; and in the following May Clark floated down the Ohio, from Pittsburg to its mouth, with one hundred and eighty picked riflemen. After an incredible march across the prairie and through swamps, this little band captured, without bloodshed, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and adjacent posts, and the country was annexed to Virginia as the county of Illinois. The inhabitants were chiefly French, and they welcomed the change of rulers when they learned of the American alliance with France.

In north-central Pennsylvania there lies a beautiful valley, nestled between two mountain ranges that rise high on either side, as if nature had chosen to guard the lovely spot from the outer world. This valley of Wyoming, watered by the sparkling Susquehanna that winds among the hills like a belt of silver, seems from a distant view like a dream of Eden; and yet this beautiful spot, where "all save the spirit of man was divine," became the scene of the most fiendish massacre of the long war.

The Wyoming Valley was claimed by Connecticut by right of her charter of 1662, and her people had begun settling there more than a decade before the war with England began. Pennsylvania also claimed this territory, and there was strife between the sister colonies; but the family quarrel was hushed for a season in the presence of a common foe.

It was midsummer, 1778, less than a week after the battle of Monmouth, when a force of eight hundred Tories and Indians under Colonel John Butler swooped down from New York upon the settlement of New Englanders in the Wyoming Valley. The settlers, dwelling mostly in peaceful hamlets with their schools and churches, numbered something more than three thousand souls; but they were ill prepared for defense, as most of their young men had joined the Continental army. Nevertheless, a force of some three hundred men, commanded by Colonel Zebulon Butler, a resident of the

**The Wyom-
ing Valley**

**Wyoming
Massacre,
July 4, 1778**

valley, offered battle on July 3, near the site of Wilkesbarre. After an hour of fierce fighting, the Americans broke and fled for their lives, but more than half of them were slain in the battle or in the massacre that followed. The British commander afterward reported the taking of "227 scalps," and of course laid all the blame on the Indians. During the night the Indian thirst for blood seemed to increase, and next day they began anew the massacre. Dreadful was the scene in the Wyoming Valley on that fateful day. All who could do so fled to the woods, and a large number perished in crossing a swamp, which has since been called the "Shades of Death." Others perished of starvation in the mountains. The country was abandoned for the season, and the blooming valley became a field of desolation.

The barbarities of Wyoming were long attributed to the great Mohawk chieftain, Joseph Brant. But he was not present at the Wyoming Massacre. Brant was a very remarkable character, a full-blooded Mohawk, a man of powerful physique, handsome, affable, and well educated. He was a devoted Episcopalian, served for a time as missionary among his own people, and translated the prayer book into his native tongue. Brant was passionately devoted to the British cause in the Revolution, but the stories of his heartless cruelty are not generally true. While Brant was not at the Wyoming massacre, he figured in another scarcely less dreadful at Cherry Valley, Otsego County, New York, in November of the same year. During a heavy storm, a band of Indians led by Brant and of Tories led by Walter Butler, son of the Butler who commanded at Wyoming, fell upon the peaceful settlement without warning. Brant endeavored to save the helpless, but the fiend Butler encouraged the massacre, and thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, were barbarously put to death. After this bloody work was over, the invaders burned the village, drove away the cattle, and carried forty of the people into captivity.

Joseph
Brant

Cherry
Valley

General Washington was exasperated at these continued outrages, and he determined to strike a blow in defense of the northern settlers. He sent General Sullivan into the Indian country with five thousand men. Late in August, 1779, this army met fifteen thousand Tories and Indians, led by Sir John Johnson, the two Butlers, and Brant, at Newtown, on the site of the present city of Elmira. A terrific battle ensued, and the Tories and Indians suffered a fearful

Sullivan's
raid

defeat, while the American loss was slight. Sullivan then laid waste the country, destroyed the growing crops on all sides, laid more than forty Indian villages in ashes, and returned after a march of seven hundred miles. The Iroquois as a nation never recovered from the scourge of Sullivan's raid. A similar raid in the Alleghany Valley by Colonel Brodhead, with six hundred men, curbed the Indian power in western Pennsylvania, and henceforth the country was comparatively free from border warfare.

NAVAL WARFARE

Let us now take a glance at the naval operations. The United States at first had no navy, but many private vessels were employed as privateers, and the destruction of British merchant shipping was enormous. From nearly all the states privateers were sent against the enemy, Massachusetts leading with over five hundred, Pennsylvania following with nearly that number. It is estimated that seventy thousand Americans were at one time engaged on the sea against the enemy.¹ In 1775 Congress ordered the building of a national navy, and the following year thirteen vessels were completed. Some of these never succeeded in getting out to sea; most of the rest were captured or burned before the end of the war, but not until after they had done great service for the country.

The men who achieved the greatest success for America were : Lambert Wickes, who made many prizes off the Irish and English coasts, and who was himself drowned off the coast of Newfoundland; Gustavus Conyngham, whose bold captures in the English Channel astonished everybody; and John Paul Jones, who alone of all the naval heroes of the war has left a permanent and conspicuous name in our history. Jones² was a native of Scotland and a resident of Virginia. He became the hero of one of the most famous naval duels in history. With a squadron of three ships led by the *Bonhomme Richard*³ he met Captain Pearson with the *Serapis* and *Scarborough* convoying a fleet of merchant vessels off the

¹ Sloane, p. 373.

² His name was John Paul and he added the name Jones after migrating to America. After the Revolution he entered the service of Russia, became an admiral, and was knighted. He died in Paris in 1792. After being unknown for more than a century, his burial place was discovered, and his remains were brought to the United States (1905) for interment at Annapolis.

³ French for "Poor Richard" of Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*.

coast of Flamborough Head, England, and at once the two flagships engaged in a desperate conflict. It was the evening of September 23, 1779, when the battle opened, and during the long hours of the night the boom of cannon rolled across the waters. In the midst of the battle Jones ran his vessel into her antagonist and ceased firing for the moment, when Captain Pearson called out, "Have you struck your colors?" "I have not yet begun to fight," was the now famous answer of Jones. A hand grenade from the *Richard* was thrown into the hatchway of the *Serapis*, where it ignited a row of cartridges, and in the explosion that followed twenty men were blown to pieces. Still the two commanders doggedly continued the battle until both ships were on fire, and half their crews were dead or wounded, when at last the *Serapis* surrendered.¹ Both vessels were ruined, and the *Bonhomme Richard* sank the next morning. Meantime the *Pallas* had captured the *Scarborough*, and the American victory was complete. The news of the victory made a profound sensation on the continent, as it was told and retold in every language in Europe. Nothing before, except the surrender of Burgoyne, had called the world's attention to the rising nation in the West as did this signal victory in sight of the British coast.

The American privateers did immeasurable damage to British shipping, many hundred merchantmen being captured. After the alliance with France the powerful navy of that nation was employed in the patriot cause, and to this was added the navy of Spain, for Spain declared war against England in the summer of 1779. This action of the Spanish government was not taken out of love for the Americans and their cause, nor did Spain make a treaty with the United States. Indeed, a self-governing people in North America would forever be a menace to the peaceful possession of Mexico and South America by Spain; nor had the Spaniards the slightest sympathy with the spirit of religious freedom that prevailed in the United States. Spain declared war in the hope of regaining possession of Gibraltar, and from a feeling of revenge cherished for two hundred years against the island kingdom that had robbed her of her proud eminence as mistress of the seas. Still another was to be added to the enemies of England. Late in the year 1780 war was declared between that country and Holland, and henceforth the Britons had to fight three of the great European powers in addi-

Spain and
Holland de-
clare war
against Eng-
land, 1779,
1780

¹ The *Bonhomme Richard* carried forty guns and the *Serapis* forty-four. Jones towed his prize to Holland.

tion to America. It was not possible for England to win against such odds, nor to regain her colonies in America, but the courage the British displayed must elicit the admiration of the world.

Two years have elapsed since we left Washington at White Plains, where he encamped soon after the battle of Monmouth. During the two years little was done in the North but watch Clinton, who held the city of New York. A few minor operations, however, were not without significance. Sullivan's raid into the Indian country we have noticed. Washington had also sent Sullivan to capture Newport, Rhode Island, still held by the British. But the project came to naught.

Far more picturesque was the capture of Stony Point the following year by Anthony Wayne. Stony Point is a bold, rocky promontory within a sharp curve of the Hudson River a few miles below West Point. In May, 1779, Clinton had come up the river and captured and fortified this gate to the Highlands. He believed it impregnable. So it might have been by regular sieges; but the Yankee finds the way, if there is a way.

At midnight on July 15, 1779, "Mad Anthony" Wayne with twelve hundred light infantry crept stealthily along the causeway that led from the mainland to Stony Point. The assault was to be a pure bayonet charge, and to prevent a possible betrayal by a random shot, Wayne did not permit his men to load their muskets. To guard further against noise, every dog for miles around was killed.¹ The sleeping garrison of 600 men was awakened by the impetuous rush of the Americans. The British sprang to arms. A fierce encounter ensued, but the British soon gave way, and the fort was surrendered. Washington did not, however, choose to hold the place against an attack that Clinton prepared to make. He ordered the fortifications destroyed and the prisoners, stores, and cannon removed to the Highlands, and Clinton was left to occupy the demolished works at his leisure. Now, with the mere mention of the bold dash of "Light Horse Harry" Lee upon the British fort at Paulus Hook, and his capture of one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners, the mutiny and desertion of thirteen hundred Pennsylvania troops, afterward pacified and sent back to the army, and a similar movement of the New Jersey troops which resulted in the execution of two of the ringleaders, we pass on to the most painful episode of the Revolution.

¹ Fiske, Vol. II, p. 112.

WEST POINT AND ARNOLD'S TREASON

We have seen and admired the intrepid Arnold at Quebec and Saratoga. The wound he received at Saratoga incapacitated him for a season; but by the time the British evacuated Philadelphia, in the spring of 1778, Arnold had recovered, and he was placed in command of the city. From this moment his downward course seems to have begun. He soon had a quarrel with the state government and another with Congress. At length formal charges were brought against him. He demanded an investigation, which was granted, and he was acquitted by a committee of Congress. But the charges were renewed, other evidence was adduced, and at a second trial by a court-martial he was sentenced to a reprimand from the commander in chief for "imprudence." Washington was a true friend of Arnold, and he carried out the sentence in the mildest manner consistent with the dignity that the case required.

Benedict
Arnold

Up to this point our sympathies are with Arnold. We regret with his friends that he did not receive the promotion that was his due; we feel indignant at his enemies that they could so readily forget his noble service to his country, and pursue him with such hatred, when a rigorous court-martial, sitting for five weeks, could find him guilty of only a little imprudence; we rejoice with his friends that Washington administered the reprimand so graciously as to show his confidence at the same moment. But here we must part company with Benedict Arnold. Whatever his grievances, his means of revenge were altogether unwarranted and utterly to be condemned. His crime is one of the blackest in history. He sought to betray his country into the hands of its enemy, and to do this he must first betray the confidence of the one unswerving friend who had ever trusted him, — the commander in chief.

At what time Arnold contemplated treason is not known, nor can it be proved that his beautiful loyalist wife, whom he had married in Philadelphia, had anything to do with his perfidy. His correspondence with Clinton, under an assumed name, was carried on for many months. In midsummer, 1780, he received, at his own urgent request, the command of the powerful fortress of West Point, the gateway of the Hudson Valley. This he determined to hand over to the enemy, together with the great valley for which Burgoyne had fought and lost. No doubt Arnold believed that the possession of the Hudson, with the

foothold the British had gained in the South, would speedily terminate the war in their favor, and that he would be the hero of the hour.

On a dark night in September, 1780, Benedict Arnold lay crouching beneath the trees on the bank of the Hudson a few miles below Stony Point, just outside the American lines. Presently the plash of oars from the dark, silent river broke the stillness, and a little boat bearing four men came to the shore. Two were ignorant oarsmen who knew not what they did, the third was the steersman, one Joshua Smith, who lived in the neighborhood, while the fourth was a young and handsome man who concealed beneath his great overcoat the brilliant uniform of a British officer. The young man, Major John André, adjutant general of the British army, was put ashore, and he and Arnold, who had long been secret correspondents, spent the night in the dense darkness beneath the trees. Here the plot to place West Point into British hands was consummated; and at the coming of dawn André did not return, as at first intended, to the English sloop of war, the *Vulture*, which was lying in the river waiting for him, but accompanied Arnold to the house of Smith, the steersman, a few miles away. Arnold returned to West Point and André waited his opportunity to reach the *Vulture*; but shore batteries began firing on her, and Smith refused to venture out in his little boat. At length it was decided that André return to New York by land. It was a perilous journey, but the first part was made in safety. The lonely traveler was nearing Tarrytown and his hopes were rising, when suddenly three men with muskets sprang from the thicket, stood in his path, and ordered him to stop. One of the men wore a Hessian coat, and André, thinking them his countrymen, frankly informed them that he was a British officer. To his dismay he then discovered that the men were Americans and that he was under arrest.¹ No offers of money, threats, nor entreaties could move the men, and André was disarmed and searched; and beneath his feet, within the soles of his stockings, were found

The mid-
night
meeting

Arrest of
André

¹ The names of these men were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert. Paulding alone could read. Each was rewarded by Congress with a silver medal and an annual pension of \$200, and the name of each was given to a county in Ohio. Mr. S. G. Fisher, in his *True History of the Revolution*, asserts that these men were stragglers devoid of true patriotism, and that they held André only because they saw no way of his paying the large sum he offered for his release. André testified at the trial that the men searched him for the purpose of robbing him. The matter was fully discussed in Congress in 1817, when Paulding, then an aged man, was denied an increased pension for which he had applied. See Sargent, *Life of Major André*, p. 462.

important papers in the handwriting of Arnold. The prisoner was taken up the river to Colonel Jameson, who, all unsuspecting of Arnold, decided to send André to him with an explanatory letter, while the papers found on André were sent to Washington, who had gone to Connecticut for a conference with Rochambeau. Before André under an escort had reached West Point, Jameson was persuaded to recall him. This was done, but the letter to Arnold was allowed to go on its way, and it was this letter that saved the traitor's life. Washington was returning from Connecticut. His staff who had preceded him were sitting at breakfast with Arnold when a messenger entered and handed him a letter. It was the one sent by Colonel Jameson stating that a British officer had been caught with certain papers in his possession, which had been forwarded to Washington. Arnold quietly folded the paper without betraying to any of the company that there was anything wrong. He then rose and left the room, saying that he was suddenly called away, but that he would soon be back to meet Washington.

A few minutes later he was galloping toward the river.¹ In a short time he had boarded the British sloop of war, the *Vulture*. The stupid blunder of Colonel Jameson saved Arnold from the most ignominious death that can come to a soldier — the death of the gallows.

Escape of
Arnold

"Arnold is a traitor, and has fled to the British! Whom can we trust now?" said Washington to his officers a few hours later, while the tears rolled down his cheeks. He soon recovered from his emotion and sent officers to intercept Arnold; but it was too late, and the following morning the traitor was safely landed in the city of New York. He received the price of his perfidy — six thousand pounds sterling and a command in the British army.

André was duly tried by a court-martial of fourteen officers, two of whom, Lafayette and Steuben, were foreigners. By a unanimous verdict he was convicted as a spy and sentenced to be hanged. Clinton exhausted every method in trying to save his brilliant young subordinate. But Washington refused to interfere. The country had escaped disaster by a hair's breadth, and the people were roused to fury. It was no time for leniency. It was intimated that in one way only could André be saved — that he would be exchanged for Arnold. But this Clinton could not in honor consent to, and André was executed. His death was deplored on both

Death of
André

¹ See the fuller account of Fiske, Vol. II, p. 216; also Winsor, VI, p. 458 sq.

sides of the Atlantic, but even British writers generally agree that the sentence was just and necessary. André died like a hero, calling on those about him to witness that he faced death without a tremor. We admire physical courage, especially in a soldier; yet how meaningless and insipid the final request of André when compared with the dying words of Nathan Hale!¹

WAR IN THE SOUTH

The seat of war was transferred to the South late in the year 1778. Even before the battle of Lexington the strife had begun south of Mason and Dixon's line. There were Dunmore's War, and the battle at Moore's Creek, and the valiant defense of Fort Moultrie. But the foe soon departed and the Southland had rest for nearly three years, when he came again and made it the scene of the final conflict.

For nearly four years the power of the British had been thrown against the great states of the North. They had destroyed much property and taken many lives; they had overrun vast tracts. But the game had been a losing one; a fine army had been sacrificed in the Hudson Valley; New Jersey and Philadelphia had been won and lost and now at the end of the four years the British commander had not possession of a single foot of territory except Manhattan Island and Newport. He therefore determined, while still holding New York as his base, to send his legions to the weaker communities of the South, to conquer Georgia, then the Carolinas, and perchance the Old Dominion, and to hold these until terms could be made with their powerful neighbors to the north. The plan is supposed to have originated in the brain of Lord George Germain.

In December, 1778, a force of thirty-five hundred British regulars under Colonel Campbell landed near Savannah, Georgia. The American force there, commanded by General Robert Howe, was less than twelve hundred in number. The two forces met

¹ The chronicles of the Revolution by General Clinton, secured in London in 1926, are now in the library of the University of Michigan. They throw much light on the story of the Revolution. Among other things they contain hundreds of letters that passed between Arnold and the British officers. A few of the facts revealed in the Clinton papers are: That Arnold demanded £20,000 if he succeeded in securing West Point for the British and £10,000 in case of failure; that he offered to buy 3000 American soldiers for Clinton at fifteen guineas a head and argued that they would be cheaper than the Hessians, and he even suggested that Washington might be bought with an English peerage. The papers further disclose that after the war Arnold was shunned by the better class of English society, that he bitterly refers to this fact in letters to Clinton, that his family was reduced to poverty, and that Mrs. Arnold's father, Judge Shippen of Philadelphia, sent thousands of pounds to keep the family from want. See *New York Times*, April 11, 1926.





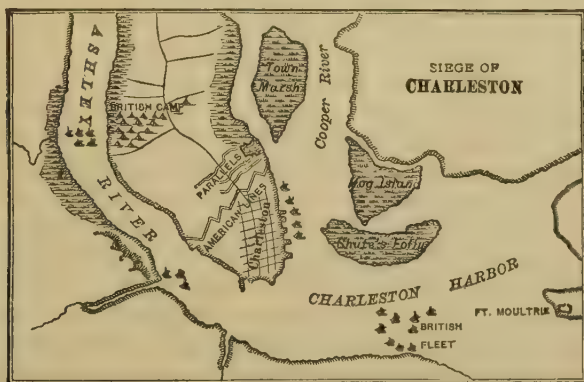
SCENE OF WAR IN THE SOUTH

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in battle; the Americans were routed, losing five hundred in prisoners, and the city of Savannah surrendered with its guns and stores. The British pressed their advantage; they captured Augusta and other points, and within ten days proclaimed their conquest of the state of Georgia. But the summer of 1779 passed and they had no foothold north of Georgia.

Surrender of
Savannah,
December,
1778

Early in September D'Estaing arrived at the mouth of the Savannah from the West Indies with a powerful French fleet, and American hopes in the South rose with a bound. The first thought was to recapture Savannah. But after a fruitless bombardment from land and sea, day and night for three weeks, the project had to be given up. The French and Americans lost



heavily, and, saddest of all, the brave Pulaski was numbered with the slain. D'Estaing, fearing the October gales, sailed away, and the coast was clear for two months, when another fleet hove into view. This fleet was not that of a friend; it bore Sir Henry Clinton from New York and Earl Charles Cornwallis with eight thousand soldiers for the subjugation of the South.

Clinton landed at Savannah, but his aim was to capture Charleston, the chief seaport of the South. Early in April, 1780, Clinton attacked Charleston by land and sea. The city was held by 7000 Americans under General Benjamin Lincoln, who had supplanted Howe. Lord Rawdon soon arrived from New York with three thousand more troops, and the doom of the southern metropolis was sealed. Lincoln should have fled and saved his

Fall of
Charleston,
May 12,
1780

army, but he lacked the sagacity of a Washington or a Greene; he prepared for defense, while day by day the coil of the anaconda tightened about the doomed city. Lincoln surrendered, and Charleston, with its stores, its advantages, and the army that defended it, fell into the hands of the British commander.

The fall of Charleston was a sad blow to the patriot cause — the most disastrous event of the war, except the fall of Fort Washington on the Hudson four years before. It gave Clinton control of South Carolina as well as of Georgia, and that officer now sailed away for New York, leaving Cornwallis in command with five thousand men. During the following months the scene in the Carolinas and Georgia was one of wild disorder and anarchy. A large portion of the people were royalists, and scarcely a day passed without hand to hand encounters, bloodshed, and murder. The patriots were without an army, but bands of roving volunteers annoyed the British incessantly.

The most daring and successful leader of these bands was Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox." With a handful of followers he would creep like a tiger from the coverts of the woods or the fastnesses of the mountains, strike a deadly blow, and disappear again like a shadow. Scarcely inferior to Marion was Thomas Sumter, the "South Carolina Gamecock," who was to outlive all his fellow-officers of the Revolution, and to leave his name upon that famous fort which was destined to be the scene of the opening of that greater war, to be fought by a later generation of Americans. After the war Sumter became a statesman, sat in the United States Senate, was minister to Brazil, and died in 1832 at the great age of ninety-eight years. Next to Sumter must be ranked Andrew Pickens, who also lived many years under the Constitution, and served his state in Congress. These and a few other kindred spirits kept alive the patriot cause in the South after the fall of Charleston, until a new army could be organized.

The summer had not passed before the clouds began to break away. Washington had sent De Kalb, who was hastening southward with over fifteen hundred veterans; the call for militia from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina met with a considerable response; and a commander to succeed Lincoln was to be sent from the North. Washington preferred Greene for this responsible duty, but the people called for Gates, "the hero of Saratoga," whom public opinion still clothed with the glamour of a great genius. Gates arrived upon the scene late in July, and again the hopes of the lovers of liberty rose — to

be ruthlessly dashed to the ground once more — only once more.

This final disaster was to occur at Camden, South Carolina, whither Gates hastened by forced marches. Reaching a point near the town, he found Lord Rawdon blocking his way with a force smaller than his own. Gates should have struck an immediate blow, but he hesitated for two days and by that time Cornwallis with the main army had joined Rawdon. Now occurred an unusual coincidence. On the night of the 15th of August, Gates decided to march through a wood for ten miles and surprise the enemy at daybreak. It happened that Cornwallis, on the same night and at the same hour, began a march over the same route for the purpose of surprising Gates. The two armies met midway and both were equally surprised. They waited till daylight, and then came the battle of Camden. The American force was largely composed of raw militia, who broke and fled at the first fire, throwing their loaded muskets to the ground. The regulars fought with great bravery, but the odds were against them, and the American army was totally routed. The noble De Kalb, bleeding from eleven wounds, fell into the enemy's hands and died soon afterward. Gates was borne from the field in the mad retreat, and he kept on galloping, and by night he had covered sixty miles. But he did not stop then; three days later he was at Hillsborough, North Carolina, nearly two hundred miles from the scene of the battle. His "northern laurels were changed to southern willows," as the cynical Charles Lee put it. Gates made an effort to recruit an army, but with little success. He saw that his career was over, and he made a piteous appeal to the commander in chief. Washington wrote him a consoling letter, expressing confidence, and even suggesting that he might be able to place Gates in command of one wing of the Continental army. The broken old general cherished this letter to the end of his days. The writing of this by Washington, in the face of the memory of the Conway Cabal, displayed a magnanimity with which few of the human race are gifted.

Battle of
Camden,
August 16,
1780

A few days after the crushing defeat of the Americans at Camden, another disaster, but of minor importance, was added to it. Sumter, with four hundred men, had captured a British baggage train, but Tarleton overtook him, recaptured the baggage, and made prisoners of three hundred of his men.

These were the darkest hours of the Revolution, save only the few weeks preceding the battle of Trenton.

But soon the light began to dawn; and never again, from that hour until now, has it been so nearly obscured as in the dark days that followed the battle of Camden. Scarcely had Tarleton won his victory, when Colonel Williams defeated five hundred British and Tories with great slaughter; and a few days later, on the banks of the Santee, Marion, with a handful of men, dashed upon a portion of the British army, captured twenty-six, set one hundred and fifty prisoners free, and darted into the forest without losing a man.¹ This was a beginning; King's Mountain was soon to follow.

Cornwallis sent Major Ferguson, one of his best officers, with twelve hundred men, five sixths of whom were loyalists, to scour the back country, gather recruits, and strike terror into the hearts of the patriots. The news of his raid spread beyond the mountains, and the frontier settlements were soon roused to fury; and, like the farmers at Lexington and Bennington, these hardy backwoodsmen seized their muskets, and hastened to meet the foe. Without orders, without hope of reward, these men, led by such heroes as John Sevier and Isaac Shelby, William Campbell and James Williams, poured like a torrent from the slopes and glens of the mountains. A motley crowd they were, Indian fighters and hunters, farmers and mountain rangers, dressed in their hunting shirts, with sprigs of hemlock in their hats, fearless and patriotic, and every man a dead shot with the rifle. So eager were they for the fray that the few hundred that were needed to guard the settlements had to be drafted for the purpose.² Ferguson heard of the coming of the "dirty mongrels," as he called them, and he planted his army on a spur of King's Mountain near the boundary between the Carolinas.

The mountaineers, numbering over thirteen hundred, came upon Ferguson on the afternoon of October 7, hungry and worn with an all-night march. They chose Campbell as their leader, but in truth the battle, like that at Lexington, was fought without a leader. Ferguson had chosen a strong position, but the pioneers were used to mountain climbing. They surrounded the hill and, pressing up the slopes, attacked the British from every side. The latter fought with a courage worthy of a better cause. They fired volley after volley, they rushed upon the foe with the bayonet and pressed them down the hillside. But the Americans instantly re-formed and renewed the attack. At length the British were exhausted; they huddled together on the hill, their

**Battle of
King's
Mountain,
1780**

¹ Gilmore, *Rearguard of the Revolution*, p. 210.

² *Ibid.*

ranks melting before the sharpshooters' bullets like snow beneath a summer's sun. Ferguson was a man of desperate valor. He refused to surrender. A white flag, raised by one of his men, he struck down with his sword. Then with foolhardy daring he made a dash through the encircling columns for liberty. Five sharpshooters leveled their pieces, and the British officer fell with five mortal wounds in his body. The remnant of the force surrendered; 456 of their number lay dead upon the field, to say nothing of the wounded, while but 28 of the Americans were slain.

The battle over, the men who had won it, taking their prisoners with them, hied away again to their crude civilization beyond the Alleghanies, disappearing as suddenly and noiselessly as they came. This was their only service in the war, but it was a noble service. At King's Mountain they turned the tide of the war, and insured the ultimate independence of America.

During the following months Marion and Sumter were extremely energetic in their peculiar mode of warfare, and the latter gained a victory over Tarleton. But this was not all; Daniel Morgan came down from the North, — Morgan, whose romantic career we have noticed, — and at his hands the scourge of the South, Tarleton, was to suffer the most crushing defeat of his life. General Nathanael Greene was appointed to succeed Gates at the South. He arrived in December, 1780, and with the aid of Thomas Jefferson, Governor of Virginia, raised some two thousand men from that state, and these, with fifteen hundred whom Gates had collected after Camden, gave him a respectable army. Greene's first important move was to send the free lance, Daniel Morgan, to raid the back country. Morgan, with nine hundred men, met Tarleton with 1100 at the Cowpens, not far from King's Mountain. Morgan's tactics were perfect; the battle was furious, and Tarleton's army was almost annihilated, he and a few followers alone escaping through the swamps on horseback. Greene had the services of some of the best men of the Continental army — Steuben, whom he left in Virginia to watch the traitor Arnold; Kosciusko, and the brilliant cavalry leaders, Henry Lee and William Washington, the latter a distant relative of the commander in chief. Cornwallis was greatly weakened by the defeat at the Cowpens, and he determined to strike Greene as soon as possible and revive the waning spirits of the regulars and loyalists. Perceiving this, Greene decided to lure the British general as far as possible from his base of supplies, and then to

**Battle of
Cowpens**

give him battle. He began an apparent retreat northward. Cornwallis fell into the trap, destroyed his heavy baggage, and followed. The chase continued for two hundred miles. At Guilford Courthouse, but thirty miles from the Virginia border, Greene, having joined Morgan's forces with his own, wheeled about, and, after some days of sparring for position, offered battle.¹ Greene placed his raw militia in front with orders to fire two or three volleys before giving way, after which the brunt of the battle was to be borne by the regulars. This plan had been adopted by Morgan at the Cowpens with great success, and Greene found it highly useful. The British claimed a victory in this battle because they held possession of the field; but their loss was much greater than the American loss and Cornwallis hastened to the seacoast, refusing Greene's challenge to a second battle.

By the flight of Cornwallis North Carolina was left in the hands of the Americans, and South Carolina was soon to share the same good fortune; for Greene turned to the latter state, and in three months he had driven the enemy from nearly every stronghold except Charleston, and all the energy that the British had expended in two and a half years to possess those states came to naught.

YORKTOWN

On reaching Wilmington, North Carolina, Cornwallis proceeded into Virginia, in the hope of conquering that state, and in the belief that if he did so the Carolinas would easily fall again into his possession. Lafayette, with a thousand men, had come down from the North to join Steuben and watch Arnold and Phillips, while Wayne, with an equal number, was moving south from Pennsylvania. With great skill the young French marquis, with an inferior army, held the enemy in check for a month, when he was joined by Wayne.² Cornwallis arrived on May 20. Arnold was sent back to New York. Then began a long series of maneuvers, marches, and countermarches, Lafayette harassing the enemy in every way, but avoiding an engagement. The British general expected to make a brilliant stroke. "The boy cannot escape me," said he; but the boy had been schooled under Washington for four years, and no strategy of Cornwallis could

¹ Greene's flight was prompted also by the fact that he did not feel able, without reënforcements, to fight Cornwallis. He offered battle only after making a detour into Virginia and gathering several hundred recruits.

² Lafayette clothed his army at this time at his own expense. During the war he used his entire income and 700,000 francs of his principal in helping the American cause.

entrap him. In one of Tarleton's raids Governor Jefferson was barely able to escape from his house at Monticello before it was surrounded by cavalry. Lafayette's army steadily increased. Early in August Cornwallis moved down the York River and occupied Yorktown, while the marquis stationed his army at Malvern Hill; and here they remained until the inaugurating of a great and unexpected movement that was to end the campaign and the war.

For three years, since the battle of Monmouth, Washington had kept his army as a watchdog, guarding the great valley of the Hudson, while Clinton, in the city of New York, was ever threatening to invade it. Washington longed to attack the enemy in his stronghold, and would have done so during Clinton's brief absence in the South, but for the fact that he had weakened his own army by sending troops southward. Count Rochambeau had arrived in Rhode Island the year before with six thousand French troops, and now, after nearly a year of enforced idleness, this army was joined to that of Washington. The two commanders conferred with the view of attacking Clinton, when suddenly the news reached them that Count de Grasse, with a powerful French fleet bearing twenty thousand men, was about to sail from the West Indies to Chesapeake Bay. The whole plan was at once changed. Washington determined to take a French-American army to Virginia, and to endeavor with the support of the fleet to capture the British army.

So necessary was it to deceive Clinton that Washington and Rochambeau kept their plan secret even from their officers until secrecy was no longer possible. Leaving four thousand men to guard the Hudson, they crossed that river with four thousand Frenchmen and two thousand Americans on the 19th of August. Moving down the Jersey shore, they made a feint on Staten Island and led Clinton to believe that the intention was to attack it; but suddenly the army wheeled to the west, and it almost reached the Delaware before the object of the expedition was known. While en route to the South, Washington made a flying visit to his home at Mt. Vernon, which he had not seen for six years.

Meantime De Grasse reached the mouth of the York River and sent four thousand men ashore to augment the army of Lafayette. A British fleet under Admiral Hood came up from the West Indies and attacked the French fleet, but it was defeated and De Grasse remained master in the Chesapeake. This was a matter of vital importance to

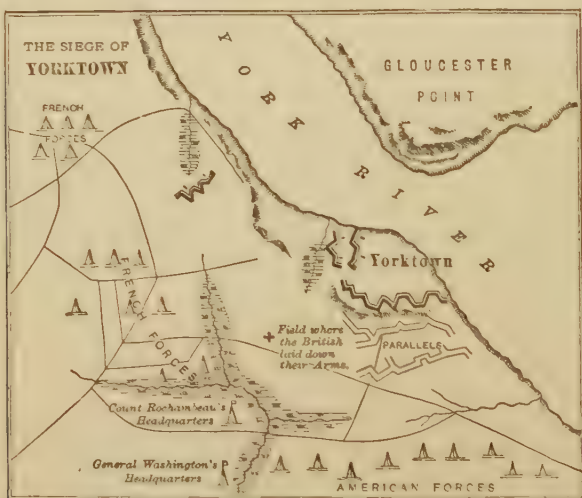
Washington
moves
southward

De Grasse

Washington, as it prevented the escape of Cornwallis by sea. His only escape lay in a retreat upon North Carolina, but this was prevented by Lafayette, who lay across the peninsula with eight thousand men.

The allied armies reached the vicinity of Yorktown late in August. The approaches were made by means of parallel trenches. The bombardment of the city began October 6. Side by side labored the French chasseurs and the American continentals and militia, tightening the coils about the imprisoned British army. On the river bank below the town were two strong redoubts. One of

**Siege of
Yorktown**



these was captured by Baron de Vioménil, and the other by the youthful Alexander Hamilton, who was destined yet to play a great part in American history. Day by day the British works crumbled beneath the incessant fire of the allied cannon, and on the 17th of October, four years to a day after the surrender of Burgoyne, the white flag was seen waving above the parapet at Yorktown. The cannonade ceased and the surrender was effected two days later, the terms being exactly those accorded to Lincoln at Charleston. And it was Lincoln who was now sent to receive the sword of Cornwallis, who, playing sick, sent it by the hand of a subordinate. The British arms were soon stacked, and the entire army of more than eight thousand men, including a few hundred seamen, became prisoners of war.

**Surrender,
October 19,
1781**

Everybody knew, on both sides of the Atlantic, that this master stroke had ended the war and that America had won. There were 30,000 British troops still in America, and England might have continued the war but for conditions in other parts of the world. Holland had joined with France and Spain against the British; Minorca had fallen, Florida had been won by the Spaniards, and Gibraltar was sorely besieged. A French army was threatening India. England had no friend in Europe and the very existence of the empire seemed to hang in the balance. These conditions, coupled with the facts that the Whigs were gaining in the British Parliament and that there was a popular clamor for peace, rendered it impossible to continue the war in America.

It is true that Clinton held New York for two years longer, until the treaty of peace was arranged; but hostilities between the regular armies ceased with the fall of Yorktown.¹ The rejoicing over the surrender of Cornwallis was unbounded throughout America. The news reached Philadelphia in the early morning hours of the 24th, and the German watchman, continuing his rounds, added to his "Basht dree o'glock," the further information, "und Gorn-val-lis ist da-ken."² Wild scenes of rejoicing greeted the coming day, and Congress repaired to the Lutheran Church to thank God for the deliverance. When the news reached Paris the victory was celebrated with a brilliant illumination of the city. Even in England many of the anti-war party rejoiced; but Lord North, on hearing the news, paced the floor of his room, threw his arms wildly about, and repeated again and again, "O God, it is all over, it is all over."

It was not until April 19, 1783, exactly eight years after Lexington, that Washington proclaimed the war at an end, and discharged the army. Some time later he took impressive leave of his officers and retired to his Mt. Vernon home, a private citizen.

The very important business of concluding a treaty of peace was now in progress. The treaty was arranged in Paris, and the American commissioners were Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams. American independence was a foregone conclusion, and every country

**The treaty
of peace**

¹ Soon after the surrender Washington returned to the Hudson Valley. The French army embarked for France in December. In a letter to Clinton reporting his surrender Cornwallis says, "The treatment in general we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper."

² Fiske, Vol. II, p. 285.

in Europe was pleased with this outcome, except Spain, which foresaw that the United States as an independent power would become a menace to her American possessions. The North ministry had fallen, and the Marquis of Rockingham was now premier, with Shelburne and Charles James Fox as members of his Cabinet. All of these had been the friends of America from the beginning. In July, 1782, Rockingham died, and Shelburne, succeeding him as premier, became the one who, through his agents, treated with the Americans. Our commissioners had been instructed not to deal separately with England without the consent of France, and by these instructions Franklin was ready to abide. But Jay discovered, or thought he discovered, that the French minister, Vergennes, had proposed secretly to England that the United States be deprived of all the region between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River in the interests of Spain, and also that American fishermen be prohibited from Canadian waters, and he offered to treat with England secretly without the consent of France.

The proposition was gladly accepted by Shelburne. Franklin did not approve of Jay's course, but Adams, arriving from Holland about this time, sided with Jay, and Franklin yielded. They therefore arranged with Shelburne a preliminary treaty, which was signed November 30, 1782, while the definitive treaty was not signed until the 3d of September, 1783, the long delay being caused by the European situation.

By the treaty the independence of the United States was acknowledged, and the boundaries were Florida on the south, the Mississippi on the west, and the southern boundary of Canada on the north. The Mississippi was left

**Provisions
of the treaty**

open to both American and British shipping; the right of the Americans to fish on the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was continued, while British subjects were not granted fishing rights on the coasts of the United States. The other two questions to be disposed of were those relating to the loyalists and to the payment of private debts to British subjects, contracted by Americans before the war. The debt question was decided in the only right way to decide such a question — every debt must be paid to its full extent in sterling money.

The treaty on the whole was a great diplomatic victory for the United States. As Mr. Lecky says, nothing that we could reasonably have expected was denied us. Aside from independ-

ence, the one abiding triumph of incalculable importance was the securing the Mississippi, instead of the Alleghanies, as the western boundary of the United States. Of no greater importance was the purchase of Louisiana, twenty years later, than was this first step toward the expansion of the new republic to the western ocean.

THE LOYALISTS

The Loyalists or Tories (but a better term than either would be Royalists) constituted perhaps one third of the entire American population. They were much more numerous in New York, New Jersey, and the South than in New England and Pennsylvania. They were for the most part of the so-called upper classes — men who held office under the Crown, professional men, rich merchants, and planters. With many of them the choice of sides was based on principle; they were by training and temperament unfriendly to popular government; others were swayed by a romantic interest in royalty and pride of empire.¹

The differences began with mild family and neighborhood arguments over the Parson's Cause and Writs of Assistance, the people taking sides according to their conviction.

With the coming of the Stamp Act and other acts widening the breach between the two countries these

Treatment
of Royalists

arguments grew more intense and so continued until the patriots and royalists became bitterly hostile to each other. After many of the patriots had made the supreme sacrifice at Bunker Hill or under the walls of Quebec, their surviving friends would brook no more jeering from the loyalists and the hatred between them came to be more deadly than that between the patriots and the English. As the war progressed every colony made laws against the Tories, imposing severe penalties, even the death penalty in some instances, and confiscating their property. Some of them were tarred and feathered by the angry populace; or they were forced to stand on a soap box in the street and swear allegiance to the American cause. In their local clashes, especially in the South, many on each side lost their lives. One man, named Love, who had been notorious for killing wounded

¹ One lady, as mentioned in Tyler's *Literary History of the Revolution*, though devoid of political principles and scarcely knowing the cause of the contents, was a confirmed Tory because of her fancy for such terms as Imperial Crown, Royal Robes, and the like, while she looked with disdain on army officers who had been mere tailors and tavern keepers, or even planters, as in the case of Washington.

patriots, was tried in Georgia and acquitted. As he walked out of the courtroom the people seized him and hanged him to the nearest tree.

Many of the royalists were banished; others fled the country of their own accord. When Howe sailed from Boston he carried 1100 of them to Halifax. Eighteen were clergymen, for the most part Episcopalians. Great numbers fled to England, others to Canada, while some found a refuge in Florida. It is estimated that at least 100,000 loyalists left the country, but a far greater number, of the milder sort, remained and became reconciled to the changed conditions.

The plight of the loyal exiles in England was pitiable. Their disillusion came soon after landing. Having given up fortune, home, everything for the love of the mother land, they fully expected a warm welcome when they reached its shores; but little notice was taken of them. No one awaited or welcomed them; they did not fit into English society; they knew nobody and nobody knew them or seemed to wish to know them. A ghost at a banquet was hardly more out of place than an American at St. James Street Club.¹

Many who had been rich in America spent their remaining years as exiles in the utmost poverty, scattering over the country and eking out a living as best they could. It is said that there is hardly a cemetery in the kingdom but contains the dust of exiled loyalists. Judge Curwen of Salem, Massachusetts, was one of the early exiles. His wife, who feared the 'Sons of Liberty less than the Atlantic billows, refused to go with him and, at the age of sixty, he went alone. For years he kept a diary and it is an almost continuous tale of woe. In December, 1778, when convinced that his banishment was perpetual, he wrote, "Nothing but the hopes of once more revisiting my native soil . . . has hitherto supported my drooping courage, but that prop taken away leaves me in a condition too distressing to think of." John Wentworth, who had been governor of New Hampshire, was one of these exiles. At the close of the war he recommended that none of his fellow loyalists should leave their native land, if permitted to remain; even if stripped of all their property, they should not seek a refuge in England as long as "they could get clams and potatoes in America." Of himself he wrote, "My destination is quite uncertain. Like an old flapped hat, thrown off the top of a house, I am tumbling

**Exiles in
England**

¹ Trevelyan, *American Revolution*, II, p. 239.

over and over into the air, and God only knows where I shall finally alight and settle." One old Bostonian, who made his home in Halifax, was never so happy as when his family, now and then, shipped him off to the city of his birth that he might have a walk on the Boston Common. But many of the exiles were not permitted to return and yet they never ceased to love the land from which they had fled. Often they were cut to the quick when they heard America and the Americans denounced.

In framing the treaty the British used every effort to secure favorable terms for the royalists remaining in America, but our agents were inflexible in their refusal. They agreed, however, that the Congress recommend to the states to deal mildly with them. Congress did this and the states paid little heed to the request. For the support of the royalists who had left their country Parliament appropriated about \$16,000,000, but this sum fell far short of meeting their actual needs.

OBSERVATIONS

To the "Revolution," by which the war as well as the change of government is often designated, I have given considerable space because of its great importance in the world's history. It gave birth to the greatest of modern nations. It also ended a long and bloodless strife in England between two political parties, or opposing principles of government, and resulted in the restoration of Parliamentary rule as distinguished from that of the royal prerogative. During the war the belief was widespread that the success of the Americans would bring ruin to the British Empire and relegate it to a second place among the powers; but such a result did not follow. England, now in the hands of Parliament and not of the king, rose like a wounded giant and smote her enemies right and left. Admiral Rodney, the greatest of English seamen except Nelson and Blake,¹ in a tremendous naval battle in the West Indies in 1782, destroyed the French fleet and made a prisoner of De Grasse; and before the end of the year the English won a great victory over the Spaniards at Gibraltar. England now became the mother of nations and rose to a greater height than ever before, reaching the acme of her power a generation later at Waterloo.

¹ Greene.

America was not greatly weakened by the Revolution. It is true that the fishing industry and the shipping business were temporarily destroyed, but in spite of this fact the country continued to prosper during the war, and gained three hundred thousand inhabitants.¹ In fact, the war did not continue long in any one place. The wealth of the country lay chiefly in its farm products, and so extensive was the territory that the invading armies overran less than one tenth of it during the whole war. When a foreign army was quartered for a long season in any place, it was a benefit rather than a detriment to the community, as the farmers received better prices, and usually in specie, for their products. In short, the country was richer and stronger in resources at the end of the war than at its beginning. Nevertheless, the patriot armies were often barefoot, but half clothed, and actually suffering for food. This arose wholly from a want of government. The country was laden with harvests and fruits, with shoes and clothing; but Congress was powerless — it could not supply the army, it had no power of taxation. In one way alone, the worst way of all, could Congress tax the people — by issuing paper money; and this it did lavishly. This Continental money depreciated in the hands of the people until it became valueless.² A pound of sugar sold for \$10, and a barrel of flour for \$1500. To say that a thing was “not worth a continental” was to express the utmost contempt for its value. This inflation of the currency caused much annoyance in business, but the people deserved it for their tardy support of the war. Herein lay America’s greatest weakness and the one serious menace to the success of the Revolution — a want of strong government and a consequent want of discipline in the army. It has been stated by Mr. Lecky that the Americans were not actuated by an intense and abiding enthusiasm. They were fighting for a principle, it is true, but it was a mere matter of taxation and nearly a third of their own countrymen were against them. The issue was not one that touches the deeper springs of life such as that which inspired the Dutch in defending the walls of Leyden, or the Scots at Bannockburn. It must be conceded that there is some ground for this opinion advanced by the English historian.³ Washington found it very

¹ Rhode Island and Georgia alone lost in population.

² The various issues by Congress (all before the close of 1779) aggregated \$242,000,000. Lossing’s *Cyclopedia*, Vol. II, p. 321.

³ Lecky, Woodburn Edition, p. 230.

difficult to keep an army together. He complains bitterly of the "egregious want of public spirit, and of the unwillingness of the men to submit to necessary discipline." On the other hand, the heroic suffering at Valley Forge, the patriotic devotion of half-fed, half-clothed, unpaid men who spent years of sacrifice to win independence must elicit the abiding homage of the American people. Had Congress wielded true governmental powers, or had the people acted all through with the vigor displayed at Lexington, at Saratoga, and at King's Mountain, the war would have been short and the result never doubtful.

As to foreign aid, aside from the French loans and the moral effect of the French alliance and the individual services of such men as Lafayette and Steuben, it amounted to little until the last campaign. Twice did the French French aid make an honest effort — at Newport and at Savannah — to assist the Americans, but in each case the result was failure. At Yorktown, however, the aid of the French was necessary to success. But for the fleet of De Grasse, Cornwallis would have escaped by sea; and but for the French land forces he might have broken through the encircling lines. For this service the Americans should never cease to be profoundly grateful to France.

Perhaps the greatest mistake made by the British was in presuming too much on the strength of the royalists. There were many, it is true, in northern New York and in the South, but in both sections the patriots outnumbered them, while in New England and Pennsylvania the Tory element was insignificant. Burgoyne seriously miscalculated in expecting the people of the Hudson Valley to rise up for the king, and the same mistake was made by Cornwallis in his hapless, final campaign in Virginia.

Among the British commanders we find no really great soldier. The ablest of them all was Cornwallis, a man of much vigor, honest, conscientious, and not without strategic ability. Had Cornwallis been made commander Estimate of Commanders in chief from the beginning, the history of the war might have been different from what it is. Next to him stands Lord Rawdon; and both of these men afterward rose high in the councils of their nation, each becoming governor of India. Tarleton exhibited much dash and brilliancy, but he was wanting in the humane qualities that usually characterize modern warfare. Gage was incompetent, as British writers acknowledge. Howe was abler, but he was dilatory and never seemed

to have heart in the work.¹ Burgoyne and Clinton were men of considerable ability, and of the most honorable instincts; but while Burgoyne in his single campaign had little opportunity to exhibit any great qualities, Clinton was usually just too late in making any important movement.

Turning to the American side, we find in George Washington a great military commander. It is true that he actually won but few battles, but this fact will not affect his reputation when one considers the conditions. An army of regulars, of professional soldiers, is worth at least three times its number of untrained militia; and not only was Washington's army composed largely of militia, as against the British regulars, but it was also usually far inferior in numbers, and was badly equipped in comparison. Washington cannot be classed among the greatest warriors of history; he lacked the brilliant genius of a Hannibal, a Cæsar, or a Napoleon. He is especially remembered for his Fabian policy; and yet his operations at Trenton and Princeton, and his stealthy march upon Yorktown, — all must be classed among the most brilliant military movements in the history of warfare. Other valiant leaders there were in the field and in the

¹ **General William Howe.** — General Howe was accused of not trying to conquer the Americans because of his sympathy with them, and the controversy thus awakened continued for many years. Lord Effingham resigned from the army because he "could not consent to fight against his fellow subjects." Amherst was appointed to succeed Gage in America, but refused through scruples of conscience. When Howe was appointed he hesitated before accepting (Chase, II, p. 233). Howe was known to be friendly to America and it was said that the radicals in the Continental Congress hastened the Declaration of Independence in the fear that he would conciliate the Americans.

Why, it was asked, did Howe permit Washington to escape from Brooklyn Heights when he could certainly have surrounded and captured him? One critic said that Howe "calculated with the greatest accuracy the exact time necessary for the enemy to make his escape." Why did Howe sail for Halifax from Boston when he should have sailed to the New York Harbor? When Cornwallis was chasing the Americans across New Jersey, why did Howe order Cornwallis to stop at New Brunswick, there to remain for nearly a week? When Washington was quartered at Morristown he declared that Howe could have captured his whole army had he known its weakness and made the attempt. Why did Howe sail for the Chesapeake when he should have coöperated with Burgoyne even without instructions? Of the Brandywine campaign a French officer said, "If the English had followed their advantage that day, Washington's army would have been heard of no more."

To the accusation that he did not wish to win the war Howe made a sweeping denial and as he was known as a man of the highest honor and probity, his word must be accepted as final. The truth of the matter was probably that Howe, though a stanch Whig and not in sympathy with the king's policy, wished nevertheless to save America to the Crown. In the belief that the Americans would be forced to yield in the end, he wished to defeat without humiliating them overmuch and thus leave open the way for healing the wounds inflicted by the war. One can scarcely doubt that Howe on various occasions could have crushed Washington and ended the war. In his aim to do so with moderation he overworked his program and, unintentionally, lost the war for his country.

State, but any one of them could have been spared. Not so with Washington. Without him — judging from a human standpoint — the Revolution could not have succeeded.¹

Next to Washington stands Nathanael Greene. Singular it is that Greene never won a battle; but he always won the campaign, which was the vital thing after all. Lafayette made a name for himself in American history, and his fame will endure for many generations; but he never displayed, in this war or later in life, the qualities of a great military genius. A few of the commanders are famous for some single act — Ethan Allen for the capture of Ticonderoga, Stark for Bennington, and Wayne for his capture of Stony Point; while others, equally deserving, are scarcely remembered by the masses. Among these are Schuyler, who was robbed of his laurels at Saratoga; Knox, whose name was redeemed by his being chosen to sit in the first Cabinet; Daniel Morgan, the hero of many battles and especially of the Cowpens; and Sullivan, who was a conspicuous figure in nearly every battle fought on northern soil.²

¹ **Washington's Farewell.** — On November 25, 1783, the British army under Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Clinton, departed from New York, and the same day the American army entered the city. The day was celebrated for many years as Evacuation Day. Nine days after the entrance of the army Washington gathered his officers about him at Fraunce's Tavern and gave them an affectionate farewell. In deep emotion he raised a glass of water with trembling hand to his lips, drank to their health, and said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you, and most devoutly wish your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." He then invited each to shake him by the hand, and as they did so he kissed each one on the forehead. From New York he went to Philadelphia and deposited with the comptroller an account of his expenses during the war (some \$64,000), and then proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress was sitting. In the towns along the route great numbers of people gathered to do honor to the hero and to assure him of their undying devotion. In the statehouse at Annapolis, at noon on December 23, Washington appeared before Congress in special session for the purpose, returned his commission as commander of the army to General Mifflin, the president, and uttered a speech full of feeling and wisdom. Two days later, on Christmas, this "Cincinnatus of the West" was resting amid the rural scenes of his home at Mt. Vernon.

² **Society of the Cincinnati.** — The society known as the Cincinnati was first suggested by General Knox, and was organized at the headquarters of Baron Steuben, near Fishkill, New York. Washington was made the first president, and he continued to hold the office until his death. The society was composed of the officers of the Continental army, and its object was to promote friendship and to aid any of the members that might be in want. To perpetuate the society it was provided that the eldest male descendant of each of its members should be entitled to membership. The badge of the order was the figure of an eagle in gold, on the breast of which was a medallion representing Cincinnatus at his plow receiving the Roman senators. There was a great outcry from the people against the Cincinnati. It was believed that this was the beginning of an order of nobility, or at least of an aristocracy that would ever hold itself above the common people. But this fear was all unnecessary, for while the society still exists, it plays but a small part in the social life of America.

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Much light is thrown on the history of the period by the biographies of the leading men of the time.

CHAPTER XII

THE TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT

THE war of the Revolution was now over, and the people rejoiced in their newly won independence; but the more serious problem of self-government was yet unsolved. We saw how, at the beginning of the war, the people came together in the common defense; how they created a Congress with undefined powers, and through it declared their independence; and how at length they lost interest in it and refused to obey its mandates. It is true that Congress had degenerated; some of the best men of the first Congress had gone into the army, others became ministers abroad, while still others had accepted office in their respective states. No longer was that body composed of the best men of the country, nor were its motives always above suspicion. The people had learned, through their long experience in colonial days, how to govern their states; but to join them together into a nation was the vital question that had not yet reached a solution.

Nevertheless Congress made an honest effort to form a permanent union. On the same day that the committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence another committee was intrusted with the more arduous duty of preparing a form of government.

Articles of
Confederation

The leading man in this committee was John Dickinson, who, one week after the Declaration had been passed, reported a plan of government. This instrument was taken up and debated at intervals for some weeks, when it was laid upon the table, and there it rested for eight months. In the early spring of 1777 these articles were again taken up, and, after a desultory discussion covering half a year, they were adopted by Congress. This plan of government is known in history as the Articles of Confederation.

As finally adopted, the articles were far less effectual than was the original draft of Dickinson, and the weak and inefficient government created by them was appropriately termed a "rope of sand." The causes which contributed to this result were

various. The outburst of national feeling at the opening of the Revolution, which was born of necessity, had now subsided, while the feeling of state pride, which had its roots in the far past, was again in the ascendancy. Moreover, the states had formed governments and assumed governmental powers, and they were loath to yield these powers to a general government. They were also jealous of one another, and this jealousy of states and sections played its part in preventing their union into a stronger government. To these causes — dearth of national patriotism, excessive state pride, jealousy among the states, and unwillingness to yield any of their powers — another must be added, namely, a widespread fear that a strong central government would become tyrannical and oppressive and would eventually subvert the liberties of the people. For these reasons our first attempt at national government, under a written constitution, ended almost in failure.

THE ARTICLES AND THE LAND CESSIONS

Immediately on adopting the Articles of Confederation, Congress submitted them to the several states for ratification. Most of the states ratified them within a year, but a few hesitated, and three and a half years passed before the union was formed. The chief cause for delay was the possession of western lands by some of the states and not by others. Anticipating the cession by Great Britain of all the territory east of the Mississippi from Florida to the Great Lakes, seven states laid claim to it, mostly on the ground of their colonial charters:¹ Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Massachusetts claimed all the lands westward from New York, and Connecticut claimed a broad strip south of the Massachusetts line. Virginia, by right of her charters and the conquest of the Illinois country by George Rogers Clark, laid claim to almost the entire Ohio Valley and the Northwest. The claims of the southern states extended from their respective western boundaries to the Mississippi. The claims of New York, however, were the most extravagant of all; and they were not based on a royal charter, but on the possession of the Iroquois Indian tribes. The Six Nations had deeded all their lands to the governor of New York, and as they claimed author-

¹ The western boundary named in these charters as the "South Sea" now became the Mississippi River. The charters had nearly all been canceled by the same power that had issued them, but the states ignored this fact and persisted in their extravagant claims to the western lands.



THE UNITED STATES AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION
Showing Western Land Claims of States.

ity over nearly all the tribes between the Tennessee River and the Great Lakes, New York claimed this vast region as her own.

It will be seen that these claims conflicted. Here lay the seeds of serious future trouble among the states, but happily the discussion of the Articles of Confederation furnished the means of a final settlement. Six of the states — New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland — had no claim to western lands, and these now called upon the others to surrender their claims to the general government. Maryland made a determined stand, and refused to adopt the Articles and join the Union until the cessions were made. The matter hung fire for several years and began to attract attention even in Europe. Early in 1781, New York generously took the lead in relinquishing her claims to the general government; some of the other states made promises to follow this example, and Maryland signed the Articles in March, 1781.

**Land
cessions**

This experiment in government was the first of its kind in history, and it was not then known, as it now is, that such a confederacy cannot endure. The Articles embodied a few good points, such as the provision that freemen of any state should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of freemen of any other state and that the records, acts, and judicial decisions of one state should be valid in all. But on the whole the Articles were exceedingly defective. They left the government without a Supreme Court to interpret the laws, without an Executive to enforce them, and with but one House of Congress, in which each state had one vote, regardless of its size, population, or wealth. Each state had at least two and not more than seven representatives, the majority casting the vote of the state, and no man could represent his state more than three years out of six. Congress had no power over commerce; each state had power to put a tariff on foreign goods, or on goods from the other states. The government acted on the state and not on the individual: thus a citizen had no direct relations with his government, which seemed to him almost as a foreign power; he was responsible to his state, and the state to the general government.

**Defects in
the Articles**

The most glaring defect in the Articles lay in the fact that Congress had no power over taxation. It could only apportion to the states the amount necessary for each to raise, and if they refused, as some of them did, there was no power to force them. Eighteen months were required to collect one fifth of the taxes

laid by Congress in 1783.¹ It is plain that a government which has not the power to tax its own citizens, to enforce its own laws, or to regulate commerce, lacks the vital essentials of sovereignty; and in this condition was the United States under the Articles of Confederation.

DRIFTING TOWARD ANARCHY

The Articles of Confederation were perhaps the best attainable at the time of their adoption, as the people were not yet ready for a closer union; and they taught the people as
State quarrels nothing else could have taught them that a stronger government was necessary. Numerous difficulties were encountered. Any refractory state among the thirteen had the power to nullify a national law.² Our agents in Europe made treaties of commerce which could be ignored or violated by any state in the Union. The European powers did not know whether they were treating with one nation or with thirteen. Matters at home were in a still worse condition. The states habitually violated the Articles, disobeyed the acts of Congress, and quarreled with one another like petulant children. Pennsylvania and Connecticut came to blows over the Wyoming Valley, until at length the matter was settled by arbitration. Pennsylvania won, and Connecticut went westward and took a slice out of northern Ohio, now called the Western Reserve. New York and New Hampshire quarreled over the territory of

¹ From November 1, 1781, to January 1, 1786, Congress made requisition for more than \$10,000,000 and secured less than one fourth of that sum.

² **Early State Governments.** — The states had been authorized by Congress, as stated before, to form governments; and each had adopted a constitution, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which merely dropped the king's name from their public documents. The states, thus suddenly clothed with unusual powers, naturally took much pride in their new condition; and this state pride, as noted in the text, made the forming of a union exceedingly difficult. But it is a remarkable fact that in few cases was this newly acquired liberty so abused as to produce anarchy or violence. The cause of this cool-headed, conservative manner in which the states set about governing themselves is twofold: first, the fact that the people had long enjoyed a large measure of liberty and knew how to use it; second, the instinct for order and the reign of law that characterizes the Anglo-Saxon race. The legislative assemblies of the old days were continued by the states, the members representing the counties, except in New England, where they represented the townships. There was also an upper House or Senate (added in Pennsylvania and Georgia a few years after the war) in each state, and a governor, except in a few states where an executive council at first took the place of governor. But in framing their first state constitutions the people remembered their troubles with the old royal governors, and gave the new governors but little power. The judicial systems remained much the same as under the colonies. In every state a property qualification was required of voters, and in many a religious test was applied. Universal manhood suffrage was a gradual growth, and came with a later generation.

Vermont. Washington became peacemaker, and Vermont afterward joined the Union as the fourteenth state. New York was in dispute with New Jersey and Connecticut concerning trade. Various states kept troops, or entered into compacts in direct violation of the Articles.

The national treasury was in a deplorable condition. A great war debt hung over the country, and the soldiers were clamoring for their pay; but Congress was powerless. In March, 1783, the army was inflamed by a series of articles, known as the "Newburg Addresses," by Major John Armstrong, which set forth the grievances of the army and indirectly counseled violent measures to obtain redress. The addresses soon bore fruit. In June of the same year a band of eighty soldiers broke camp at Lancaster, marched upon Philadelphia, drew up before the statehouse where Congress sat, and demanded their pay at the point of the bayonet. Congress appealed to the state for protection, but neither the state nor the city was able or inclined to furnish it; and this august body of lawmakers, which had raised armies to grapple with the British Empire, had issued the Declaration of Independence, and had concluded treaties with the greatest nations of the earth, — this body now fled from a few of its own soldiers and found refuge in the college at Princeton. Rioting was rampant in many parts of the country. At Concord, Massachusetts, the judges were driven from the court by an armed mob, and the same thing occurred at Northampton and other towns.

The states were supreme. Congress was held in contempt, yet that body made an honest effort to manage the government and to pay the national debt. In 1781, Congress proposed an impost duty of five per cent on certain articles, in order to raise money to pay the public debt. The consent of all the states was necessary. Twelve consented, but Rhode Island refused. The project fell to the ground. In 1783 a strenuous effort was made to amend the Articles to give Congress the power of laying imposts. Twelve states again consented, including Rhode Island; but New York, swayed by George Clinton, whose statesmanship was too narrow to look beyond his own state, refused, and again the project came to nothing. A third attempt was made in 1784 — an attempt to induce the states to give Congress power to exclude from our ports vessels whose respective governments did not have commercial treaties with us; this effort also ended in failure.

Deplorable indeed was the condition of the country during

the years just preceding the breaking of the dawn. Our credit in Europe was dead. Jefferson, who had succeeded Franklin as minister to France, labored in vain to secure further loans and more favorable trade conditions with that country. John Adams and John Jay had similar experiences in London and Madrid. The half-barbarous hordes of North Africa insulted our flag with impunity, destroyed our shipping in the Mediterranean, and openly sold American citizens into slavery in the markets of Tripoli and Algiers. But Congress could not protect its citizens at home — how could it do so in lands beyond the seas? One of the most serious menaces to the country came from the far Southwest. Spain, through her envoy, Gardoqui, decided to close the lower Mississippi to American shipping; and John Jay, our foreign secretary, after a year's protest, agreed to the project in order to win a commercial treaty from Spain. Instantly the settlers of the great valley were up in arms. The closing of the great waterway, they declared, would ruin them, and rather than submit to it, they would secede from the Union and throw themselves upon Great Britain for protection. But New England wanted the commercial treaty and cared little for the navigation of the Mississippi. That section now talked secession, if the Jay-Gardoqui treaty were not accepted by Congress. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were neutral and held the balance of power, but at length they threw their weight with the South, and the treaty was rejected.

In 1786 the country was again deluged with paper money, issued, not by Congress, but by the several states. The people clamored for it as Israel cried for quail in the wilderness, and the issue was so profuse as to ruin trade and business. Most of the states yielded to the demand of the people; and the refusal of Massachusetts to do so, coupled with a decision to pay her quota to Congress, caused an uprising led by Daniel Shays, known as Shays's Rebellion. Shays had a following of some two thousand men, mostly debtor-farmers, and Governor Bowdoin was obliged to send General Lincoln to disperse them. This rebellion, perhaps, did more than anything else to arouse in the lovers of peace and order a sense of the need of a stronger government.

Such was the condition of national affairs under the Confederation. Congress had but the shadow of power; national authority was a dream. But the seeds of discontent were taking root in many hearts. Wise men saw that unless a stronger

government were formed, the fruits of the Revolution would be lost and the opportunity of the new civilization in the Western World would be fatally impaired. Washington looked with dismay upon the drifting of the people toward anarchy. As early as June, 1783, he had written a long circular letter to the governors of all the states, in which he urgently recommended "an indissoluble union of the states, under one federal head." But in one thing there was already an important nucleus of nationality; one solid foundation stone had been laid, and that consisted in the possession by the general government of the western lands, a vast tract equal in extent to all the thirteen states combined.¹ For some years this great tract was in a state of disorder, almost of anarchy. Soon after the conquest made by George Rogers Clark, Virginia extended her authority over a great portion of the country, as the County of Illinois, but Virginia law was not generally observed. There was much friction between the American and French settlers and the Indian claims were by no means extinguished.

The year 1787 proved a turning point in the history of the Northwest Territory. A corporation known as the Ohio Company, headed by the Rev. Manasseh Cutler of Massachusetts, purchased from the government a tract of a million and a half acres along the Muskingum River. In making this sale Congress agreed to establish suitable government in the territory. In July of the same year an ordinance was passed by Congress to govern the Northwest Territory, between the Ohio River and the lakes. This famous "Ordinance of 1787" provided for the temporary government of the territory and for its ultimate division into states; it provided for personal and religious liberty and for the means of education; it guaranteed civil rights and the proper treatment of the Indians, and above all, it excluded slavery forever from the territory.² By this act Congress exercised sovereign power which had not been granted by the Articles, and yet there was little outcry against it. Its acceptance was one of the signs that pointed to a closer union and a stronger government. This ordinance, which was ratified by the first Congress under the Constitution, has been rightfully pronounced next in importance to

Ordinance
of 1787

¹ Not all the states owning western lands had yet ceded them, but they were morally bound to do so, as it was understood that they would follow the example of New York and Virginia. The last cession, by Georgia, was made in 1801.

² An ordinance, framed by Jefferson, for the government of the western territory both north and south of the Ohio, was adopted by Congress in 1784, after an anti-slavery clause had been lost by a single vote. This ordinance did not go into operation.

the Declaration of Independence and the federal Constitution in its results for the United States.

THE ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION

While governmental affairs were in this almost chaotic condition, while the country was in a state of distraction over the New England riots, the flood of paper money, and the pending Jay-Gardoqui treaty, — early in the year 1786, — a very important step was taken in the right direction. The legislature of Virginia called a convention to be held at Annapolis, — or rather invited the other states to join in such a convention, — for the purpose of considering trade conditions. This call, occasioned by the commercial problem, originated with James Madison, one of the ablest among the nation builders of that period.

At the little city by the Chesapeake the convention met in September, 1786. But twelve delegates were present, representing five states, neither New England nor the extreme South being represented.¹ The convention, too small to be truly a representation of the whole country, did not discuss the condition of trade, and it would scarcely be remembered but for the one thing it did — it called another convention, to be held the following spring in Philadelphia. The call was drawn up by the brilliant young delegate from New York, Alexander Hamilton.

There was much doubt as to what would be the response to this call, so widespread was the passion for state rights, and so little did the masses realize that the ills of the country were largely due to a want of government. Congress, then sitting in New York, hesitated long before sanctioning the movement, and gave its approval only after six states had elected delegates. Virginia took the lead, and Virginia was led by Madison, who made a master stroke by having Washington put first on the list of delegates. This, it was well known, would give tone and dignity to the movement, as Washington was the popular idol in every state. But Virginia did nothing better than to send Madison himself to the convention. The other states followed her example, until twelve of them had chosen delegates, Rhode Island alone refusing to take any part in the proceeding.

The approach of the time for the Philadelphia convention was marked by a general interest among the people. The convention was called ostensibly to amend the Articles of Con-

¹ Delegates from various other states were on their way to Annapolis when they heard that the convention had adjourned.

federation; but it was generally felt that it would go beyond its instructions and propose a new government. What would be the outcome no one could surmise. Some favored a monarchy;¹ a larger number preferred that three republics be set up — one comprising New England, a second the Middle states, and a third the Southern states; but the great mass of the people preferred that there be one government, and that a republic. The people were in a quiver of uncertainty as to what would be done or should be done; they only knew that something must be done, and that soon, if the country was to be preserved. Meantime the Constitutional Convention met, and after a four months' labor it gave birth to that great document which still is, and will doubtless be for many generations to come, the supreme law of the land — a document that the great British statesman, Gladstone, pronounced the "greatest work ever struck off at any one time by the mind and purpose of man"; and to the story of the making of this instrument we shall devote the next chapter.

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¹ Colonel Louis Nicola, who favored a kingdom, had written to Washington in 1782, urging him to accept the crown at the hands of the American people. Washington answered that the scheme was odious to him, and enjoined Nicola as his friend to mention it no more.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONSTITUTION

THE Constitutional Convention met in the same city, the same building, and the same room from which had issued the Declaration of Independence eleven years before. It was composed of the best brains of the land, though a few of the leading characters were conspicuously absent. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were serving their country in Europe; Patrick Henry had been elected, but he refused to serve, so wedded was he to state rights; and we look in vain for Richard Henry Lee, for Samuel Adams, and for John Hancock, all of whom feared a stronger government, lest the sovereignty of the states and the liberty of the people be endangered.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CONVENTION

An abler body of statesmen has not assembled in modern times than that which made our Constitution in 1787, nor has any assembly met with truer motives, or produced a grander result. The whole number of delegates was fifty-five,¹ and there was scarcely a man among them who had not been distinguished in the state or in the field, who had not been a governor, a member of Congress, or a commander in the army. A few had served in the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, others had set their names to the immortal Declaration in 1776, and one had framed the plan of union at Albany in 1754. Could these men have looked into the future, they would have seen two of their own number become Presidents of the United States, one a Vice President, and many others foreign ministers, members of the Supreme Court, Cabinet officials, and United States senators. These were the men who founded the Republic and started it upon its marvelous course of prosperity.

First among the framers of our Constitution stands Washington, the soldier-statesman, and next to him we must place Franklin, the philosopher and diplomat, and the oldest member of the convention. The fact that these two men were members had

¹ A few others had been elected who did not attend.

much to do with winning public confidence in the work of the Convention and in neutralizing the jibes of its enemies. Among the most conspicuous members was John Dickinson, who was remembered for having honestly opposed the Declaration in 1776, but whose sincere patriotism could never be questioned. The most learned lawyer in the convention was James Wilson of Pennsylvania, afterward justice of the Supreme Court. Of him a fellow member wrote later, "Government seems to have been his peculiar study; all the political institutions of the world he knows in detail." For profound knowledge of constitutional law few surpassed the youthful Madison of Virginia, who came to be called the "Father of the Constitution" — not that he framed it, for it was the work of many, but because he had perhaps more to do in making it what it is than any other man. "Every person seems to acknowledge his greatness," said one of his colleagues, ". . . in the management of every great question he took the lead in the Convention." Scarcely below Madison stood the still more youthful Hamilton of New York, destined to a brief, brilliant political career, to be ended in its noonday at the hands of the duelist. In this convention we find Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, and Gouverneur Morris, the author of our decimal system of money. We find here Edmund Randolph, governor of Virginia, who, as a patriot youth with a Tory father, had run away from his home, joined the army, and served through the war. Here also were John Rutledge, the brilliant orator of South Carolina; Charles C. Pinckney, afterward a member of the famous mission to France and twice candidate of his party for the presidency of the United States; Roger Sherman, the shoemaker statesman from Connecticut; Rufus King, who was yet to spend many years in the forefront of political life; Elbridge Gerry, whose name furnished us with the political term, "gerrymander," who spent many later years in public life, and who held at his death the second official position in the United States. These were the leaders of the notable assemblage that gathered at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a more perfect union, of laying the foundations of a nation.

In later years Madison wrote, "I feel it my duty to express my profound and solemn conviction . . . that there never was an assembly of men, charged with a great and arduous trust, who were more pure in their motives, or more exclusively and anxiously devoted to the object committed to them than were the members of the Federal Convention of 1787."

WORK OF THE CONVENTION

These men had before them a herculean task. They were to create a government unlike any other, past or present; they were to frame a constitution that was to be the supreme law of a great nation. It is true that many of them had been enjoined by their respective states to do nothing beyond amending the Articles. Massachusetts sent her delegates "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation"; New York and Connecticut used the same language. Other states pronounced similar injunctions and even Congress in its belated call for the convention had stated that the "sole purpose" was to amend the Articles.

The delegates, however, ignored these instructions, cast aside the Articles, and proceeded to frame a new instrument. In doing so they in part reflected public opinion, which had gradually been changing in favor of a stronger government between the time of the Annapolis call and the meeting of the Convention at Philadelphia.¹

Could a new government be founded, suitable to the diverse classes of American society? Could the New England ship builder, the Pennsylvania farmer, the Southern planter abide in harmony under the same roof? Would a government adapted to the American of English descent be equally adapted to the Dutch, the Irish, the Scotch, the German, and the French Huguenot, who had found a home in this Western World? The men of this Convention had met to solve this difficult problem and they could do so only by accommodation and compromise. The delegates had their individual opinions as to what the new government ought to be, but each had to yield at many points. Otherwise no Constitution could have been framed. On various occasions the debates were so sharp that the Convention was on the point of breaking up; but again and again it pulled itself together and resumed its arduous work.

The least favorable thing that can be said of this Convention is that it was not democratic. It represented property and industry more than human interests. It marked the backward swing of the pendulum, the reaction from the wild cry of Liberty that had been resounded through the land from the days of the Stamp Act. Thomas Jefferson, the greatest of American democrats, was absent in Europe. The few who stood for the rights of the people, as Madison and Mason, Wilson and Franklin,

¹ Madison Papers, Elliot Debates, V, pp. 118-122

found themselves out of harmony with the majority. Swayed by a few popular outbreaks, as Shays's Rebellion, the Convention seemed obsessed with a fear of the excesses and vicious tendencies of democracy. The instrument that it produced contained no bill of rights, and but for a fear that it would be rejected by the country there is little doubt that it would have given life tenures to the President and the senators and would have but scantily recognized the rights of the common people to take part in the government. Economic reasons had much to do in calling the Convention. Men of wealth were concerned about the future security of property and investment, and even about the validity of contracts. The fifty-five men who composed the convention were merchants, lawyers, and ship builders, planters and slave-holders; not one was a mechanic or small farmer.

The Convention held its first session May 25. Twenty-nine men were present and others joined as the weeks passed until the whole number were seated. George Washington, nominated by Robert Morris, was chosen as the presiding officer. The members pledged themselves to secrecy and wisely decided to close the doors to the public; they wished to present their work to the country, not in fragments, but as a complete document.¹

A few days after the convention assembled Edmund Randolph offered a plan of government, prepared chiefly by Madison, known as the "Virginia Plan." By this plan the government was to be composed of three great departments — legislative, executive, and judicial. Congress was to consist of two branches, the first to be chosen by the people and the second to be chosen by the first branch out of a "proper number" of persons nominated by the state legislatures.

The Virginia Plan

A more elaborate plan of government was offered by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina. It was not seriously considered; but aside from its novel provision that the Senate, elected by the Lower House, should have sole power to declare war and make treaties, it contained many excellent points that later were embodied in our Constitution. The Convention took up the Virginia Plan, and after a debate of two weeks William Paterson of New Jersey offered still another, which was little else than an

¹ Madison took elaborate notes of the proceedings, and his notes were published in 1841, after his death. A brief journal of the proceedings was published in 1818. Many were the speculations of the people as to what the convention would do, and the members were deluged with letters from their constituents. Would they set up a kingdom? Would the country be divided? Would Rhode Island be cast out of the Union for not taking part? Many other questions of this kind were asked by the people.

amending of the Articles of Confederation. It was known as the Small State plan; it provided that the small states have equal voting power in Congress with the large ones. Thus was joined the battle royal. The great contest of the Convention centered round this one subject; it became a fight to the finish between the large and small states. It must be remembered that state boundaries meant more in those days than they mean now, that the states as separate entities were then more important than they now are.

THE COMPROMISES

The great compromise of the Convention was that between the large and small states with respect to their representation in Congress. The small states sincerely believed that the larger states with their greater population would eclipse and overwhelm them unless they were in position to protect their interests by an equal voice in the national legislature. Not a member of the Convention foresaw that the time would come when state delegations in Congress would be divided on party lines and that state boundaries would mean almost nothing in national councils.

The leader for the small state cause was Paterson; he was supported by Rutledge of South Carolina, by the two Pinckneys and others. One of them declared that if the little states did not get their rights, they would "find a foreign ally . . . who will take them by hand and do them justice." On the other side, representing the large states, advocating that the people according to numbers be represented in Congress, the most masterful leader was James Wilson. "Can we forget for whom we are forming a government," said Wilson, "is it for *men*, or for the imaginary beings called states?" Wilson was ably supported by Madison and Randolph, and by Gouverneur Morris and Rufus King. It was early agreed that the "first branch" or House be based on population and the fight was over the "second branch" or Senate. On this the small states made their stand, presented their ultimatum, namely, that they would see the Convention broken up rather than yield the point. And they won; they outnumbered the large states and as each state had one vote in the Convention, they carried the day. Each state was to have two members of the Senate.¹ This

¹ The debate had continued at intervals for several weeks. The vote was taken on July 16. The small state votes were those of Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina. On the other side were Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. Massachusetts was divided and New York and New Hampshire did not vote.

is the most permanent clause in the Constitution, for no state can be deprived of its equal representation "without its own consent."

Never in the history of the country has there been a more momentous decision. These men could not foresee the baneful consequences of what they had done, could not foresee that the long slavery agitation of the coming century, ending at last in civil war, would have its basis almost solely on this far-reaching provision of the Constitution for equal representation in the Senate.

This decision was so disheartening to the large-state members that they seriously considered going home and giving up the whole project. But they held a caucus and decided to resume the business of the convention. A dispute arose between the free and slave states. The Northern states took the ground that the slaves, who did not vote, should not be counted in making up the population on which to base the Lower House; also that the slaves, being mere property, should be so considered in laying direct taxes. The South objected to the Northern view in no uncertain tones. Again the Convention was on the verge of dissolution; but again the contest ended in compromise. It was decided that three fifths of the slaves be counted in the census both for direct taxes and for making a basis of population for the Lower House.

**Compromise
on slaves**

Another compromise, of much importance, was yet to follow. One of the weakest features of the Articles lay in the fact that a state could veto the acts of Congress in making treaties and regulating commerce. The northern states with their commercial interests and their growing industries proposed to put this power wholly into the hands of Congress. The agricultural South, fearing an export tax on farm products and other unfavorable legislation, objected to this project and advocated that the states continue in the management of their own commerce. The question was unsettled when another arose. Shall the African slave trade be prohibited? On this subject the debate was fierce, and the subject of slavery itself entered into the discussion. Mason, himself from a slave state, declared that "the infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. . . . Every master of slaves is a born petty tyrant." Gouverneur Morris declared that the slave trader "in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity, tears away his fellow creatures from the dearest connections and damns them to the most cruel bondage." Rutledge answered:

**The double
compromise**

"Religion and humanity had nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question is, whether the southern states shall or shall not be parties of the Union." South Carolina and Georgia asserted as a finality that they would not join the Union if the slave trade were prohibited.

Again the Convention came near ending in failure. Some of the wisest men were alarmed lest their hopes of laying the pillars of a new nation be dashed to the ground. Rhode Island took no part in the Convention; New York delegates had gone home in disgust; Massachusetts was uncertain. If now these two southern states refuse to come in, it was certain that no Union could be formed and this far-famed Convention would mean nothing in the future history of America.

The only way out lay in another compromise. These two unsettled questions — commerce and the slave trade — must thus be settled — and so they were. The South yielded in the matter of commerce. Congress was given sole authority to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, except that it was forbidden to lay an export tax. The North yielded the other point and the slave trade was left open — not forever, but until the year 1808.

The most arduous work of the Convention was now at an end, but many minor matters remained to be settled. The creating of a Supreme Court; the relations of the two houses of Congress to each other and of both to the Executive; the powers of Congress, of the Executive, and of the Judiciary; the length of the various terms of office, — these and many other things were fully debated and were at length decided as we have them in our Constitution.¹ It was decided that there be but one executive (though some preferred a plural executive), and that he should be styled the President of the United States of America. It was also decided that he be elected by Congress for a term of seven years, and that he be ineligible for reelection. Thus the matter rested for several weeks, when it was taken up again. Many objected to the electing of the President by Congress, as he would then be but a creature of that body and subservient to its will. The same objection was urged against his election by the state legislatures. An election by a general vote of the people was favored by one state only — Pennsylvania. At length it was decided that the Presi-

¹ Some of these questions, however, had been debated from time to time and were decided before the three great compromises were fully disposed of.

dent be elected for four years, that he be eligible for reëlection, and that the choice be made by an electoral college created for the purpose, and dissolved, after doing its work, into the great mass of the people, so that the President would be responsible to the people alone. This feature was borrowed from the constitution of Maryland.

No part of the Constitution was more earnestly and honestly considered than the method of electing the President, and no part of it is now carried out with such an utter disregard of the spirit and intention of the framers. It was intended that the electors use their discretion in choosing a President; but the people, as they grew more intelligent and divided into political parties, took the business of president-making into their own hands, retaining the electoral college, now a lifeless piece of machinery, or a mere rubber stamp, only to carry out the letter of the law.

The Convention provided for amending the Constitution in two ways: (1) By a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress and a ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures. (2) By a call of two-thirds of the state legislatures for a constitutional convention, which must then be summoned by Congress. The proposals of such convention become a part of the Constitution when ratified by three-fourths of the states. All our amendments thus far (1926) have been secured by the first method. The second is somewhat more cumbersome. It is intended to give the people a way of amending the Constitution without the aid of Congress. In both methods the President, the Supreme Court, and the state governors are ignored.¹

The great work of the Convention, after four months of arduous toil, was completed and on September 17 thirty-nine of the delegates signed the document. Thirteen of them had gone home and three, who remained (Gerry, Mason, and Randolph),

¹ Seven of the states on ratifying the Constitution proposed amendments, in the aggregate over a hundred, many being mere repetitions. These were duly considered by the House, which boiled them down to seventeen, and the Senate reduced this number to twelve. These were sent to the states, which ratified ten of them. These first ten amendments were added to the Constitution before the close of 1791. They are practically a bill of rights, and their adoption was a concession to the Anti-federalists. The Eleventh Amendment was adopted in 1798 and the Twelfth in 1804. After this, the Constitution was not amended for sixty-one years, the next three, concerning negro slavery and citizenship, following the Civil War.

Within the first hundred years more than eighteen hundred proposed amendments were introduced in Congress. (Ames, *Proposed Amendments*, p. 300.) The difficulty of amending the Constitution has been partially met by its elasticity, by a method of interpretation to meet the needs of changing conditions. This is clearly shown by our method of electing a President. But we are yet without a remedy for the obvious unfairness in counting the minority vote of any state for nothing in a presidential election.

refused to sign. Not a man perhaps believed that the Constitution would stand for half a century; but they felt that it was the best attainable at the time. Every one had yielded his convictions at many points.

While the members were signing Franklin, referring to a picture of the sun stamped in the back of the chair in which the president sat, remarked that he often wondered during the debates whether it was a rising or a setting sun, and added, "Now I know that it is a rising sun."

After deciding that the Constitution should go into effect if ratified by nine states, the delegates sent it to Congress, then sitting in New York. That body sent it forth to the various states without a word of approval or disapproval.

VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION

The most fundamental change brought about by the Constitution lies in the fact that the government was made to act on the individual citizen instead of on the state. This change was first suggested in a pamphlet by Pelatiah Webster, an able political writer, in 1783. The idea grew gradually in the course of the debates in the Convention. It is implied in the Supreme Law clause of the Constitution. Under the Articles any state might refuse to observe a national law and there was no means of enforcing it. A state could not be imprisoned; to make war on it was too serious a business. The Constitution thereupon ignored the states in the matter of law enforcement. It acts directly on every citizen. The benefit of the change is beyond all calculation. Under the Articles the government consisted of thirteen units; to-day it consists of more than a hundred million units — as many as there are citizens in the country. More lonely political entities than our states can scarcely be found in the world. They have no foreign relations and almost no relations with one another or with the national government. Strange as it may seem, this extraordinary isolation of the states was an almost unconscious outgrowth of the deliberations of a Convention called by the states themselves, every one of which was extremely jealous of its rights. But withal it must not be forgotten that the large powers reserved to the states, known as "state rights," constitute one of the most important and necessary bulwarks of our constitutional liberty.

The Constitution of the United States is by far the most

important production of its kind in human history. It was not as democratic as the times called for; but in this respect it was notably improved by the first ten amendments, constituting a bill of rights. The Constitution combined national strength with individual liberty in a degree so remarkable as to attract the world's admiration. Never before in the history of man had a government struck so fine a balance between liberty and union, between personal rights and national strength. The world had labored for ages to solve this greatest of all governmental problems. Greece in her mad clamor for liberty had forgotten the need of the strength that union brings, and she perished. Rome made the opposite mistake. Rome fostered union — nationality — for its strength until it became a tyrant, and strangled the child Liberty. It was left for our own Revolutionary fathers to strike the balance between these opposing tendencies, to join them in perpetual wedlock in such a way as to secure the benefits of both. A century of experience, it is true, was needed to adjust this balance as we now have it, but the whole substructure to our national edifice was laid at Philadelphia in 1787.

Liberty and
union

Yet there is little in our Constitution that was created by its framers. Much of it is as old as Magna Charta, says Mr. Bryce. The words of Mr. Gladstone, that it is the greatest work ever struck off at any one time by the mind and purpose of man, are in one sense misleading. The work was not struck off at one time. The framers of the Constitution gleaned from history, from the mother land, and especially from the various state constitutions. As noticed in a former chapter, the earliest colonial governments were based on the charters of trading corporations; the colonial governments were then transformed into the earliest state constitutions, and these became the basis of the federal Constitution.¹

It will be interesting here to notice the sources of a few of the features of the national Constitution. From the constitution of Maryland we have a small Senate with a long term of service, and the idea of an electoral college for choosing a President and a Vice President;² from the constitution of New York, the periodic readjustment of the representation after each census, and the Vice President's duty

Sources of
the Consti-
tution

¹ This subject is ably discussed by W. C. Morey in a series of articles in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vols. I and IV.

² Maryland chose her senators through an electoral college composed of two persons from each county.

to preside over the Senate and to vote only in case of a tie. From the constitution of Massachusetts were derived the powers and duties of the two houses with respect to impeachments.¹ The power of the executive to veto an act of the legislature and the requirement of a two-thirds affirmative vote for its repassage were in use in Massachusetts. A few features, as the judiciary system, the short term for the lower House, and the single executive, were common to nearly all the states. Other features, as army appropriations limited to two years, are analogous to English customs;² while the two-chambered legislature had its models in Parliament, and in all but two states.

We find in the Constitution a few features original with the framers, such as the isolated position of the President, the basing of representation on population, and many minor details. But on the whole the instrument was a compilation, not an original production. It was the culmination of the institutional growth of two centuries — a tree with trunk and branches purely American, grafted on an English root. The framers of our Constitution were too wise to draw on their imagination, or to base the government of a nation on theory. No man, or body of men, can create systems of government. They must grow, though they may be shaped and modified by conscious effort. Had these men attempted to create a chimerical structure, their work would have been valueless. They displayed great wisdom in selecting the best things that had been tried and proved, and in but few points did they choose unwisely. Hence their great success. Hence the astonishing fact that this same Constitution is still the Supreme Law of the land, and is more deeply imbedded in the American heart to-day than ever before.

The Constitution established, without historic precedent, a federal-national government. It gave to that government the powers necessary to sovereignty — to declare war, to make peace, to maintain an army and a navy, and to have exclusive control of foreign relations, including the treaty-making power; also, to coin money, to emit bills of credit (paper money), to maintain a postal system, to lay a tariff on imports, to make naturalization laws, to enact copyright and patent laws, and to admit new states into the Union. All these things are forbidden to the states. A few things are forbidden to both state and nation, such as creating an order of

National
power

¹ J. H. Robinson, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. I, p. 219.

² *Federalist*, No. 61.

nobility, passing bills of attainder or ex-post facto laws. The states retain large powers of local government. They make their own social and business laws and execute their laws through their own courts and officials. If national and state laws come into conflict, the latter must give way. **State rights**

But indeed there is little conflict. Every state officer is indirectly a national officer, for he is sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, as well as of his own state. The relations between our national and state governments furnish the finest example of political harmony on a large scale that history affords.

Our federal Supreme Court enjoys a unique position. By virtue of the supreme law clause the Court came to exercise the power of interpreting the Constitution, of pronouncing on the validity of acts of the legislative branch (a remarkable power enjoyed by no other judicial body in the world), also, to pronounce on the validity of state laws and even of state constitutions.¹

THE CONSTITUTION BEFORE THE PEOPLE

The ship Constitution had experienced a rough voyage thus far, but the most dangerous breakers were still ahead. Nearly half the people opposed the new plan of government, and a bitter contest resulted. Those favoring the new government called

¹ **Defects in the Constitution.** — A century of experience has taught us that there are some serious defects in the Constitution which cannot be corrected by mere custom, but the machinery of amendment is so difficult to manipulate that we suffer them to remain. One of the most serious defects is that foreigners dwelling within the bounds of a state are subject to the jurisdiction of that state, as its own citizens, while the state has no foreign relations whatever. The most conspicuous example in history was the case of McLeod, a Canadian who was tried in 1841 in New York for destroying the *Caroline*. England was demanding his release of the United States; but the United States had no power to command New York to give him up, and New York had no relations with England. War was averted only by the acquittal of the prisoner. Another example is found in the massacre of a number of Italians in New Orleans in 1891. This defect, which arises from our dual system, could be remedied by an amendment authorizing the national government to take any case of a foreigner, requiring international correspondence, out of the hands of any state. Another defect is found in the clause that requires a majority, instead of a plurality, of the electoral college, to elect a President and a Vice President, and in case of its failure to elect, a majority of the states (each state having one vote) to elect in the House. Were there three instead of two great political parties, both the college and the House might fail to elect, and serious trouble might be the result. If a plurality could elect, a failure would be almost impossible. Experience has taught us also that it was unwise to require a two-thirds majority in the Senate in ratifying treaties. There are also minor changes that doubtless a majority of the people would like to see brought about, as electing the President by direct vote of the people, giving him a longer term without eligibility for reelection, giving him power to veto items in appropriation bills, giving Congress the control of divorce laws, and the like. But many years will probably pass before such changes are made.

themselves Federalists, while they dubbed their opponents Anti-federalists. This party of irreconcilables, when the battle was fairly joined, came to embrace nearly half the people. **Objections to the Constitution** Their objections to the proposed form of government were many. Some feared that the rising West would come to overshadow the great states of the East; others, of opposite mind, feared the commercial ascendancy of New England. Some were bitter in their opposition because the new Constitution contained no bill of rights; others because it forbade to the states the emission of paper money, the making of laws impairing the obligation of contracts, and because it empowered the central government to regulate commerce and to enforce the collection of taxes.

The sum of the opposition may be found in the widespread belief that the new Constitution set bounds to the liberties of the states and the people. For a score of years the people had heard proclaimed, "Liberty, liberty" from pulpit and rostrum. For this sacred thing they had fought through the war of the Revolution. But here was a proposed new form of government that seemed to be a decided swing of the pendulum in the opposite direction. The cry of the Anti-federalists was that the new government would be too strong and too centralizing. There was a vague fear that Congress would become a tyrant and would tax the people without their consent, as England had attempted to do before the war. Many farmers cried out that the lawyers and men of wealth would control the government and would swallow the common people like a great leviathan.

In Virginia the opposition was led by Patrick Henry, who had refused to serve as a member of the convention that framed the Constitution, by Richard Henry Lee, and by George Mason, who had helped to frame it, refused to sign it, and now did all in his power to defeat it. In the same class was Luther Martin of Maryland. Governor George Clinton, whose patriotic vision seemed bounded by his own state, led the opposition in New York. Even John Hancock and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts were mildly in opposition at first. In nearly every state there were strong leaders opposed to the new government, most of them no doubt from honest and sincere motives. But they were not far-sighted. They labored at a serious disadvantage in that their position was purely negative — they had nothing to offer instead of the plan they sought to defeat.

The Federalists were not very enthusiastic in their praise of the Constitution; but they asserted that it was the best attain-

able, that disunion and anarchy would prevail if it were rejected, and that the fears of its opponents were groundless, as the government would still be in the hands of the people.

In favor of the Constitution were such leaders as Washington and Madison in Virginia, Charles Pinckney in South Carolina, Gouverneur Morris and James Wilson in Pennsylvania; Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and Robert R. Livingston in New York, and Rufus King and Henry Knox in Massachusetts. These men and hundreds of others produced, by means of the press and public addresses, the most powerful arguments in favor of the new plan. They showed the pitiable weakness of the confederation, the real danger that the country would fall into anarchy and confusion; they endeavored to convince the people that while the Constitution transferred some of the state powers to the federal government, it was only those powers necessary to the existence, the integrity, and the dignity of any nation; that there was not the least danger that the states would be obliterated, and above all, that the federal government would always be in their own hands, quite as much so as the state government had ever been. This last argument was brought out with great power and unanswerable logic by James Wilson. Nothing, however, was more powerful as an argument for the Constitution than a series of papers, written chiefly by Hamilton, and since known collectively as *The Federalist*.¹

Arguments
in favor of it

Some of the state conventions, chosen to consider the new plan, wrestled for weeks over the subject; others ratified after a few days' debate. Delaware won the honor of being the first to ratify, the action being unanimous. Pennsylvania came second. In this state the people were almost equally divided, but the Federalists held a "snap" convention and won the day, after a fierce contest. New Jersey came third and, like Delaware, ratified by a unanimous vote. These three states had acted in December, 1787, and the new year brought others, month by month, into the Union. Georgia, bounded on the south by troublesome Spaniards, and on the west by hostile Indians, gladly accepted the protection of a stronger government; it ratified without division on January 2, and Connecticut followed a week later.

Thus within four months after the adjournment of the Convention, the new Constitution was adopted by five states. Then came a halt. The Anti-federalists had been half asleep. Now

¹ Some of the papers were written by Madison and a few by Jay.

they roused themselves and formed in line of battle for a more determined opposition; and many a time during the coming months it seemed that the work of the convention would be defeated. It was left for the great state of Massachusetts to turn the scale. Next to Virginia, her weight was the greatest among the states. Her convention sat for several weeks and discussed the Constitution, article by article, and it would doubtless have been rejected but for two things — the wholesome lesson taught by the insurrection led by Daniel Shays, and the ultimate conversion of Samuel Adams. Adams was extremely democratic in his theory of government. He feared too much centralization of power, and at first opposed the new plan. But he was an honest soul; he reflected that a rejection of the Constitution, with nothing to offer in its place, might be disastrous. During the early weeks of the convention he sat meditative and silent. Many turned to him as children to a father, to decide the momentous question. A committee from a great meeting of artisans, headed by Paul Revere, famous for his midnight ride of years before, came to Adams with a series of resolutions begging him to favor the new government. Adams was deeply moved, and at length he decided for the Constitution. John Hancock experienced a similar conversion, and Massachusetts on February 6 ratified the new plan by a narrow majority, proposing at the same time a series of amendments in the nature of a bill of rights. Maryland and South Carolina followed late in the spring, and but one state was now wanting to insure the formation of the Union. The Old Dominion, which had called the Annapolis convention and had taken the lead in furnishing the plan of government at Philadelphia, still held aloof. Even more powerful than in Massachusetts was the opposition in Virginia. Arrayed on the negative side, as we have seen, were Mason, Lee, and Patrick Henry, the orator of the Revolution. Against these were the weighty influence of Washington, the keen logic of Madison, and the powerful judicial mind of the rising Chief Justice, John Marshall. Jefferson, who was then in France, wavered and hesitated to give his support, and the Anti-federalists were quick to claim him as their own; but, like the great New England democrat, he at length came to favor the Constitution and gave it his hearty support, urging at the same time that it be carefully amended.¹ His letter conveying these views reached Madison early in June, while the convention was in session, and had its weight in the

¹ Fiske, *Critical Period*, p. 351.

final decision. The vote was taken on June 25, and the new plan received a majority of ten in a vote of one hundred and sixty-eight delegates. But Virginia did not become the ninth state; New Hampshire preceded her by four days. The Union was now assured. The Federalists rejoiced exceedingly. The coming Fourth of July became a day of jollification, especially in Philadelphia, where the street spectacle surpassed any before seen in America.

The importance of New York to the Union was incalculable. It was the commercial center of the country. It alone bordered the great lakes and the ocean. A majority of the people, led by Governor George Clinton, opposed the Union. Hamilton led the other side. For many months it seemed that the state would refuse to ratify the Constitution; but when she was about to be isolated from the rest of the country, her people began to reflect more seriously, and late in July, 1788, the convention was carried by the Federalists. At the same time it called for a new national convention to frame a better Constitution; but little heed was paid to this call, and it came to naught.

Two states, North Carolina and Rhode Island, owing to their paper money heresies, still remained sullenly out of the Union, the former adjourning its convention without action, the latter refusing to call a convention. But at length, after the first amendments to the Constitution had been assured, and after the new government had been organized, and the President seated, and when the United States revenue laws were about to be enforced against them, these states sought admission to the sisterhood, and the whole thirteen became united in one strong government. Never before had any people wrought so great a political revolution without bloodshed. From a loosely bound confederacy that lacked the power of governing, the people, deliberately, thoughtfully, without drawing a sword, with no pressure from without, banded together and founded a nation, and based it on a firm and abiding foundation. Never did the American people so exhibit their moderation, their capacity for self-government, as when they adopted the Constitution.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT

In our days it is not possible to foretell absolutely who will be our next President; only the coming together at the polls of the great political forces of the nation can determine it. In 1789 the case was different. All eyes turned instinctively to the

great chieftain who had led the armies to victory, and who had shown himself a statesman as well as a soldier. There is no doubt that a large factor in securing the adoption of the Constitution was the belief among the people that Washington would become the first President. The electoral colleges were made up of men chosen by the different states, mostly by the legislatures. The old Congress had decided that the electors be chosen on the first Wednesday in January, 1789, that they meet and choose a President and a Vice President on the first Wednesday in February, and that the new government go into operation on the first Wednesday in March — which happened that year to be the fourth.¹ North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet joined the Union; New York had trouble in her legislature and failed to choose electors; the first President was therefore elected by the votes of ten states. Washington received the votes of all — sixty-nine. The rest of the votes were scattered among eleven men, and John Adams, receiving the highest number, thirty-four, was declared Vice President.²

Washington was doubtless ambitious, as other men are; but he had reached the goal. No other man of his time had won so great a fame, and now at the approach of old age he had retired to his ancestral estate on the banks of the Potomac, desiring to spend there the remainder of his days, as his private correspondence shows. But the call of a whole people to this new duty he could not decline.

The 4th of March came, and the boom of cannon and the ringing of bells sounded the knell of the old government that was dying, and announced the ushering in of the one that was being born. New York City had been chosen as the first temporary capital, and thither repaired the newly elected members of Congress. But the distances for many were long, and the roads at that season were wretched. There was not a quorum present on the 4th of March. It was not until the 1st of April that the new House held its first session, the Senate meeting five days later. The first business was going through the formality of notifying the newly chosen President and Vice President of their election: This done, Congress felt to discussing a tariff measure; but the discussion was soon interrupted by the inaugural ceremonies.

¹ A few years later the 4th of March was made the legal inauguration day by act of Congress.

² The Constitution directed that each elector vote for two persons without designating which should be President or Vice President. This was changed by the Twelfth Amendment, of 1804, which provides that the President and Vice President be elected separately.

Adams, arriving first, was quietly inaugurated on April 18. Washington's journey from his Mount Vernon home to New York was like a triumphal march. The people gathered in uncounted numbers along the route to do him honor. At Philadelphia and Trenton the most elaborate preparations were made for his reception. Reaching Elizabeth Point, in New Jersey, he was met by many distinguished citizens, and with an improvised fleet, Washington in the midst on a barge built for the occasion, they swept up the beautiful bay on that sunny Thursday to greet the expectant city. New York had donned holiday dress. The streets were thronged, and thousands were gathered along the wharf at the Battery, eagerly awaiting the approaching vessels. As Washington stepped from the barge he was greeted with an outburst of welcome, that soon spread over the city.

Washington's journey

One week later, on Thursday, April 30, the inauguration took place at Federal Hall, on the corner of Broad and Wall streets. At noon Washington, accompanied by Livingston and Adams, stepped out on the balcony and stood in the presence of a vast multitude that filled the streets, the housetops, and the windows, and the cheers that arose were deafening. Just behind him stood Hamilton, Roger Sherman, and three Revolutionary generals — Knox, Steuben, and St. Clair — and these were followed by both houses of Congress. Livingston pronounced the oath of office; Washington bowed and kissed the Bible, and said in a deeply solemn and scarcely audible voice, "I swear, so help me God." His countenance was grave almost to sadness, reported an eyewitness. Livingston turned to the crowd, waved his hand, and shouted "Long live George Washington, President of the United States"; and the voice of the multitude rose in cheer after cheer, the artillery roared from the battery, and bells were rung all over the city. Thus was the United States of America, under its first President, launched upon the ocean of national life.

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There are many accounts of the framing of the Constitution. The notes taken by Madison and the briefer notes of a few other members of the Convention, are found in Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, 3 vols.

At this point must be introduced two standard general histories, both of which

begin at the close of the Revolution and continue through the Civil War — MacMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, 8 vols., and Schouler, *The United States under the Constitution*, 6 vols. In each set the first volume gives a history of the framing of the Constitution. MacMaster is more readable than Schouler, but less satisfactory in the critical interpretation of events.

For this chapter, also, McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution* (American Nation Series), is a volume of great importance. Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution, The Fathers of the Constitution*; Schlessinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, Chapter 8.

Among the biographical works throwing light on the Constitution are Elliott, *Biographical Story of the Constitution*; Morse, *Life of Franklin*; and the references to be found at the conclusion of the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

TWELVE YEARS OF FEDERAL SUPREMACY

THE inauguration of Washington differed from all succeeding inaugurations in time, place, and ceremonies. No other was held in New York, no other in April,¹ and no other was attended with such ceremony. Throughout his administration Washington maintained a dignity that at this day would seem ridiculous. When he held receptions or levees, he stood in a large reception room, clad in black velvet, wearing yellow gloves, and knee and shoe buckles, his hair heavily powdered and done up in a silken bag. In one hand he held a cocked hat adorned with a black feather, and at his side he wore a long sword in a white scabbard of polished leather. He bowed stiffly to his guests and did not shake hands with any one. He drove along the streets in a fine coach drawn by four or six white horses, with footmen in bright uniform. Washington's ceremony did not indicate that he desired to hold himself aloof from the common people or to dazzle them with his person. He honestly believed that such a course was necessary to maintain the dignity of his office. Nevertheless, Washington was a natural aristocrat, and it was not difficult for him to assume the dignity almost of a European monarch.

He took the oath of office in the presence of the multitude, but he read the inaugural address a few minutes later within the senate chamber, and at its conclusion the whole body proceeded to St. Paul's chapel on Broadway for a religious service. A few days later the Senate and House marched in stately pomp to the President's house, and made formal replies to his inaugural. The same practice was followed with reference to the annual message; the President delivered it orally to the assembled Congress, and the latter made a formal answer a few days later. This custom was in vogue for twelve years, when Jefferson abolished it and sent a written message, requiring no answer. The practice of delivering the inaugural address in person and orally has, however, come down to us unchanged.

¹ Except those of Tyler and Johnson, whose inaugurations followed the death of their predecessors.

For a hundred years no President officially appeared before Congress in person except at memorial services. It was different in Washington's time, and at least on one occasion Washington entered the senate chamber, took the Vice President's chair, and urged the passage of a certain measure.¹

THE FIRST CONGRESS

Probably no Congress in our history has had devolving upon it such vast responsibilities as that which assembled in the spring of 1789 — the First Congress.

The Constitution was but an outline of government, a skeleton to be clothed with flesh and blood, and to receive the breath of life. The duty of making the new government a living thing fell largely to the First Congress. Many acts of this Congress were of permanent importance and are still in force, such as the creating of a Cabinet and of the judiciary system, the establishing of a financial basis for the country, and determining the location of the national capital.

The body of men that composed the First Congress was notably inferior to the body that had framed the Constitution two years before. We note the absence of the venerable Franklin, of the President, of James Wilson, of Hamilton — all of whom were leading figures in the Constitutional Convention. Yet there were good men in this Congress.

In the Senate we find Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee, George Read, and Charles Carroll, signers of the Declaration; Ellsworth of Connecticut, Paterson of New Jersey, **Men in** Rufus King, — lately from Massachusetts, now of **Congress** New York — and General Schuyler. In the House also we find some strong men. There was Madison, who became the leader on the floor. He, a future President, had in a hot canvass defeated another future President, James Monroe, and the latter entered the House soon after to fill a vacancy caused by death. There was Frederick Muhlenberg, the Speaker, son of the famous Lutheran patriarch of Pennsylvania; Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut;² Sumter, the famous South Carolina fighter; and Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, who was to thrill the nation a few years later with an outburst of eloquence unequalled in that generation.

¹ See Maclay's Journal; Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, p. 265.

² Trumbull, governor of Connecticut 1769-83, was the only colonial governor who espoused the American cause. Washington often wrote him during the New York campaign and called him "Brother Jonathan."

The first important business of Congress was to frame a tariff measure. The new government had inherited a heavy debt. Under the old Articles, the Congress had made repeated efforts to raise money by laying a duty on foreign imports, but the consent of all the states was needed, and one after another had objected, and every effort came to naught. But now no refractory state had power to thwart the will of the nation. For the raising of revenue, therefore, and for the encouragement of infant manufactories, it was proposed to lay a general tariff on foreign imports. The measure became a law on July 4, and is known as the Tariff of 1789. With occasional amendments, generally slightly increasing the rates, it was in force until 1812, though inoperative during the embargo. Its duties were low compared with those of our own times, the highest being 15 per cent, with a general average of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This tariff proved a boon to the country. In a short time it was yielding \$200,000 a month, a sum amply adequate to cover the expenses of the government, and to pay the interest on the public debt.

The second great act of the First Congress was the creating of a Cabinet. The Constitution made no provision for a President's Cabinet as we now have it; but it recognized that such was to exist,¹ leaving all details to the action of Congress. Three departments were created at the first session of this Congress, or, rather, they were continued from the old government under new designations. The head of the department of foreign affairs was called the Secretary of State, that of the department of finance, the Secretary of the Treasury, and that of the war department retained the old name, Secretary of War. Washington had decided not to call any one into his official family who was not well known to the people and trusted by them. Thomas Jefferson, who had been minister to France, was chosen secretary of state. Alexander Hamilton was made secretary of the treasury,²

¹ Art. II, Sec. 2. These were intended to be simply heads of departments, but custom has made them also advisers to the President.

² Among American statesmen Alexander Hamilton must be placed in the first rank. Born in the West Indies in 1757, of Scotch-French parentage, he came to the colonies as a boy of fifteen, seeking his fortune. At the outbreak of the Revolution we find him at King's College, in New York, and he left his course unfinished to join the army. He served throughout the war, a large part of the time on the staff of Washington, and he gave evidence of possessing a high order of military ability; but the war closed while he was still a youth, and never afterward did he have an opportunity to display his military powers. He served a short time in the Congress of the Confederation, helped to frame the Constitution, and became a member of Washington's first Cabinet.

As a financier no public man in our history can compare with Hamilton, and he was the founder of our present financial system. As a lawyer and an orator he stood in the

and General Henry Knox, secretary of war. These men were not appointed until September, nearly five months after the inauguration. A little later Edmund Randolph was appointed attorney general, and he became the fourth member of the Cabinet.¹

Another act of the First Congress that is still in force was a bill organizing the Supreme Court. It was drawn up by Oliver Ellsworth, who afterward became the second Chief Justice. The first Supreme Court was composed of a Chief Justice and five associates, the first Chief Justice being John Jay of New York. The federal judiciary, unlike the Cabinet, was specially provided for in the Constitution. It was created by an act of Congress, and the members are appointed by the President; but the Court is independent of both, and even has authority to sit in judgment on the constitutionality of their acts.²

Many other measures of this Congress, important at the time, were made into law, and gradually that body won the confidence of the people. Washington made a vacation tour to New England, and another to the South, and was received with universal applause. The crops were abundant, the people were happy, and the nation was rising to a point of respectability. It was left for the second session of Congress, beginning in December, to bring the first hitch in the machinery of government; this came through the treasury report of Secretary Hamilton.

Of the great financiers in the history of our country, the ablest, beyond a doubt, was Alexander Hamilton. By far the most difficult position in the first Cabinet was that of the treasury, and the President made a happy choice in giving it to Hamilton. "He smote the rock of national resources," said Daniel Webster, "and copious streams of wealth poured forth. He touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it stood forth erect with life."

first class; as a controversial political writer he surpassed all other men of his age. "Any man who puts himself on paper with Hamilton is lost," said Burr, some years before their fatal quarrel. Hamilton did a service for America that will never be forgotten; to him above all men we are indebted for national strength. But his usefulness was marred by his egoism and his want of faith in the good sense and good intentions of the masses. Had he been born to a throne, he would have made a great ruler; but, as he himself acknowledged, he was out of place in this Western world, where the voice of the people cannot be stifled and must prevail.

¹ Our present Cabinet is composed of ten members. The Secretary of the Navy was added in 1798; the Postmaster General was admitted to the Cabinet in 1829, though his office dated back to colonial times; the Secretary of the Interior was added in 1849, of Agriculture in 1889, and of Commerce and Labor in 1903. Thus the Cabinet has grown with the demands of government.

² Inferior courts were also organized at this session. These are created by Congress as needed; they do not enjoy the independence of the Supreme Court.

But the recommendations of Hamilton awakened much opposition. His report to Congress showed that the public debt amounted to some \$54,000,000, of which about \$12,000,000 were owed to foreign creditors, chiefly to France, the rest to creditors at home who had loaned their money to the government during the war. This seemed a great burden to the young Republic; but the most surprising part was yet to come. The states had sent forth troops, each at its own expense, to fight the British. They had thus incurred heavy debts. Parts of these had been paid, but there was still unpaid an aggregate exceeding \$21,000,000. Hamilton proposed to add this to the national debt (making \$75,000,000 in all); and recommended that the national government assume the state debts, and thus relieve the states from payment.

There was an immediate outcry against assumption. It arose from two causes. One was that some states had paid a large portion of their Revolutionary debts, while others had paid little. Assumption would therefore be unfair to the former. This objection was superficial; the other was deep, and involved a principle. Assumption of the state debts would belittle the states and rob them of their so-called sovereignty. It would subordinate them and transfer the interest of the moneyed class from them to the general government, for "where the treasure is, there will the heart be also."

This was exactly what Hamilton desired. He cared nothing for state sovereignty — not much for state rights. He wished to centralize and strengthen the general government, and to do this he knew that there was no better method than to enlist the interest of the rich men of the country by making it their debtor.¹ But so great was the opposition that the measure could not pass the House, and before the question was settled another one arose, namely, Where shall the national capital be located? A separate city was desired. The handful of soldiers who, a few years before, had swooped down from Lancaster and driven Congress out of Philadelphia, settled that point. Philadelphia and Pennsylvania had refused,

Locating
the capital

¹ To make this plainer: Suppose a number of brothers, each in business for himself, each owed you a sum of money. You would be anxious that they succeed, because your money was invested. But suppose their father assumed these debts and made himself responsible for their payment. Your interest would at once be transferred to the business of the father. Again, suppose a business man finds it difficult to pay his debts and a rich friend does it for him. He is relieved of his debts, but he loses his independence. Thus the states would lose a portion of their importance if assumption were carried. One of the sources of strength in a government is a moderate national debt. The idea of assumption was not original with Hamilton. It had been suggested in the Constitutional Convention by King and Rutledge.

or were unable, to protect the Congress. Everybody seemed to sympathize with the soldiers. A separate city, therefore, governed solely by Congress and not by any state, was necessary. To this all agreed; but where should it be built? The southern members preferred to have it in the South; the northern members wanted it in the North. It was generally agreed that it should be on the bank of one of the three great rivers — the Delaware, the Susquehanna, or the Potomac. Jefferson favored placing the capital in the South. Hamilton had no sectional pride; his mind was still on assumption. One day he proposed a trade with Jefferson. He offered to favor placing the capital in the South, if Jefferson would favor the assumption of the state debts. Jefferson agreed. Each had a strong following in Congress, and it was not long before both measures were passed. The national government assumed the state debts and the capital was placed on the banks of the Potomac River.¹

Hamilton also secured the passage of a funding bill, by which the debt was changed into interest-bearing bonds, and with this he secured a guarantee from Congress that all outstanding certificates should be paid at their face value. These had been given out instead of cash during the war to men who furnished the army with supplies and who served in its ranks. During the intervening years many had sold their certificates, from necessity or distrust of the government, at a rate far below the face value. It was objected that the speculators, and not the old soldiers, would profit by this act, if the government paid these at full value.² But Hamilton urged that it was necessary to establish

¹ **The New Capital.** — The government began its operations in the city of New York, in the spring of 1789; but some months later it moved to Philadelphia, the largest and most important city in the Union, and here it remained for ten years. In the autumn of 1800 the capital was moved to Washington City, and Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated there. The District of Columbia lay on both sides of the Potomac, and the Maryland side was chosen for the seat of government. The farmers who owned the land deeded it to the commissioners and received in compensation half the unused lots, after the streets, parks, and public building grounds were reserved. Major L'Enfant planned and laid out the city. The corner stone of the Capitol was laid in September, 1793. When the government removed thither, the city was a wilderness. There was but one good hotel. The President's house was in an open field, and this, with the unfinished Capitol and a few scattered houses along the unpaved streets, constituted the town. There was no business and no society. The city grew slowly, and eight years after Congress had removed thither, a proposition to return to Philadelphia was seriously considered. But as the nation grew the city improved, and to-day it is pronounced the most beautiful capital city in the world.

² When this act was proposed, and before the news of it reached distant parts, speculators went around and bought up certificates at the lowest possible price, some as low as one sixth of their face value. Hamilton was accused of being interested in this business, but the charge was altogether groundless.

the national credit on an unimpeachable basis, and to teach the old soldiers a lesson — not to distrust their government again. He carried his point, and from that day the credit of the United States was firmly established.

Two more great measures must be attributed to this financial genius — the excise, and the establishing of a United States Bank. The excise, an internal revenue on distilled spirits, passed after a considerable opposition had been overcome. The bank was still more seriously opposed. It was to have a capital of \$10,000,000, one fifth of which was to be subscribed by the government, the remainder by the people in shares of \$400. The bank was to supply the people with a circulating medium, and to loan the government money when needed. The opposition was formidable, but it was borne down and the bill was passed. The bank was chartered for twenty years.¹ Thus within a year and a half Hamilton had secured, in the face of the opposition of the state rights party, the passage of four great measures — assumption, funding of the debt, the excise, and the bank charter — all tending to the centralization of power.

The Excise
and the
Bank, 1791

The first serious test of the Constitution came in the summer of 1794 in the form of the Whisky Insurrection of western Pennsylvania. This episode would be of slight historic interest but for the fact that it became a test of national strength under the new Constitution. The internal tax on distilled spirits bore heavily on outlying communities, far from the centers of trade. Owing to the long distances and the bad roads it was difficult to take their grain to market and the people condensed it into whisky. The excise was unfair, they contended, as it taxed them heavily on the main product of their farms. In various parts of the country the excise was unpopular, and in western Pennsylvania the discontent broke into open rebellion. The people held a great meeting on Braddock's Field, and decided to resist the law by force of arms.²

Whisky
Insurrection

Washington issued a proclamation commanding the malcontents to desist; he also sent a commission to treat with the insurgents and endeavor to induce them to obey the law. These efforts being unsuccessful, the President determined to use force. He called upon the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New

¹ When the subscription books were opened the entire stock was sold within an hour. The bank was situated at Philadelphia, with branches at Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Charleston. Thomas Willing became the first president.

² The afterward famous Albert Gallatin was one of the leaders of the insurrection. He later repented of this "political sin."

Jersey, and Virginia for troops,¹ and in a short time fifteen thousand men were marching across the Alleghanies under the lead of Governor Lee of Virginia.

Hamilton accompanied the expedition and was, indeed, the soul of the whole movement. He was very anxious to display the strength of the government, to teach a lesson to all who believed that it could not enforce its own laws. Yet, as he afterward said, he feared at every moment that the militia would throw down their arms and return home. The great question had been, Will the citizens of other states march into a sister state to enforce a national law? The army marched on, however; and on its approach the insurgents dispersed. No blood was shed, and henceforth the excise tax was collected without difficulty. Hamilton was jubilant. The Constitution had borne the strain, and the friends of law and order had won a victory.

RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

With a self-governing people political parties are inevitable and, it may be said, necessary; for no party, however pure its motives at first, will govern a country long without becoming corrupt or arrogant, unless it has a rival of almost equal power, watching its movements and ready to snatch from it the reins of government.

The Anti-federalist party, if such it may be called, though it was never organized, fell to pieces after the adoption of the Constitution. It had existed for the sole purpose of preventing adoption, and when this was done in spite of its efforts to prevent it, the party ceased to exist. The Federalists, on the other hand, took the reins of government and continued under the old name. In a few years the whole people became friendly to the Constitution; and it is a significant fact that from that time to the present the American people have shown no disposition to cast it aside for another.

In the early part of Washington's administration a question of the utmost importance came up for solution, Shall the Constitution be construed strictly or loosely? On the decision of this question rested the whole trend of the government of the future. It was this question that first divided the people into two great political parties, and it was first brought out prominently in the debate on the bank charter. To construe the

¹ This call was made with the proclamation, but the militia were not sent till the commission had failed.

Constitution loosely or broadly meant to give the general government larger powers than the letter of that document would indicate; to construe it strictly meant to confine Congress to the strict letter, leaving all other powers to the states or to the people. The Federalist party now became the party of loose construction, and Hamilton was its leader.¹

But there were many thousands of people who were displeased with the policy of Hamilton. They did not like Washington's dignified bearing, his ceremonial receptions, his driving through the streets with such stately pomp. All this savored of monarchy, said they. But it was left for Hamilton's centralizing financial measures to awaken a general alarm. This element soon resolved itself into a political party founded on the policy of strict construction, and the founder and leader of this party was Thomas Jefferson.

The two greatest statesmen of this period were these two members of Washington's Cabinet — Jefferson and Hamilton; and seldom since then has the equal of either appeared on our political stage. The contrast between these two remarkable men is exceedingly interesting to the student of history. Jefferson was born of the highest aristocracy of Virginia, but he was a natural democrat, and he despised the exclusiveness of his class; Hamilton, born of ill-mated parents in an obscure corner of the world, was self-made in the fullest sense, but he became the most conspicuous aristocrat in America. Jefferson was retiring, studious, philosophical, original; Hamilton was a man of the world, brilliant, far-sighted, imperious, but not original — his governmental policy was borrowed from the English monarchy. Jefferson loved the multitude; he recognized in every man a common humanity with himself. Hamilton stood aloof from the great crowd, which he had no power to win, but he was a superb leader of leaders. These two men were alike in one respect — in patriotism. Each loved his country above all things; but here the parallel must stop. They absolutely differed in their methods of construing the Constitution, in their ideas of what the government should be.

Jefferson loved liberty with a passionate devotion, and his faith in the people's capacity for self-government was implicit and abiding. Hamilton loved liberty also, but the first law of his mind was order, and it called for stability of government. Jef-

Jefferson
and Hamil-
ton com-
pared

¹ The reader will bear in mind that strict and loose construction were not ends in themselves, but simply methods of interpreting the powers of the central government.

erson studied the people, understood them as no other man of his times; he believed in universal education, as that alone would bring intelligent self-government and happiness. Hamilton did not understand the people; he called them "a great beast," he felt that they could be kept within proper bounds only by the strong hand of a centralized government. Jefferson feared that a strong government would endanger liberty. Hamilton feared that a weak government would encourage anarchy. Of Shays's insurrection Jefferson simply stated, "Whenever our affairs go obviously wrong, the good sense of the people will interpose and set them right"; while Hamilton was horrified at that episode, and would have crushed all such rebellions with a hand of iron.

These two men were in Washington's Cabinet. They could not agree. They became political, then personal, enemies, and were constantly quarreling across the table of their chief. It was a battle of the giants, and their strife was an unselfish one for the future of a nation, each sincerely believing that the policy of the other would be ruinous to the country. The contest was one of vast importance because it must now be decided how the new Constitution should be operated — whether the country should be strong or weak, should be ruled by the democracy or by an aristocracy. Which of the giants won? Both. Hamilton won first, Jefferson second. Hamilton's victory resulted in assumption, in the funding of the debt, in an excise tax, in the founding of the bank — all in accordance with his broad constructive theories. This was all done before Jefferson had gathered his forces into battle line. At length Jefferson won a final victory over Hamilton and overthrew his party forever. But it was too late to undo the work of Hamilton. To this day we have liberal construction of the Constitution, and this we owe to Hamilton. Even Jefferson, when he obtained control of the government, in his maturer years, had no desire to undo the chief work of his great rival, for he looked upon it and saw that it was good.

Yet Jefferson's victory was greater than that of Hamilton. He retained the nationality of Hamilton, but he infused into it a democracy that destroyed forever the possibility of aristocratic government. We have to this day, except where the political "boss" gains a temporary sway, a rule of the people, a government of the democracy — and for this we are greatly indebted to Jefferson. It required long years for these opposing tendencies to blend together in right proportion. But we have them, not in perfect form, but in better form than the world has hith-

erto known, and we owe this union, or at least its inception, to the two great rival secretaries of Washington's Cabinet.

Jefferson named his new party "Republican."¹ It is not to be identified with the Anti-federalist party, though many of the fragments of that party were gathered into its fold. Jefferson's following at first was chiefly from the South, but it was not long before he had won Pennsylvania and other northern states. Jefferson was a leader of marvelous skill. He made a master stroke at the outstart by winning Madison, and the two were ever after the most intimate political and personal friends. He next made a follower of Albert Gallatin, the doughty Swiss who became one of our greatest financiers. The bulk of the new party was made up of the middle and lower classes, while the majority of the more aristocratic classes remained with the Federalists.

Washington was supposed to be above party lines, and he made some effort to hold a neutral ground, but he could not conceal the fact that his sympathies were generally with Hamilton. His sincere desire was to retire from public life at the end of his first term; but Jefferson and Hamilton both begged him to stand for reëlection, as parties were then in a state so chaotic as to render a national contest injurious to the country, and he alone could be elected without a contest. Washington consented, and he was elected a second time by a unanimous vote of the electoral college. Jefferson left the cabinet early in 1794, and Hamilton a year later; but both continued at the head of their respective parties. Each was an idealist, an extremist, and each made the serious blunder of misunderstanding the other. Jefferson believed that Hamilton was at the head of a great conspiracy, the object of which was to merge the Republic into a monarchy. Hamilton believed that his rival was at the head of a party of fanatics who might rise at any time and seize the government, even with bloody hands, as the people of France had done in that unhappy country, and that Jefferson was capable of encouraging anarchy and disunion. Both were wrong. Both were friends of order and good government, but they differed widely in their methods of administering it.

Washington's second election

¹ This was the origin of the present Democratic party. The name "Democratic," borrowed from French politics, was first used by small Democratic societies, as they called themselves, and was applied to Jefferson and his followers by their enemies. Though Jefferson never accepted it, the name encroached on the name "Republican" for more than thirty years, when it was adopted by the party. The official name, however, is still Democratic-Republican.

Thus proceeded the royal battle between these two rival tendencies of government. Hamilton at first had the advantage. The wild cry of liberty of Revolutionary days had been replaced by a conservative tendency, as shown in the Constitutional Convention; and since its meeting, in spite of the momentary check resulting in the first ten amendments, the tendency had continued. It was exemplified in the Federalist party, now in full control of the government. Jefferson had a great task in his attempt to check and reverse this tendency, and it is doubtful if, with all his skill, he could have succeeded but for two things — Hamilton's financial measures and the French Revolution. Jefferson played up to the utmost the financial scheme of Hamilton as tending toward monarchy. The French Revolution with its reverberating cry of the "Rights of Man" had a deep and lasting effect in reawaking democracy in America. These two factors aided greatly in enabling Jefferson to break down the Federal party.

AMERICA AND FRANCE

During the period that we are now treating there was a movement of vast significance in progress in France, one that has no parallel in history, one that shook the throne of every monarch in Europe. It is known as the French Revolution. The peasantry of France had been trodden in the dust for centuries by tyrannical kings and a profligate nobility. At last the people, driven to madness by tyranny, had risen in their fury, overthrown their oppressors, and taken the government into their own hands.

The French Revolution promised at first to be a bloodless one. The States-General met in 1789 for the first time in 175 years. It framed a constitution greatly curtailing the power of the king and changing the government to a limited monarchy. This the king accepted, and all things seemed to promise a peaceful continuance of his reign. But when the other monarchs of Europe banded together and determined to restore the French king by force of arms to his former position as absolute monarch, and to reduce the people to their former condition of servitude, their passion became unbounded. When it was known that the allied Powers had sent the Duke of Brunswick into France with an army to restore the king, and when it was believed that the king himself sympathized with the movement, the people of Paris became delirious with fury. They raised a great army and won a great victory over the Allies; they beheaded their

king, destroyed many of the nobles, and proclaimed a republic; they lost all self-control and put hundreds to death on suspicion; they spread carnage on every hand till the whole land of France was drenched in blood.

The French Revolution made a profound impression on American politics. Hamilton was shocked at the lawlessness and excesses of the French, while Jefferson sympathized with them in their struggle for liberty. Jefferson deplored the excesses, for he was not a man of violence; but of the Revolution as a whole he wrote, "Rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated; were there but an Adam and Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it is now."

The Federalists had no sympathy with the violent French. They leaned rather toward the stable monarchy of England, and they came to be called the "English party," while Jefferson and his following were called the "French party." Such was the condition of American politics, the chief issue being foreign, when in the spring of 1793 the new French Republic sent its first minister to the United States.

His name was Edmond Charles Genêt, and his title was "Citizen," for the French had abolished all titles except citizen and citizenship. He was a youth of twenty-eight years, but he had made a record in annexing Geneva Genêt to the French Republic. He landed at Charleston in April, and his overland journey to Philadelphia was one unbroken ovation.¹ But he was not surprised; he had expected a warm reception by the sister republic whom France had aided so generously a few years before. He even expected America to declare war against

¹ **Citizen Genêt.** — This bustling, irascible Frenchman came to America boiling with enthusiasm for the French Revolution and the rights of man, and he would fly into a passion at every obstacle that tended to cool his ardor. In Philadelphia a great banquet was held in his honor, and the head of a roast pig, severed from the body, was named Louis XVI, and passed around the table. Each guest viciously plunged a knife into the pig's head while uttering some sentiment about liberty and the rights of man. The French craze that spread over the country at the time of his coming was very remarkable. People imitated the French in wearing the cockade, in erecting liberty poles, and in addressing men as Citizen and women as Citizeness. These titles were used on letters, business documents, in marriage and death notices, and were even carved on tombstones. At length the newspapers began to make fun of the craze and it became the subject of many a witticism. One facetious editor suggested Biped as suitable for both sexes. — See McMaster, II, 94.

Genêt never returned to France. The Girondist party that had sent him lost control of the government, and he feared the guillotine should he return. He became an American citizen, married a daughter of Governor Clinton, settled on the Hudson, became a scientific farmer and an ornament to New York society. He died in 1834, at the age of sixty-nine years.

the Allies in behalf of France. Did not the Treaty of 1778 between France and the United States bind each to become the ally of the other in case of war?

Reaching Philadelphia, Genêt encountered an obstacle, a very serious one, in the attitude of the President. Washington received him without enthusiasm, assuring him of the friendly feeling of America toward France without giving him the slightest hope of assistance in the war. Washington had weighed the matter well. Hearing of the declaration of war between England and France, he had submitted the matter to his Cabinet, and with their approval he had issued his now famous Proclamation of Neutrality.

The neutrality proclamation marked the beginning of a new custom in international practice. It was a decision of momentous importance and became the basis of our subsequent foreign policy. Three years earlier, when England and Spain seemed on the point of war, Washington and his Cabinet decided on a neutral position. Since then nations have often taken a neutral stand when there was war among their neighbors.¹ Genêt was not discomfited at the turn of events. He began fitting out privateers on landing at Charleston. He pronounced the government "timid and wavering" and Washington "a weak old man, under British influence." And he had much encouragement. Philadelphia had received him with great applause. Men on fast horses had met him as he approached and had galloped into the city to spread the news of the coming of this true son of liberty. Great banquets were held in his honor. Democratic societies were formed to advocate the French cause, and they rapidly spread over the states. The Republican newspapers not only took the side of Genêt against the government, they also attacked the character of Washington most virulently. It was said that ten thousand men in Philadelphia banded together, determined to force the President to resign his office or espouse the cause of the French; and for the first time since the Conway Cabal, the popularity of Washington suffered a partial eclipse.

The President was greatly annoyed at the attacks upon his character. He declared before his Cabinet that "he would rather be in his grave than in his present situation." But on the question at issue, he was as immovable as adamant. He saw that a crisis in the life of the Republic was at hand, that a precedent for the future must be established. He believed that

¹ See Davis, *Roots of the War*, p. 327.

the Republic would be short-lived if it did not make a stand against taking sides in the wars and political broils of Europe. Yet there was the Treaty of 1778. But, as Hamilton contended, that was made with the French monarchy, which had ceased to exist. It was made with the French king, who was guillotined, and who had no successor. Washington could not accept this view, but he and the Cabinet agreed to interpret the treaty as narrowly as possible, to permit the French to fit out privateers in our ports and send them to sea and not make the ports bases for operation, or for selling prizes captured at sea. The treaty of alliance was also construed to refer only to defensive wars, and France was waging an offensive war. With these considerations Washington determined to make a stand against a French alliance, and the courage required to make such a decision in the face of the popular clamor is not less admirable than that displayed years before by him at Princeton and at Monmouth.

At length Genêt overstepped the bounds of public decency. In July he sent the *Little Sarah*, a captured British merchantman now changed to a French privateer, down the Delaware and out to sea, against the protest of Governor Mifflin and of Secretary of State Jefferson, and in violation of his promise not to do so. He had threatened to appeal from the decision of the President to the people. He had projected an invasion of Florida from South Carolina and Georgia, and a movement against New Orleans from Kentucky. He had written a dictatorial letter to Washington, and had received a cold reply from Jefferson, stating that it was not customary for a foreign diplomat to have direct correspondence with the President, that the proper channel through which such notes should pass was the secretary of state. The President again called a Cabinet meeting, and they decided that no more French privateers be allowed in American waters, and they also determined to demand the recall of Genêt.

Genêt's
projects

The popularity of the French minister took a sudden turn, and collapsed like a punctured balloon. The national pride had been touched, and the public esteem for the hero of Trenton, of Valley Forge, and of Yorktown again approached the zenith.

AMERICA AND ENGLAND; THE JAY TREATY

Our relations with England during the decade following 1790 were scarcely better than those with France, and they began to

absorb public attention about the time the French craze subsided. The British monarchy had shown little respect for the new nation formed of her sometime colonies. So the Americans felt at least, and they had a series of grievances against the mother country.

First, a source of irritation arose from our trade with the French West Indies. France had thrown open her colonies to the trade of neutrals, — a thing they did not usually enjoy in time of peace — and our merchants soon had a flourishing trade with the French West Indies. But Great Britain then, to cripple France and in contempt of the neutrals, revived an old rule known as the Rule of 1756 — that trade which was unlawful in peace was unlawful in war.¹ Several American vessels were seized under an order in council; and when the news reached America, in the spring of 1794, there was an outburst of fury on all sides. The British party sank into insignificance; an embargo laid for thirty days on all foreign-bound vessels was now extended for thirty days more.

Second, the British consul at Algiers had connived with Portugal, now in league with England against France, to turn loose upon the Atlantic a number of piratical Algerine vessels for the purpose of preying on American sailors and shipping, or at least with the knowledge that they would do so.² There was much indignation against England as well as against Algiers. Congress voted to build a navy to send to the Mediterranean, and the work was begun; but peace was soon made with the Dey, and the navy-building was stopped.

In addition to these points of irritation, there were other grievances of long standing against the British. They still held the western posts — Detroit, Michilimackinac, Niagara, Oswego — and refused to give them up; nor would they pay for the slaves carried off at the close of the Revolution. It is true that the laws against loyalists had not been repealed, but Congress had recommended that the states repeal them, as promised in the treaty. As the states had not heeded the recommendation, England still refused to carry out the treaty.

The source of greatest irritation, however, was found in the

¹ England's avowed object in doing this was plausible. The order in council was issued in aid of an expedition to be sent to conquer the French West Indies, but the Americans could see in it only an attempt to cripple their shipping. Strictly speaking, this affair did not come under the Rule of 1756, as France had, in 1784, prior to this war with England, opened the West India trade to United States vessels of sixty tons or over. See *Annals of August*, 1794, p. 192.

² Schouler, Vol. I, p. 265.

impressment of seamen.¹ Many English sailors, abandoning their country in time of need, had taken refuge in American vessels. These men were impressed into the British service, frequently from American ships held up for that purpose on the high seas. Some were English born, but naturalized Americans. But England would not acknowledge the right of expatriation. Once an Englishman, always an Englishman, was her motto,² and she seized these men at every opportunity. And native-born Americans were often taken by mistake. To the protests of our government the English paid no heed, and the people became exasperated at the continued outrages. War seemed imminent.

Impressment of seamen

Washington greatly desired peace because he knew that a disastrous war at that time would seriously injure the country, if not destroy its independence. And here came a rift in the clouds. The British ministry so modified its offensive order as to leave American trade in the West Indies unmolested, except in respect of French products carried to France, or property belonging to French subjects. This concession was probably induced by the threatening attitude of Congress, and by the summary treatment of Genêt. Washington was pleased with this slight concession. He felt that now he could make overtures for an adjustment of the differences without compromising the national honor. He therefore determined to send an envoy to London to frame a commercial treaty on the best terms attainable, and for this difficult task he nominated John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Jay reached London early in June, 1794, concluded the treaty late in November, and laid it before President Washington in March of the following year. During his absence the two subjects that absorbed public attention

Jay's mission

¹ **Impressment of Seamen.**—The insolent methods often employed by English ship-masters in searching American vessels, and their indiscriminate recklessness, which resulted in their seizing many who were not British subjects, were exasperating in the extreme, and cannot be condoned. But it is a mistake to believe that the British government maintained the right of impressing seamen simply to annoy the United States. This is far from the truth. In fact, impressment was almost a necessity to England at this time. She was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Napoleon. Her sailors deserted in large numbers and engaged with American ships because of better pay and easier service. At one time, complains the English minister, twelve of his Majesty's ships lay at Norfolk, Virginia, unable to move, owing to desertions. Many English sailors, on reaching an American port, would purchase forged papers of American citizenship for a dollar or two, or secure them by perjury before a magistrate. Nevertheless England was much more to blame than America because of her persistent refusal to agree to an exchange of deserters.

² The right of expatriation was not acknowledged by the British government until 1870.

were, the Whisky Insurrection, which has been mentioned, and the operations of St. Clair and Wayne against the Indians in Ohio, to be noted on a future page. At present we must follow our subject — the famous Jay Treaty.

To make any treaty with the enemy of the French Republic was very distasteful to the Republicans; and to send John Jay, the most pro-British American in the country, except Hamilton,¹ was more than they could bear. They began their tirade as soon as Jay started for England, and it was evident long before his return that any treaty he might make would be bitterly opposed by them. When they learned that Jay had been well received, they said that he had sold himself for British gold;² when it was known that he had kissed the queen's hand, he was accused of prostrating the sovereignty of the people at the feet of majesty.

The treaty was put into the President's hands in March, a few days after the session of Congress had closed, and Washington called the Senate in secret session to consider it. The Senate met in June, and after a short debate ratified the treaty by a two thirds majority, and not a vote to spare.³

The treaty, which had not yet been made public, was the best attainable from England at that time, and there is not a doubt that Jay had been truly patriotic, and that he had done as well as any other man could have done. Yet the treaty was not generally an advantageous one to the Americans. The first ten articles were intended to be permanent, the rest of a temporary nature. The western posts were to be evacuated by June, 1796; but not a dollar was to be paid for having held them so long, and the Mississippi River was to be open to British shipping. American citizens were to be indemnified by the British government for recent captures in the West Indies. This was the most favorable stipulation of all, but it was balanced by another binding the United States to compensate Great Britain for confiscated debts. No recompense for the slaves carried off at the close of the Revolution, no redress for the impressment of seamen, nor any promise that the practice should be abandoned, could Jay get into the treaty. Most of the temporary articles dealt with subjects growing out

Jay's
treaty

¹ About this time Washington sent James Monroe to succeed Gouverneur Morris as minister to France, while another future President, the youthful John Quincy Adams, became minister to The Hague.

² McMaster, Vol. II, p. 213.

³ Even Hamilton at first pronounced the treaty "an old woman's treaty." In England it was unpopular for the opposite reason — that it conceded too much to America.

of England's war with France — trade with the Indies, and between the two countries, foreign enlistments, rights of reprisal — and they were generally unfavorable to the United States. Privateers of nations at war with either of the parties were not to be armed in the ports of the other nor to sell prizes there. The articles pronounced any American citizen a pirate who accepted a French commission against England; they even made the goods of an enemy on board the vessel of a friend liable to capture. This was a terrible blow to the French party, but there it was in the Jay Treaty. Jay had conceded much — too much for the national dignity. But he did so because he believed this the only means of avoiding war. The treaty could be defended only on the ground that it was preferable to war. Washington disliked the treaty, but his dislike of war at this time was greater, and he signed the treaty and proclaimed it the law of the land.

Meantime the public was anxious to know what was in the treaty, and early in July the Philadelphia *Aurora* obtained a copy, published it in pamphlet form, and sent it broadcast over the land. The wrath of the Repub- Reception of
the treaty licans was unbounded. Jay was denounced as a traitor to his country, and was burned in effigy from Maine to Georgia. At Faneuil Hall in Boston, an immense mass meeting condemned the treaty unanimously. At an open-air meeting in New York, Hamilton was stoned for attempting to defend it.¹ At Philadelphia a copy of the treaty was burned in the street before the house of the English minister, while at Charleston the British flag, after being dragged through the streets, was burned in front of the British consul's door. When it was known that Washington had set his name to the disgraceful treaty, he was shamefully abused in the Republican press. He was accused of overdrawing his salary, of having retired at the close of the Revolution only because the country could offer him no position that would satisfy his ambition, of being an American Cæsar, a tyrant, and a despot, and of having violated his oath of office.

The treaty was by no means safe because it had passed the Senate, and had been signed by the President. The Constitu- The treaty
before the
House tion gives the treaty-making power to the President and the Senate, it is true; but this treaty required a money appropriation to put it into operation, and the House must originate all revenue bills. The House

¹ Hamilton's wit did not desert him. "If you use such striking arguments, I shall retire," said he, as he left the platform.

at this time was Republican by a small majority. The President laid the subject of the Jay Treaty before it in March, 1796; and one of the greatest constitutional debates ever held in Congress immediately followed. The House, after a three weeks' debate, asked Washington for the papers and correspondence in connection with the making of the treaty, but Washington refused the request. The Republicans were staggered at the firmness of the President, but they did not give up; they determined to defeat the appropriation. Their leaders on the floor were Madison and Gallatin. The debate dragged on, and the speeches on either side were many; but there was only one that became famous in our history. It was no doubt the most eloquent speech listened to by that generation of Americans, and it was never equaled in Congress until the rise of Webster. It was made by Fisher Ames of Massachusetts.

Ames was a man of frail body, and against the advice of his physician he rose to speak on the great question before the House. He was a Federalist of the Federalists, and he fully believed that a rejection of the treaty meant immediate war with the British Empire and the dissolution of the Union. He depicted with all his nervous emotion the horrors that would follow a rejection of the treaty. For three hours he held the House and the gallery in the spell of his burning eloquence, and closed with these pathetic words: "Even the minutes I have spent in expostulating have their value, because they protract the crisis and the short period in which alone we may resolve to escape it. Yet I have, perhaps, as little personal interest in the event as any one here. There is, I believe, no member who will not think his chance to be a witness of the consequences greater than mine. If, however, the vote should pass to reject — even I, slender and almost broken as my hold on life is, may outlive the government and Constitution of my country."

The speech of Ames brought tears to nearly every eye. Vice President Adams, sitting in the gallery, exclaimed to a friend by his side, "My God, how great he is!" Above all, Ames carried the day. Before his speech the Republicans counted on a majority of six; when the vote was taken the next day the Federalists won by a majority of three.

Thus the Jay Treaty went into effect. It was humiliating to American pride, but necessary. It postponed for sixteen years the inevitable second war with England; had it been rejected, the War of 1812 would have been the War of 1796. But the

Great
speech of
Fisher
Ames

treaty was staggering to France. The proclamation of neutrality, in the memory of Yorktown, was bad enough, but this treaty was like a blow in the face from a supposed friend; and never again did France presume on the brotherly feeling engendered between the two nations during the Revolution.

Still another serious episode in our foreign relations belongs to this period. France was greatly displeased with the Jay Treaty, and naturally so. James Monroe had been sent as minister to France, but his sympathies were so Monroe in
France obviously with the French that he was unable to rise to the dignity of a diplomat. He spoke of France as "our ally and sister republic," and of the "wisdom and firmness" of the revolutionary government at a time when the guillotine was still rolling the heads of good citizens into the basket. It was at this time that Jay was in England carrying on negotiations with Grenville. This fact caused much unrest in Paris, but Monroe assured the French government that Jay's mission was strictly limited to "demanding reparation for injuries." When at length the Jay Treaty was published to the world, the French were furious; and when, in December, Monroe received word from Timothy Pickering, who had succeeded Randolph¹ as secretary of state, that the treaty had been ratified by the Senate and signed by the President, his position became embarrassing. He was now instructed to defend the treaty which he had assured the French government would never be made. He believed that his own government had deceived him and that in consequence he had unwittingly deceived the French. He now hesitated to follow his instructions, and not until he was informed by the minister of foreign affairs that the alliance between France and the United States was at an end, and that the Directory was about to recall Adet, the French minister to the United States, did he rise to a sense of his duty. He then defended the treaty with vigor. But it was too late. Washington had determined on Monroe's recall, and in September, 1796, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was appointed minister to France.

Meantime Adet, at Philadelphia, had carried himself with little more dignity than had Monroe at Paris. He was a notable improvement on Genêt, but he stooped to acts that were not expected of one in his position. His chief offense lay in his meddling in American politics. As the presidential election approached, he wrote articles for the Republican press, urging

¹ Randolph had succeeded Jefferson; but after a short service he had resigned, after being accused of conniving with the French minister.

the people to elect a Republican President. And here we must turn aside for a brief account of the first presidential contest in American history.

RETIREMENT AND CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON

Washington determined to retire from the great office at the end of his second term, not that he wished to set a precedent for the future, but because he was weary of public life and wished to spend the evening of his days amid the rural scenes of his plantation on the Potomac. Another cause of his retirement, as many believed, was the continued attacks of the opposition press. However, had he desired a third term, he could easily have been elected, but not unanimously, as twice before. For more than forty years from the time when he had carried the message of Dinwiddie through the wilderness of Virginia, with brief intervals, he had been in public life. Retiring now to his ancestral home, he was contented and happy; but in less than three years he died, being in his sixty-eighth year.¹

More than a century has passed since then, and no other American has won the universal love of the people as he did. His popularity, like that of other public men, had its ebb and flow, its light and shadow, but at length it has settled into a steady stream of light which the years have no power to dim. For half a century after his death, Washington was regarded as little less than a demigod, and only through the telescope of modern historic criticism has the real Washington been presented to the world. We now know that he was a man, a real human being, with robust good sense, with much claim to genius, but also with many of the foibles and limitations of other men. He was almost devoid of wit and humor and of personal magnetism. He was a natural aristocrat, and he made no pretense of mingling with the multitude. Possessed of a strong temper, he kept it under masterly control. A few

¹ **Death of Washington.** — On December 15, 1799, one of Washington's attendants, named Tobias Lear, dispatched a letter from Mt. Vernon to President Adams at Philadelphia, a part of which is as follows: —

"Sir: It is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good General Washington. He died last evening between ten and eleven o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours. His disorder was an inflamed throat from cold. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect. (Three physicians, Drs. Dick, Craik, and Brown, were called in.) His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan nor a complaint escaped him, though in deep distress. With perfect resignation and a full possession of his reason he closed his well spent life."

times, however, he lost his self-control, and at such moments his outburst of anger was frightful. Only three or four times in his life was he known to burst into a loud, hearty laugh. He was an avowed Christian, and his deep religious convictions formed the basis of his character and guided his daily life; but he was not demonstrative nor emotional.¹ He had a great, generous heart, and he loved his fellow-men; but he held every friend at a distance, nor would he brook familiarity from any one. Though never familiar, he was always courteous; his manner was dignified and reserved, his face usually calm and reposed. His popularity was won, not by a captivating manner or a conscious effort, but by his unswerving devotion to duty and his high, unselfish motives.

What is Washington's rank among the world's greatest heroes? He was a successful commander of armies and he displayed much genius, but among the world's great captains he cannot be placed in the very first rank. As a statesman he must again take a second place. Wherein lay Washington's greatness? He was not dashing nor brilliant nor original. His greatness consisted for the most part in his lofty motives, in his extraordinary sound judgment, and his unlimited courage when standing for a principle that he believed to be right. His patriotism was as pure as sunlight, and no element of selfishness entered into his motives. In all his public career he never made a serious mistake. As our first President he held himself above party lines, and amid the contending tempests of political passion he stood like a mighty oak in a storm; and his conservative strength was essential to the life of the infant Republic.

Washington was exactly fitted for the position in which Providence placed him. Had he been a greater genius, he might have misused his power; had he been a weaker man, he could not have succeeded. Had he possessed the ability and ambition of Napoleon, our country would have become a military government and a monarchy. Had his ability been of mediocre rank, it is doubtful if independence could have been won. Washington was precisely the man the times called for, and he did a service for humanity that deserves the homage of every age and every nation. The candor and the nobleness of his character have attracted the admiration of every people. "No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life," says Green, the British historian; ". . . there was little in his outward bearing to reveal the grandeur of soul which lifts his figure, with all

¹ Schouler, Vol. I, p. 123.

the simple majesty of an ancient statue, out of the smaller passions, the meaner impulses, of the world around him. . . . Almost unconsciously men learned to . . . regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in the presence of his memory." We are all devotees at the shrine of Washington. He has left a record that cannot fade, and his name will ever be dear in the hearts of men who love human rights and human liberties.

JOHN ADAMS AND FRENCH RELATIONS

We must now return to the presidential election. The Federalist leader was Hamilton, but Hamilton was without a popular following. None knew this better than himself, and he made no effort to win the great prize. Jay probably ranked second as a party leader, but the odium of the treaty made him an impossible candidate. John Adams, therefore, became the logical candidate of the Federalists. He was looked upon as an aristocrat rather than a democrat, but he had taken little part in the Franco-English issues that had divided the people. Adams had been in public life more than twenty years and was well known to his fellow-countrymen. He was the strongest debater in Congress during the Revolution; he made the motion that placed George Washington at the head of the army; he was the first minister of America to England after independence had been gained, and he served creditably as Vice President for eight years.¹

Jefferson, the founder and leader of the opposition party, became its logical candidate. The contest was a spirited one, but as several states chose electors by the legislature, the popular strength of the two parties was not fully tested. There is little doubt that a majority of the people were with Jefferson, but there was a silent fear that if he were elected he would not support the Jay Treaty, which would have meant war with England. The people were not ready for war, and they elected Adams by a vote of seventy-one to sixty-eight for Jefferson. The latter, however, receiving the next highest number, became Vice President.

¹ Hamilton and his clique of friends perceived that Adams was of headstrong nature, and they attempted to compass his defeat. The Twelfth Amendment, providing for separate votes for President and Vice President, had not been added to the Constitution, and each elector was to vote for two men without designating his preference for President or Vice President. Hamilton, seeing that he could not defeat Adams by open opposition, chose Thomas Pinckney, who was very popular owing to his late treaty with Spain, to run on the ticket with Adams. His plan was to have all the New England electors vote for Pinckney, who, being a Southern man, would receive a larger vote than Adams in the South and thus win first place. The plan did not work. Adams afterward discovered the trick, and from that day forth he was never friendly to Hamilton.

The inaugural ceremonies were scarcely over when the new administration was called upon to face a serious difficulty with our "sister republic" in Europe. The Jay Treaty was deeply offensive to France, and now to this offense was added the recalling of the good Republican Monroe and the sending of the Federalist Pinckney. This was too much for the Gallican to endure. Pinckney was rejected, and he took refuge in Holland, where he spent the winter. It was now America's turn to be offended. There was much indignation at the rejection of Pinckney. Adams called an extra session of Congress to meet in May, and his message on its assembling was very positive and pointed. He said that France should be convinced that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a spirit of fear and a sense of inferiority. He urged Congress to create a navy and to fortify the harbors of the United States, while at the same time he declared his intention to make one more effort for peace by sending a special mission to France to adjust the differences.

After a sharp debate, Congress voted an answer to the President, approving his views and his plans; and before adjourning it passed a bill to appropriate money to fortify the harbors, another apportioning eighty thousand militia to the states, to be ready for action if called for, and one to complete the three new frigates, the *United States*, the *Constitution*, and the *Constellation*.

Meantime three envoys to France had been appointed: John Marshall, the future jurist, Elbridge Gerry, the future Vice President, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who had been rejected as the regular minister by the French Directory. They reached Paris in October, and for several months their experience was an exciting one. A few days after they had arrived and had informed Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs, of their mission, they were approached unofficially by a gentleman named Hottinguer, who informed them that a threefold demand would be made upon the United States, and that it must be complied with before the French Directory would receive a minister from the country. First, the President's message to Congress, parts of which were very offensive to the French government, must be modified; second, the wounded feelings of the Directory must be soothed by a gift in the form of a bribe to the amount of \$240,000, and third, the United States must make a loan to France of a large sum of money to carry on her war with England. A little later two other men, M. Bellamy and M. Hauteval, representing Talleyrand, joined Hottinguer and renewed the demand.

Mission to
France

"I will not disguise the fact," said Bellamy, ". . . you must pay money, you must pay a great deal of money." They further stated that French vessels would be sent to ravage the American coast if their demands were not heeded. To these demands Pinckney is said to have made the famous answer, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The American envoys were astonished at such a reception. They disclaimed all power of making a loan, and offered to consult with their government; and they laid their correspondence with these three men (designated in the published dispatches as X, Y and Z), before the President of the United States. France now added another insult by sending Marshall and Pinckney, who were Federalists, out of the country, and offering to treat with Gerry alone, who was a Republican.

A wave of indignation swept through the country when the President made known the fact that his mission to France had failed. It was the spring of 1798, and Congress was in session. The radical Republicans in both houses still determined to avert war with the sister republic. A member of the House from Maryland even rose and offered a resolution that "it was inexpedient under existing circumstances to resort to war against the French Republic." The resolution was under discussion and would doubtless have passed when suddenly the whole country was thrown into an uproar by the X Y Z correspondence, which the President submitted to Congress. When the account of this shameful treatment of our envoys and these impudent demands made on our government was published broadcast, the people fell into a patriotic rage and demanded an immediate declaration of war against France. Such an outburst had not been known since the battle of Lexington. Patriotic songs were written and sung everywhere by the people, and one of these, "Hail Columbia," written by Joseph Hopkinson for a Philadelphia theater, still lives in our literature.

Congress, meanwhile, had caught the spirit of the people. The war feeling was aroused, and all waverers joined the forces of the administration. The same was true throughout the country, and John Adams, for the first time, and it may be said, the only time in his life, found himself on the uppermost wave of popularity. Congress passed in rapid succession the measures he had recommended: for establishing a navy department, for the further defense of harbors, for raising a provisional army of ten thousand men in case of war, for the purchase of cannon and

military stores, and for the suspension of all commercial intercourse with France after July 1st.

Everything seemed now to indicate immediate war with the French Republic. And there was much *casus belli*. That country was displeased with the Jay Treaty, which, however, had been wrung from our government against its will, and which was not intended as an offense to France. On the other hand, France had heaped one insult upon another, — first through the impudence of Genêt before the framing of that treaty, in attempting to dictate our position in European wars, then in the attempt of a later minister to influence a national election. Her privateers had captured scores of American merchant vessels; she had rejected an American minister because he belonged to a party distasteful to the French. Even after all this our President was so anxious to maintain peace that he sent three envoys; and these were kept waiting for six months in the antechamber, hearing the most humiliating proposals, and at length two of them were driven in disgrace from the country. Was not this enough to raise the ire of every true-hearted American?

Great preparations were now in progress for war with France, and the French were thoroughly surprised on discovering the fact. The French armies had gone forth to war and had conquered a large part of Continental Europe, War spirit and now to be defied by the youthful Republic in the western wilderness was, to say the least, unexpected. The truth is, France did not wish to fight America; her sole object had been to win American aid in her European wars; her quarrel was with monarchies alone. When, therefore, the Directory knew of the war spirit they had stirred up, they informed Gerry that they were anxious for peace between the two republics.¹ They withdrew the demand that the President's message be modified, released American seamen, and forbade the further capture of our vessels. They even declared that they did not wish the United States to break the treaty with England, and expressed a willingness to receive a new American minister.

But the war spirit still raged on this side of the Atlantic. George Washington was appointed commander in chief of the armies to be raised. He accepted on the twofold condition that he might choose his immediate subordinates and that he need not take the field unless absolutely necessary; and he suggested the appointment of Hamilton, Knox, and C. C. Pinckney as major generals. This order would make Hamilton the senior major

¹ See *The United States Gazette*, September 29, 1798.

general, and the real commander, who would reap the chief honor of a successful campaign. Now, Adams disliked Hamilton. He had not forgotten the trick by which the latter had hoped to cheat him out of the presidency; and besides, the two men were utterly incompatible in spirit. Adams now determined to make Knox the senior major general. But Washington threatened to resign if his wishes were not respected, and Adams yielded the point.

The autumn of 1798 passed, and still the cry was, War with France! A few sea captures had already been made — when in midwinter, suddenly, and to the astonishment of all, President Adams at one stroke ended the whole matter, and removed all prospect of war — he appointed another minister to France.¹ Adams had heard of the friendly overtures of the French Directory, of their offer to receive a minister, and he made the appointment without even consulting his Cabinet. By this action Adams incurred the wrath of most of the leaders of his party. It was inconsistent with national honor, they said; France, the offending party, should have made the first move toward peace. The friends of Hamilton declared that the chief motive of Adams was to prevent the former from winning military glory. The subject of the motive of the President in doing this bold thing against the wishes of his party was discussed for many years. Adams always defended his action; and nine years after these events he stated in a letter that he considered it the most disinterested and meritorious action of his life, and that he desired no other inscription on his gravestone than this: "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of peace with France."

The act of President Adams had two great results: it brought peace and war — peace with France, and that peace has not been broken to this day; and war in the Federal party. It rent the party from the top to the bottom. The wound was fatal, and it rendered impossible the reflection of the man who made it.

FALL OF THE FEDERAL PARTY

The Federal party reached the acme of power and popularity just after the X Y Z explosion in the spring of 1798. While the enthusiasm was non-partisan, the party in power could have

¹ William Vans Murray, then minister to The Hague. Two others were afterward appointed with Vans Murray, Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and Governor Davie of North Carolina.

reaped a golden harvest from it, could have strengthened itself powerfully for the future, had it been tactful and wise; but it was neither tactful nor wise. Instead of taking advantage of the popular wave and building for the future, it stooped to humble some of its old enemies. It enacted a number of obnoxious laws, based on a spirit of revenge, and in this way it drove thousands into the ranks of its great rival.

To raise revenue for the impending war a direct tax on lands, slaves, and houses was imposed. For every slave between the ages of twelve and fifty years the owner must pay fifty cents a year, while the land and house tax was graded according to the value of the property, and the value of a house was determined by the number and size of its windows.¹ These special taxes were unpopular and they chilled the ardor of many a Federalist who owned houses, lands, or slaves. Still less popular was the Naturalization Law, which raised the time of residence for naturalization from five to fourteen years. This was aimed at resident Frenchmen, but it affected equally the foreign-born of other nationalities, and played its part in weakening the party that enacted it. The Federal party might, however, have survived all this had it stopped here. But the over-zealous party now proceeded to enact the famous, or rather infamous, Alien and Sedition Laws.

Slave and
house tax

The Alien and Sedition Laws are usually named together in common parlance, but they were passed separately, though their general object was the same. The most offensive section of the Alien Act gave the President power to banish from the country, without giving a reason, without a trial of any sort, any alien whom he considered a dangerous or suspicious person. A cry instantly arose from the Republican press, denouncing the law as unconstitutional, since it denied trial by jury and usurped a power that belonged wholly to the states.

Alien Law;
June 25,
1798

But a muzzle was soon placed on the Republican press by the enactment of the Sedition Law. The most objectionable feature of this law was that which made it a crime, to be punished by fine and imprisonment, for any one to print or publish any false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the government, Congress, or the President,

Sedition
Law, July
14

¹ The farmers of eastern Pennsylvania rebelled against paying the house tax, and several hundred of them assembled under the leadership of John Fries. This was known as the Fries Rebellion. The President sent troops to disperse the men. Fries was captured, tried, and sentenced to be put to death; but President Adams pardoned him.

with intent to defame them, to bring them into contempt, or to excite the hatred of the people against them, and so forth. This was a blow at the right of freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. It was aimed chiefly at a few reckless Republican editors whose continued attacks on the high officials of the government and their acts were unsparing. Such terms as "scoundrel," "villain," were in common use, and sometimes opposing editors, meeting on the street, would engage in a fist fight. But such terms were not confined to the Republican editors for whom the law was intended. The Federalist editors were equally reckless.

The Alien Act was never enforced. Its enforcement lay wholly with the President, and Adams was not radical; he was one of the very few men in public life in America without a French or an English bias. The Alien Law therefore remained a dead letter until it expired, two years after its enactment.

Not so with the Sedition Act; and the first to feel its weight was Matthew Lyon, a member of Congress from Vermont.

**Matthew
Lyon**

Lyon was a witty, red-faced Irishman who had come to America when a boy, as a redemptioner, had served in the Revolution, had acquired large property, and now held a seat in the House of Representatives. He was a rabid Republican, and the Federalists, who thoroughly hated him, called him the wild Irishman. With one of their number, Griswold, he had a rough and tumble fight on the floor of the House. Scarcely had the Sedition Act become a law when Lyon was arrested for publishing a letter in a Vermont paper in which he severely criticised the government for its "ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and selfish avarice." He was fined \$1000 and sent to prison for four months.¹ His friends circulated a petition for his pardon, but as he refused to sign it, the President refused to pardon him. Nevertheless, he was triumphantly reelected to Congress while still in prison. One editor was fined and imprisoned for stating that the President was "hardly in the infancy of political mistake," another for accusing Hamilton of attempting to purchase a Republican paper in the interest of Federalism. It is plain to be seen that such a law was intended only to vent partisan bitterness, and that in the end its effect would be to injure the party that had framed it. And so it proved.

Late in the year 1798, a few months after this law went into

¹ Forty years afterward Congress refunded to his heirs the amount of the fine Lyon had paid, with interest.

effect, the legislature of Kentucky passed a remarkable series of resolutions, severely denouncing the Alien and Sedition Laws as unconstitutional. A few weeks later the legisla-
 Kentucky and Virginia
 resolutions
 ture of Virginia passed a similar series, somewhat milder in tone. Many years later it was discovered that Jefferson had written the Kentucky resolutions and Madison, the Virginia resolutions.

The Kentucky legislature modified the original resolves of Jefferson before adopting them, but the next year it incorporated much that had been omitted the year before.¹ These resolves set forth three important propositions: First, that the Constitution is a compact to which each state is a party, that the government created by it has certain delegated powers, and if it assumes undelegated powers, its acts are void, and that the parties to the compact, that is, the states, have a right to judge of its infractions and of the mode and measure of redress. Second, the Alien and Sedition Acts are examined and the conclusion is reached that Congress has exceeded its powers in passing them. In these two features the Kentucky and Virginia resolves agreed in substance. But in the third — the remedy to be applied — they were somewhat different. The second set of Kentucky resolves pronounced nullification the rightful remedy for assumed powers of the government. The Virginia resolutions did not use the word "nullify," but declared that the states had the right to interpose in case the government assumed a dangerous exercise of powers. The first of these propositions, the compact theory, was one of vast consequence, and sixty years later it became the chief ground on which the Southern states justified their secession from the Union.

These resolutions made a profound sensation throughout the Union and, though condemned by other legislatures, they did much to awaken the people to the fact that the government had overstepped its rightful authority in passing the Alien and Sedition Laws. Jefferson wrote the resolutions at a moment of intense political excitement and they did not represent his later judgment, as shown by his life and writings. The nullification of a national law by a state or the dismemberment of the Union for any cause was no part of his political creed.

The dominant party was now called to render an account of itself before the great final American tribunal — the people — for another presidential election was approaching. The party had

¹ Jefferson wrote shortly before his death that he had nothing to do with the second set of Kentucky Resolutions. See Jefferson's *Writings*, III, 429; Benton, I, 149.

offended property owners by its house and slave tax, foreign-born citizens by its Naturalization Law, and many lovers of liberty by its Alien and Sedition Laws; it had also to contend with irreconcilable factions within. Adams had made the serious mistake of retaining Washington's entire Cabinet and it was composed of men who still looked to Hamilton as their political oracle. Indeed, Adams never enjoyed the confidence of this Cabinet, and when he appointed the last mission to France without consulting them they broke into open rebellion. Adams dismissed them and appointed John Marshall secretary of state, and Samuel Dexter secretary of war;¹ but the party was already rent in twain, and in this condition we find it at the coming of the election of 1800. Hamilton went so far as to write a scathing pamphlet against Adams to show his unfitness for the presidency.² And yet Adams, whose Revolutionary services were still remembered by the people and whose rugged honesty could not be questioned, was the only Federalist who could hope for success; and Hamilton at length came to his support "to save us from the fangs of Jefferson." Hamilton's letter had been published broadcast in the Republican press and the mischief had been done.

The great Republican leader, from the irresponsible watch-tower of the vice presidency, had watched the political chess-board for four years. He had guided with an unseen hand the outlying battalions of his army of followers to the remotest corners of the Union; he had directed public opinion against the Alien and Sedition Laws without the public's knowledge as to who was its guide; he knew the political complexion of every state legislature, and the approximate political condition of almost every county in the United States. The Federal party, it may be said, was overthrown by one man and that man was Thomas Jefferson. He played upon its weaknesses with a hand as deft as any that ever played in American politics and so continued until the whole trend of public opinion was reversed. The Republicans had no second choice for the presidency; Jefferson was their *unus solusque*, and they placed Aaron Burr on their ticket for the vice presidency.

The campaign was the most acrimonious in the history of the country. The unpopular Federal laws furnished the chief issue;

¹ This change, however, was not made till May, 1800.

² His object was to win a larger vote for C. C. Pinckney than for Adams, and thus to make Pinckney President. Had the Sedition Law been a non-partisan measure in general operation Hamilton would have been subject to arrest for this letter. See *Aurora*, November 4, 1800.

but, having exhausted their political thunder, both sides stooped to personalities, and Adams and Jefferson were denounced unsparingly by their respective enemies. The electoral college was carried by the Republicans, who polled seventy-three votes to sixty-five by the Federalists. But there was no election. Jefferson and Burr had received the full Republican vote, and, as the Constitution did not authorize the electors to choose between them, this duty devolved on the House of Representatives. Here was a dilemma. The House was controlled by the Federalists. Each state had one vote, cast by a majority of its delegates. There were sixteen states, and it required nine to elect. The Federalists might permit the selection of Jefferson or Burr, or they might prevent an election and by act of Congress choose a President *pro tem.* from their own party. This latter scheme was discussed in their newspapers, and had it been carried out civil war would have followed; for the Middle states threatened to arm the moment such a bill should pass.¹

The Federalists then determined to elect Burr, not that they loved him more, but Jefferson less. Their motive was ignoble, and was born of chagrin at their defeat at the polls, a desire for revenge on their successful rivals, and the hope of intriguing with Burr for a share in the offices. Their plea that they regarded Jefferson a dangerous man was insincere, for Burr was no less so, and they knew it. Burr had not been dreamed of for the presidency by his own party. Why should he be thrust upon the party by its enemies?

Here came the opportunity of a lifetime to Aaron Burr. He knew that he was not and never had been his party's candidate for President. Had he refused to permit his name to be considered in the House, had he come out openly for Jefferson as the party's candidate, it is not too much to surmise that he would have won a place in the party second only to that of Jefferson and might, instead of Madison, have become the choice for the succession to the presidency. He did nothing of the kind; the most he would do was to decline to make promises when approached by the Federalists. He permitted them to vote for him and thereby his standing in his own party was irrevocably and fatally impaired.

The House met to decide the momentous question and the country held its breath. On the first ballot Jefferson received the votes of eight states, Burr those of six, while the votes of two, Vermont and Maryland, were a tie.

Election by
the House

¹ Schouler, Vol. I, p. 483.

The balloting went on day after day with little change, when the influence of a great man — great in soul with all his faults — came to decide the question. It was Hamilton. He contended that it was dangerous to thwart the will of the people who had carried the election, to thrust upon the country a chief magistrate who had been nobody's candidate. Furthermore, he believed Burr to be a self-seeker of dangerous ambition. He regarded Jefferson as patriotic and honest, despite their bitter differences of opinion, and preferred to see the country in his "fangs" rather than in those of Burr. "I cannot," said Hamilton, "remain with a party which so degrades itself as to elect Burr." Through the advice of Hamilton the Federalist delegates from the divided states withdrew or voted blank, giving those states to Jefferson, who was elected President on the thirty-sixth ballot.

The Federal party took its defeat ungracefully. Near the end of its waning tenure it passed a law, known as the Midnight Judiciary,¹ which every fair-minded student of history must condemn. By this act twenty-three new judicial districts were created, and the outgoing President filled these offices, the only life-tenure offices under the Constitution, with members of his own party. The business of the courts did not call for such an extension at that early time, and the object of the Federalists was to intrench themselves in power where they believed their opponents could not reach them.

John Adams now retired from public life, and his remaining twenty-five years he spent as a private citizen at his New England home. He was far less fitted for the great office than either of the men between whose administrations he served. He was honest, upright, and patriotic to the last degree; but he was irascible, suspicious of others, stubborn, and wholly incapable of winning and managing men. In his foreign policy he was broad-minded and intensely American. The motives for his actions could seldom be questioned when fully understood. In one thing, however, in the part he played in the Midnight Judiciary, it is difficult to find a trace of broad-minded statesmanship. And yet near the end of his term he did a great service for his country — an act the effect of which is still felt in our government — he appointed John Marshall chief justice of the Supreme Court.

After twelve years of supremacy, this first great political

¹ So called because Adams was said to have spent his time signing the commissions till midnight on the last day of his term.

party in America suffered an irrevocable overthrow. The downfall of the Federal party was final. The Federal party embodied in its doctrine much that is of permanent value in human government, and saved the new nation from anarchy. But it was too highly centralized in its principles and its tendencies and for this reason the party was never popular. The people, ever watchful of their liberties, feared that the government would become tyrannical and oppressive. Moreover, the party committed the unpardonable sin in passing the Alien and Sedition Laws, and the sovereign people sat in judgment, and passed upon it the sentence of death. However, these laws were the occasion, not the cause, of its overthrow. The vital defect lay in its distrust of popular government — its want of confidence in the people. It "represented the ideals of a bygone age," while a new century had dawned and had brought with it new ideals. To these the old party was unable to adjust itself, and its fall was inevitable.

Passing of
the Federal
party

But truth cannot die, and the truth embodied in old Federalist doctrine still lives. Not only did the party that defeated it gradually adopt its best principles, but every great party from that time to the present has done the same. May the old party ever be held in grateful remembrance by the American people.

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CHAPTER XV

JEFFERSON AND THE DEMOCRACY

SCARCELY greater was the Revolution by which the country was wrested from British dominion than was the political revolution of 1800, by which the government passed into the hands of the democracy. And no greater fortune could have come to the young Republic than this political revolution. What the country most needed in 1800 was a national consciousness, and nothing could bring this about so quickly and so well as giving the control of the nation to the party of the masses. The Federal party, however, had done a noble work; it had laid the foundation of nationality — as essential as was the structure of democracy now to be reared upon it. But as a candle sacrifices itself in giving light, so the Federal party had given its life in laying this foundation, such as Jefferson and his party could not have laid — a foundation which our great government of to-day could not do without.

The America of to-day was not born before 1800. After the Revolution the states had settled back into their old colonial habits, and almost every American ideal up to the end of the century bore the colonial stamp, or that of England or France. Even in politics the chief issues after 1792 were foreign, and not before the dawn of the nineteenth century did there exist a truly American spirit; and not until after the second war with England did the people fully open their eyes to the vast possibilities that lay before them.

The census of 1800 showed a population of five and a third millions, one fifth of whom were slaves. Virginia still held the first place in population, Pennsylvania the second; Massachusetts had been outrun by New York, which now held third place, while the old Bay State came fourth. For half a century the increase in population had been a natural increase, for the great tide of immigration that has poured in a steady stream upon our shores for nearly a century had not then made a beginning. Nine tenths of the population were still to be found east of the Alleghanies; but the course of empire had begun to make its

way westward, and more than half a million people had already found homes in the great valley of the Mississippi.

A VIEW OF THE LEADERS

Thomas Jefferson was a descendant of an old family that belonged to the landed aristocracy of Virginia, but he was a democrat in spirit, and no discerning student of history can attribute to him selfish motives in espousing the cause of democracy. He was tall and loosely built, with a sandy complexion, a sunny countenance, a freckled face, and hair tending to red. His manner was shy and retiring, his clothes ill fitting, his speech loose and rambling, with now and then the expression of a brilliant sentiment.¹ Such was the man who stood before John Marshall in the Senate chamber on March 4, 1801, and took the oath of office as President of the United States.²

The new President chose for his secretary of state his most intimate friend, his life-long companion, James Madison. For secretary of the treasury he chose Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania, and these three formed the great triumvirate in whose hands lay the fortunes of the United States. Both Madison and Gallatin, like their chief, had enjoyed the advantages of birth and social position. Madison was a small, neat, well-dressed man, full of good humor and anecdote. Gallatin, a man of forty years, was a Genevan by birth, and a slight foreign accent always marked his speech. He, like Madison, was well educated, and was eminently fitted for the great work before him. Never in our history were there three kindred spirits in high public life more truly companionable, more honest, or more sincerely devoted to the public welfare than were Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin.

The far-sighted Hamilton predicted a conservative administration for his great political enemy, and the latter seemed to give early promise of this. The inaugural was wise and tactful throughout, as well as conciliatory, and the ultra-Federalists, who had expected to hear the wild harangue of a visionary, were not a little discomfited. Jefferson's first difference with the opposite party arose from his removal of a few Federalist officials to make room for his own followers. "If a due participation of

¹ Maclay's *Diary*.

² Jefferson walked quietly to the capitol with a few friends. The story that he rode alone on horseback and tied his own horse in order to give an example of democratic simplicity, has long been refuted. See McMaster, Vol. II, p. 533 sq.

office is a matter of right," he wrote, "how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few, by resignation none." His party followers had been excluded from the Federal offices, and he felt that it was only fair play that they should be recognized. But he proceeded very moderately, and had no thought of making a clean sweep. During the first fourteen months he removed but sixteen Federalists to make room for Republicans,¹ and he refused to appoint any of his relatives. In 1802 he wrote, "I still think our original idea as to office is best, that is, to depend for the obtaining of a just participation on deaths, resignations, and delinquencies."

Again, Jefferson awakened the wrath of his opponents by the pardon of the men still languishing in prison under the Sedition Law, and by his crusade against a few of the most offensive of the Federalist judges. The judge breaking, however, came near the close of Jefferson's first term. Judge Pickering of the New Hampshire district was removed on a charge of drunkenness and incompetency, and Judge Chase of the Supreme Court was impeached by the House for "offensive partisanship," but was acquitted by the Senate.

JEFFERSON AT THE HELM

On the whole Jefferson's administration started out auspiciously, and thousands of the milder Federalists were won over to the standard of the democracy. This was clearly shown in the state elections in the autumn of 1801, for before the close of the year every governor outside of New England and every legislature except that of Delaware was Democratic. In New England the state of Rhode Island and the city of Boston had also joined the majority. Jefferson's earnest desire was to reduce the expenses of the government wherever possible. He discontinued the missions to Holland, Portugal, and Prussia, and he would have sold the few vessels of the navy had not a new use for them suddenly developed.

The Barbary states of North Africa — Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, and Morocco — had levied tribute for many years upon trading ships in the Mediterranean. The European powers had paid them in the belief that it was cheaper to buy them off

¹ This number is given by Schouler (Vol. II, p. 9). Calhoun in a speech in 1835 gives 42 as the number of Jefferson's removals in eight years. McMaster cites 99 removals for the first year; but many of these were not for political reasons. Fish, in *Report, American Historical Association*, 1899, Vol. I, p. 170, gives the total number of removals from civil office in eight years as 109, military, 15.

than to fight them. We followed the same course for a time, but in 1801 when the pasha of Tripoli, because his tribute was less than that of Tunis, cut down an American flag-staff as a declaration of war, he was accommodated with what he wanted — war. President Jefferson sent a squadron to the Mediterranean under the command of Captain Dale and another the following year. They did little except blockade the Tripolitan coast, and a third squadron was sent in 1803, Captain Preble in command.

War with
the Barbary
states

The spectacular feature of the war was the burning of the *Philadelphia*, an American frigate that had been captured by the enemy after having stuck on a reef in the harbor. The Americans, despairing of recapturing the ship, determined to destroy her. Stephen Decatur was intrusted with the daring task. In a ketch he moved silently at midnight into the harbor, boarded the vessel, overpowered her crew, and set her on fire. Before the ship blew up with a tremendous roar Decatur and his men escaped amid a shower of badly aimed shells from the shore batteries. Tripoli was humbled and forced to sign a treaty in 1805.

However, during the War of 1812 the Barbary states, especially Algiers, took advantage of our military preoccupation and again became troublesome. In 1815 Decatur was sent with a fleet; he entered the harbor of Algiers, completely awed the dey and forced him to sign a treaty renouncing all demands for tribute money, giving up all prisoners without ransom, and agreeing to pay for the vessels he had captured. Thus ended the piratical raids on American shipping in the Mediterranean.

After the meeting of Congress in December, 1801, the new President showed his sincere desire to retrench expenses and to reduce taxation. Both houses were now Democratic¹ by easy working majorities. There was no strong leader in Congress, nor was one greatly needed, for they had an able one in the President. No other President in American history more completely directed his Cabinet and Congress than did Jefferson.

He managed, not by threats, violence, or patronage, but by that tact and conviction which prompt the right act at the right moment. There was no important act of Congress during the first eight years of the century that did not bear the stamp of the genius of Jefferson. And even in the Cabinet, with such leaders as Madison and Gallatin, without one display of temper, with

¹ I shall use this term henceforth to designate the party founded by Jefferson, though he never gave up the term "Republican" as long as he lived.

never an angry word, Jefferson was the undisputed master during the eight years.

But few months after Congress had met it passed an act abolishing all internal revenue on distilled spirits, the stamp tax, and the tax on carriages. It also reduced the army to about three thousand, sold some of the vessels of the navy, and lowered the salaries of customhouse officials. These acts greatly reduced the number of officials, and Jefferson further proved the sincerity of his professions by consolidating two or more offices into one wherever the public business would warrant it.

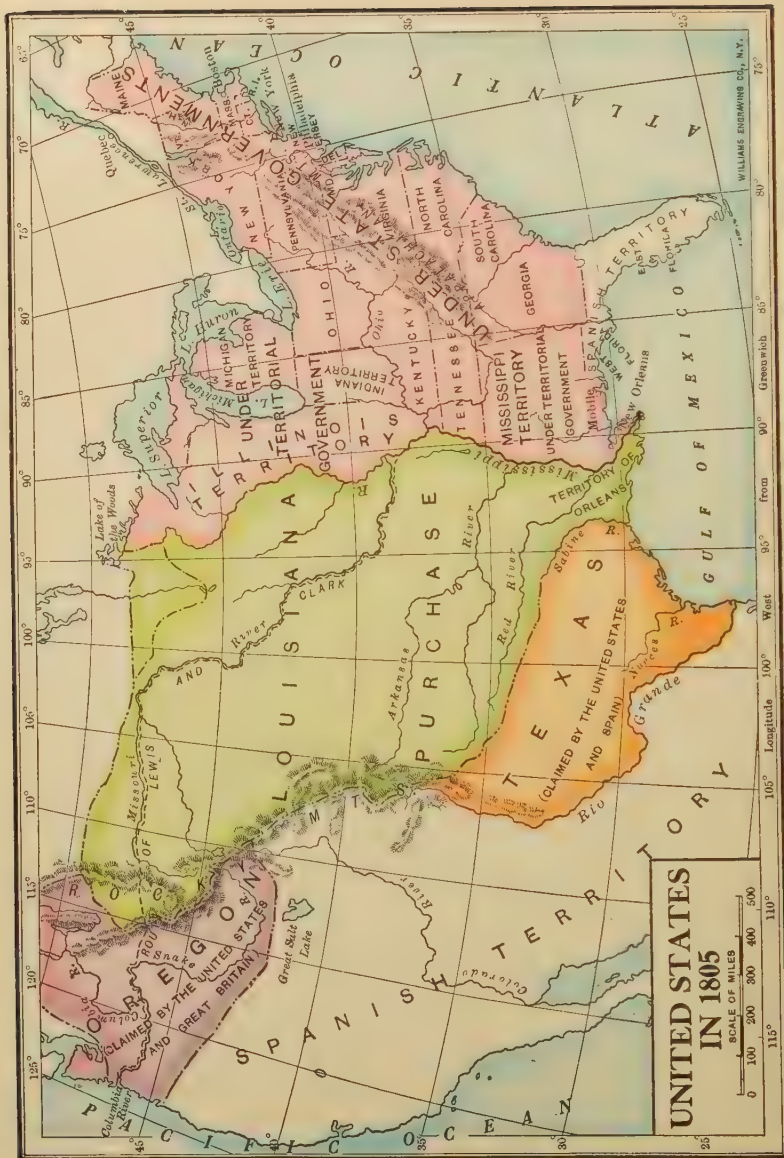
Congress next addressed itself to a few of the obnoxious laws made by the Federalists. The Alien and Sedition Acts had expired; but there stood the Naturalization Act and the Midnight Judiciary. The former was remodeled and the time reduced from fourteen years to five, where it still remains.

The Judiciary Act, so distasteful to the Democrats, seemed to interpose an obstacle; but this was soon overcome. The act had been passed by the Federalists after it was known that the Democrats had carried the election, and yet not one of the newly created offices was left to be filled by the incoming administration, and each new judge was supposed to hold the office for life. The Democrats regarded this as a gross abuse of power, and they determined to undo the work of their defeated rivals. A way was soon found. They could not take the man from the office, so they determined to take the office from the man. The Judiciary Act was repealed entire; but many years later, long after the Federal party had passed away, the growing business of the Federal courts demanded an extension of its service, similar to that which was now repealed.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

The greatest diplomatic achievement in the annals of the United States was the acquisition of the vast, unbounded region beyond the Mississippi known as Louisiana. This immense territory had been taken possession of by France through the explorer La Salle in 1682. Eighty years later France ceded it to Spain, at the time when she gave up Canada and the Ohio Valley to England. Since then a mighty genius had risen in France in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, and through his surpassing skill, aided by the spirit of the Revolution, that country had surged to the front until

**Treaty of
Ildefonso**



Spain was a weakling in comparison. At this stage Napoleon, now First Consul of France, looked upon the great Spanish-American forest with covetous eyes, and he forced its cession by Spain to himself by a secret treaty at San Ildefonso in the year 1800.

The secret soon became an open one, and when the news reached President Jefferson his keen eye at once detected trouble for his country. To Robert Livingston, our minister at Paris, he wrote: "There is on the globe one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. . . . Spain might have retained it quietly for years . . . the day that France takes possession . . . seals the union of two nations. . . . From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

Jefferson had ever been partial to France. What a menace to the country must have loomed before his vision to have wrung from him such a statement as the above. But this was not all. In the midst of the excitement over the retrocession the Spanish intendant at New Orleans closed the mouth of the great river to American trade, in violation of the treaty with Spain of 1795. This brought a cry of rage from the Mississippi Valley. The people of the West had no other outlet for trade. Down this great waterway in rude flatboats and barges of their own making they floated, carrying their surplus products of the farm. Railroads to the Atlantic seaboard were a thing of the future. To see this one outlet to the world's markets closed to them was beyond endurance to the western pioneers. They threatened to march down the river and take possession of New Orleans by force, or to throw themselves at the feet of England, if their own government did not come to the rescue. Jefferson was a man of peace; but the clamor from the western frontier grew louder, and something had to be done. At length it was determined to set apart two million dollars for the purchase of West Florida and the island of New Orleans,¹ and thus to secure forever a passage down the great waterway. James Monroe was then sent to join Livingston at Paris, with power between them to effect the purchase. Jefferson had little hope of success. His object, as he stated privately, was to "palliate and endure," and to quiet the people of the western country until a war should break out between France and England, when he would cast his lot with the latter.

Monroe sent
to Paris

Napoleon had acquired Louisiana for the purpose of colonizing

¹ This object was understood, but was not mentioned in the resolutions.

it; but after losing two or three good armies in Santo Domingo, the island of rebellious blacks, he found it difficult to carry out his projects in the lower Mississippi Valley. Further-

The purchase

more, he expected another war with England. For this he would need money; and besides, as England was the greater sea power, she might, in case of war, land an army on the coast of Louisiana and hold the territory by right of conquest. Napoleon had little love for the United States; but his love for England was still less, and he was too shrewd to play into the hands of his great enemy. Moreover, Napoleon saw that by a single stroke he could win the good will of America and prevent Jefferson from carrying out his threat of forming an alliance with England. Moved by these considerations, he offered to sell all Louisiana to the Americans. The offer was made to Livingston just before, and repeated soon after, the arrival of Monroe. The price asked was \$20,000,000, and the two Americans had been authorized to offer as much as \$10,000,000 for West Florida and ✓ New Orleans. At length a bargain was made by which America was to pay \$15,000,000 for the entire territory. One fourth of this was to be paid to Americans holding claims against France, while the remaining three fourths were to be paid in six per cent bonds. The famous treaty was signed on April 30, 1803,¹ by Marbois for the French, and by the two Americans, subject to the ratification of their government.

The bargain was a great one for America. It not only precluded all possibility of a foreign power getting a footing on the lower Mississippi; it also secured forever the control of the great river and added to the United States a vast, fertile domain of unknown bounds. As afterward ascertained, Louisiana² contained 1,171,931 square miles — more than all the original thirteen states combined. "You have made a noble bargain for yourselves," said Talleyrand to Livingston, "and I suppose you will make the most of it."

Actual possession soon placed our title to Louisiana beyond dispute; but, strictly speaking, the sale was not legal. Napoleon had agreed to convey to Spain a dukedom on the ✓ **Sale illegal** Arno River, for the son-in-law of the Spanish king, in payment for Louisiana; but the price was never paid. The treaty of Ildefonso also stipulated that France should not cede the territory to any foreign power; but Napoleon disregarded

¹ The English copy was signed a few days later.

² Including Alabama and Mississippi south of 31°. See map showing the Louisiana Purchase.

this. In point of fact, France, therefore, did not own Louisiana; and even if she had owned it, the cession, according to the French Constitution, could not be made without the consent of the Chamber of Deputies, and this the First Consul never obtained and never sought. The French people were astonished at this action of their ruler; but he was the master, and they were powerless.

Far sadder was the wail from Spain. The Spanish government protested feebly, pathetically; but its voice was not heard. The Spaniards believed that they could not hold their American possessions with Louisiana in the hands of the rising free Republic — and they were right. They believed that the news of the cession sounded the death-knell of the Spanish empire — and so it did.

The people of America, on hearing the news from Paris, were astonished at the magnitude of the transaction that gave them such a princely domain. President Jefferson readily saw what the new purchase meant in the future development of America; but, true to his strict construction principles, he pronounced the purchase unconstitutional.¹ This view he expressed by letter to various friends, and he drew up an amendment to the Constitution, giving the government power to incorporate Louisiana with the United States and make it a part thereof, and sent it to his Cabinet. But he was soon alarmed by word from Livingston, who stated that there was reason to fear that Napoleon would change his mind and yet prevent the cession. Jefferson instantly enjoined his friends from saying anything of the constitutional limitations until the transfer was accomplished, after which he advocated that an amendment should be adopted to make the purchase valid. He called Congress to meet in October, six weeks before the usual time, to deal with the great subject. After a brief debate, in which the Democrats took a ground which they would have opposed during the old Federal days, the purchase was ratified, and all thought of amending the Constitution was abandoned.

A formal transfer of the territory was made in December, and before the close of that month a bill for its government was introduced. This bill, which became a law in March, 1804, divided the territory into two parts at the Government
of Louisiana thirty-third parallel. The northern portion, which contained few white inhabitants, was called the District of

¹ It was not so much the purchase as the provision in the treaty providing for its incorporation as a part of the United States that troubled Jefferson.

Louisiana and was put under the government of Indiana Territory, which was governed by the Ordinance of 1787. The southern district, called the Territory of Orleans, contained some fifty thousand people, chiefly French. The inhabitants were given no share in the government. The governor and the secretary were to be appointed by the President for three years, and the judicial officers for four years. This was another long stretch of the Constitution, as Jefferson formerly understood it; but it was practically sustained in 1828 by Chief Justice Marshall when he decided, concerning the inhabitants of Florida, that the people of a territory have no political rights before the territory becomes a state.

One of the interesting features of the debates on the purchase and government of Louisiana arose from the fact that the Federalists planted themselves firmly on the theory of strict construction, while the Democrats occupied the ground of loose construction, formerly held by their opponents.

While Jefferson was yet in Washington's Cabinet, he proposed an exploring expedition to the great Northwest. When elected President he was still thinking of this, and after the purchase of Louisiana Territory, which extended far up the Missouri, he determined to carry out his project. He chose one of his secretaries named Meriwether Lewis to lead the expedition, and Lewis chose Captain William Clark as his associate. After spending a winter in camp near the mouth of the Missouri, the company, numbering about forty men, began their ascent of that river in the spring of 1804. They followed the river until late in October, when they encamped for the winter near the site of Bismarck, North Dakota. Early in the spring they resumed their journey, and in May they came for the first time in view of the Rocky Mountains. On reaching the Columbia, that noble river which Captain Grey had discovered fourteen years before and had named after his ship, they floated with its current. Their journey was full of hardship, but they were repaid with many romantic scenes, — cascades of marvelous beauty and snow-capped mountains skirted at the base with gigantic forests. They met and made friends with many Indian tribes.

On the morning of November 7, 1806, after a journey of a year and a half through the wilderness, they saw for the first time the blue line in the western horizon which told them that the end of their journey was at hand. It was the Pacific Ocean, that vast watery plain on which Balboa had gazed with a swelling soul,

through which Magellan had plowed with his hardy seamen until he had belted the globe. After spending the winter on the coast they returned to the United States, reaching St. Louis in September, 1807. In two and one half years they had traversed nine thousand miles of unbroken wilderness untrodden before by the foot of the white man. Their journal, published a few years later, conveyed much important information on the Great West. It was largely on this expedition of Lewis and Clark that our government forty years later based its claim to the Oregon country, when the settlement was made with Great Britain. At this time (1806) Zebulon Pike made a great exploring tour of the middle West, crossing the plains to the site of Denver, thence turning southward to the head waters of the Rio Grande.

HAMILTON AND BURR

The administration party grew steadily in popular favor until, at the close of the year 1803, Federalism was practically dead outside of New England,¹ and even in that section the Democrats had made gains in every state. The leading New England Federalists viewed the impetuous sweep of democracy with alarm. They had expected to see the ship of state founder under the guidance of the mob and the rabble, and themselves to be soon recalled to the helm; but the country was still prosperous and the democracy was strengthening every hour, while they beheld their own party melting away like snow beneath an April sun. The dying party was led by Senator Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts, former member of the cabinets of Washington and Adams, and Roger Griswold of Connecticut. These men were doubtless honest; but they were too narrow to stand aside and say, If the democracy has the ability to rule, and if a majority prefer a rule of the democracy, give it a fair trial. On the contrary, the greater the success of their opponents, the wilder was their cry against the modern evil of democracy.

The Louisiana Purchase was now made the pretext for a conspiracy to dissolve the Union. With this great territory carved into growing states, the West and the South will overshadow and rule the East, said the conspirators, and there is nothing left but to shatter the whole structure and set up a New England Confederacy.² Pick-

Career of
Aaron Burr

¹ Except in Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, where it still held on feebly.

² An admirable account of this conspiracy is given by Henry Adams, Vol. II, Chap. VIII. This historian was a grandson of John Quincy Adams, Pickering's colleague in the Senate, but who was wholly averse to disunion.

ering made known his scheme to such Federalists as George Cabot and Fisher Ames ; but these men, while also alarmed at the rising tide of democracy, pronounced the scheme of disunion unpracticable. In spite of this discouragement the leaders pressed on, and in addition to New England they decided that they must have New York. But New York was Democratic, and they could hope to win the state only through some disaffected member of that party ; and they soon found him in the person of Vice President Burr.

It was an opportune moment to approach Aaron Burr. He was in the midst of a terrific political battle in New York, where the great ruling families of Clintons and Livingstons had combined against him, and to these were added the power of the administration ; and Burr saw that the battle was going against him. Burr was a restless soul. His patriotism was shallow. He had no fear of the democracy, and yet, when approached by the Federalists who disclosed their scheme of breaking up the Union, proposed to make him their leader if he would give them New York, and, as an earnest of their good intentions, offered to support him for the governorship of that state at the coming election, he fell in with their plans, though cautiously and with few promises. His probable motives were twofold : to gratify his personal ambition, and to be revenged on his political adversaries.

It was believed by many that Burr could be elected, if supported by the Federalists and by his personal following in his own party. And probably he would have succeeded but for one obstacle that proved to be fatal. Alexander Hamilton was the obstacle. Hamilton was no friend of disunion, though he believed democracy to be a disease ; and further, he and Burr had for years been political and personal rivals, almost enemies, and nothing could now persuade him to join a movement which meant to give Burr a leadership over himself. He professed to believe that Burr was a dangerous man ; his opinions were published in the newspapers, and they influenced many voters. Burr was defeated by the Clinton-Livingston candidate, and the disunion conspiracy was broken to fragments ; but the remaining malcontents, the dregs of a once noble party, continued to rail against popular government of the Jeffersonian type until ten years later, when they met political death in the Hartford Convention.

Aaron Burr brooded over his downfall. Nothing was more certain than that his political fortunes in New York and in the

**Burr's
defeat**

nation were shattered beyond repair. He felt that he would have won in this battle had it not been for Hamilton, who prevented his receiving the full Federalist vote. Nor was this the first time that Hamilton had thwarted his ambitions. The more Burr brooded over the matter, the more he blamed Hamilton for all his misfortunes, and he desperately resolved to get rid of his great enemy. He challenged Hamilton to a duel.

The
challenge

Dueling was common in those days. The great public had not yet come to see that the practice is wrong. It smiled on it, applauded it, and branded the man as a coward who refused to meet his antagonist on "the field of honor." And the average man was too much of a real coward to endure being called a coward. Hamilton had lost a son in a duel the year before. He knew that Burr was far more adept with a pistol than himself; yet he could not flout the false code of honor of that day; he had not the moral courage to defy public opinion and refuse to fight a duel. He accepted the challenge.

In the gray dawn of that sultry summer day, the two men with their seconds rowed silently across the Hudson, and as the earliest rays of the rising sun streamed through the trees, they stood face to face on the old dueling ground under the rocky heights of Weehawken. Hamilton seemed undecided and vacillating; Burr was keen-eyed and determined. At the signal to fire, but one shot was heard, and Hamilton fell upon his face, shot through the body. As he fell his pistol was fired into the air some feet above Burr's head, whether accidentally or not was never known. He had said to a friend that he intended to throw away his first fire. His friends now bore the wounded statesman back to his home in the city. Next morning he was dead.

The duel,
July 11,
1804

Aaron Burr may have felt a thrill of the joy of victory at the fall of his great rival at Weehawken. He did not foresee that his fatal bullet would add a luster for all time to the name of his fallen victim, and would cover his own with indelible dishonor. He did not foresee that the ghost of Hamilton would pursue him like a Nemesis from land to land, would mark his every project with failure, would hound his footsteps for thirty years, until at last, aged and tottering, he would sink into the grave, the victim and not the conqueror of the fatal duel at Weehawken.

New York and the nation were shocked at the death of Hamilton. The great untrained public had applauded dueling, but it was costly sport when such an intellectual light as Hamilton

became its victim. This great giant, the public, like a petulant child that takes vengeance on the plaything with which he has injured himself, felt the wound and grew angry and demanded a victim — and Burr became the victim.

When the people of New York learned that Burr had practiced with his pistol for some weeks before the duel, with the evident intention, not of retrieving his honor, but of killing his rival, he was denounced as a murderer. He fled to Philadelphia, but here public opinion was equally against him, and he went to the South. Some months later he returned northward, hoping to find public feeling allayed; but not finding it so, he decided on a tour of the West. He crossed the mountains to Pittsburg, whence he floated down the Ohio to Marietta. He then visited the long, low island in the river a few miles below Marietta, where lived, with his wife, a romantic Irish gentleman named Blennerhassett. Burr proceeded down the river to the site of Louisville and crossed the country to Nashville, where he was received by Andrew Jackson. Next we find him at New Orleans secretly conferring with some of the leading men of the city.

What was Burr's object in making this western tour? Many who knew of his restless ambition fully believed that he was engaged in a conspiracy for selfish ends — no less than to sever the Mississippi Valley from the East, and to set up an independent nation with himself at its head. Burr had good ground to hope for success in this vast undertaking. There was a widespread belief that the East and the West would at some future time become separate nations.¹ Burr was popular west of the mountains, and even in the East he still had friends in responsible positions. Senators Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, John Smith of Ohio, General James Wilkinson, commander of the army, and many men of lesser note readily joined in his plot.²

Late in the year 1805 Burr returned to the East, and during his few months' stay he made prodigious efforts to enlist recruits

¹ As an example of this belief take the following excerpt from Jefferson's *Annals*, Sawvel ed., p. 222. He stated that while Adams was President he refused to recommend the building of a college in Tennessee, "because he saw no possibility of continuing the Union of the states . . . could not recommend to the people of New England to promote a literary institute in the South, that it was giving strength to those who were to be their enemies."

² Mr. W. F. McCaleb in his *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 1903, reaches a different conclusion from that commonly believed. He claims that Burr sought only to head a filibustering expedition against Spanish possessions, that he had no design of severing the Union, and that the charges of treason rested on the testimony of Wilkinson, who was more at fault than Burr.

for his project. He visited the English minister, and sought to secure Great Britain's aid, but without success. He called upon old friends, army and navy officials, and on many whom he believed to have some grievance against the government. His success was meager, however, and he returned to the Ohio Valley in August, 1806, taking with him his charming daughter, Theodosia, now Mrs. Alston, wife of the governor of South Carolina. Leaving her with Mrs. Blennerhassett, whose husband was deeply involved in his plot, Burr, with great energy, began building boats and arming men for his expedition against Mexico, as he led the rank and file to believe. Everything seemed to promise success, when suddenly, as by a thunderbolt from a clear sky, the whole plan was shattered and annihilated. The explosion came in the form of a presidential proclamation.

President Jefferson had been slow to believe that anything serious was going on; but when he was at length convinced of Burr's perfidy, he issued a proclamation calling for the arrest of all persons engaged in the scheme. **The arrest**

Wilkinson then betrayed Burr, whom he had promised to support, and others followed his example until Burr found himself abandoned and a fugitive from the hand of the law. He floated down the Mississippi to a point near Natchez, where he learned that Wilkinson, who was at New Orleans, had betrayed him and was planning for his arrest. Burr now saw that the game was up, and sought only to escape. He landed on the east bank of the river, exchanged clothes with a boatman, and with a single guide attempted to make his way through the wilderness to the seacoast, whence he hoped to embark for a foreign land. But he was captured in northern Alabama and carried to Richmond, Virginia, for trial.¹

The famous prisoner arrived in Richmond in March, 1807, and the great trial in the United States Circuit Court, Chief Justice John Marshall in the chair, was begun some weeks later. The administration became the prosecutor, while the Federalists, true to their instincts of opposition, generally sided with the accused. The contest almost became a personal one between President Jefferson and Chief Justice Marshall, who bore each other no good will. Marshall summoned the President to be a witness, but the latter refused to leave his public duties. This action of the Chief Justice was generally condemned, even by his friends.

Burr was a lawyer of great ability, and besides, he secured

¹ For a fuller account see Elson, *Side Lights*, Series I, Chap. VII.

able legal talent led by Edmund Randolph, a former member of Washington's Cabinet, and Luther Martin, the rugged "bulldog" statesman from Maryland. The leader of the
The trial opposite side was the brilliant young lawyer, William Wirt. The outcome of the trial was believed to lie largely in the hands of Marshall, and his rulings were generally favorable to Burr. The jury acquitted the prisoner on technical grounds, nor was it possible to convict him of a misdemeanor.

Jefferson was deeply disappointed at the result. He believed that Marshall had brought it about from pure dislike of himself. It is a strange fact that these two great Virginians, whose memory America still delights to honor, were ever suspicious of each other, and neither ever valued the other at his real worth.

Of Burr's guilt few had any doubt, but for want of proof he was acquitted by the jury. His reputation, however, was utterly blasted, and from this time, if not from the time of Hamilton's death, he was despised above all public men in America. After the trial he went to Baltimore and stayed with a friend, but he fled from the city by night to escape the fury of a gathering mob. Finding no rest for the sole of his foot in America, he took ship for Europe under an assumed name. There he wandered for four years; but his Nemesis pursued him. He found neither friends nor rest, and at times he was in want of the necessaries of life. Returning to his native land in the spring of 1812, he found at last that the public, now about to engage in a war with England, took little notice of him, and he engaged quietly in his profession, earning a fair living until old age and disease disabled him; but he never regained the confidence of the public.

IMPRESSMENT OF SEAMEN

The reelection of Jefferson in 1804 was a grand triumph of the democracy; and yet not wholly this, for Jefferson had already proved himself not only a Democrat, not only a state-rights Republican, but also a nationalist. The purchase of Louisiana was an act of national sovereignty such as the most ardent Federalist would scarcely have dreamed of five years before. By this act, as well as by his conciliatory policy, Jefferson won thousands of his opponents without alienating the members of his own party. Of all the presidential elections save one, since the days of Washington, that of 1805 came nearest being unanimous. Jefferson and his colleague, George Clinton, received all the electoral votes except fourteen, which were cast for the

Federalist candidates, C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King. But the trying time in the life of the President was yet to come, and that was in connection with our foreign relations. France had failed to give boundaries to the great tract of land that she had sold to the United States. Livingston was at first chagrined that he had acquired the west bank only of the Mississippi when he had been authorized to purchase the east bank. But he soon found a way out of his dilemma by claiming the east bank, or West Florida, also, as a part of Louisiana. His example was followed by the administration; and thus began a series of negotiations that covered several years. Spain protested vehemently against this claim of the United States, but Spain lay prostrate at the feet of Napoleon. Jefferson at length abandoned this claim and sought to purchase the coveted territory.¹ Seeing that it was France and not Spain with whom he had to deal, he suggested offering the former a sum of money for the rights of Spain in Florida, with an implied threat of making an alliance with England in case of refusal. Congress voted \$2,000,000 for such a purpose. But suddenly all thought of a British alliance was scattered to the winds. England revived the old rule known as the Rule of 1756.

France and England were again at war, and the former was not permitted by the Mistress of the Seas to trade with her own colonies. France, therefore, threw open her colonial trade to neutrals, a thing she did not ordinarily do in time of peace. In consequence the Americans built up a great trade with the French West Indies; and as most of the other nations of Europe were embroiled in the war and could not trade under their own flags, the United States became the carrier for the world. But this was all changed by the revival of this old Rule of 1756, by which a neutral was not permitted to enjoy in time of war that which was not permitted in time of peace. In view of the fact that American ships were supplying the wants of England's enemies, one can scarcely blame England for enforcing this old rule. But it raised a cry of despair in America. Thousands of mariners and merchants suddenly found their occupation gone and themselves face to face with ruin.

Revival of
the Rule of
1756

But this was not all. The impressment of American seamen into the British navy was now at its height. This practice had fallen into the background during the short season of peace

¹ He did not formally or officially abandon the claim, but he practically did so by making this offer.

between France and England that ended in 1803, but with the renewal of the war it had been revived with alarming vigor. The British ministry had refused America's repeated offers to arrange for a mutual exchange of deserters. In the most high-handed manner a British captain would overhaul an American merchantman on the sea or in port, muster the crew before him, and choose whom he would for the British service; and too often native Americans, or men whose speech showed plainly that they were not Englishmen, were seized. Old revolutionary soldiers complained that their sons were thus forced to fight the battles of England. One old soldier, whose sons had been impressed, had served through the war, had lain for fifteen months in a British prison, and had lost his estate by means of the war. He wrote a bitter complaint to Congress stating that if this was the kind of liberty he had gained, he had rather be without it.¹

These two questions — England's decision concerning the trade of neutrals, and the impressment of seamen — called from Jefferson a special message to Congress, reciting these wrongs; and this was followed two months later by a non-importation act, limiting our trade with Great Britain. This measure passed in spite of the determined opposition of the erratic, sarcastic John Randolph, who had broken friendship with the administration. Randolph made a powerful speech, and pointed out one great fact that many had not yet seen, namely, that Great Britain was now really fighting for liberty, that she was the only remaining obstacle in the path of the ambition of that mighty despot who had risen in France.

Even President Jefferson seemed to be cringing before the French Emperor. At Napoleon's command he abandoned the American claims against the court of Spain, and forbade American vessels to trade with the rebellious French colony of Santo Domingo. Why? Not from fear, but because his heart was set on obtaining West Florida, and he knew that Bonaparte alone could grant his wishes or deny them. The latter, knowing Jefferson's desires, played upon this string for several years; when he wished some humiliating service from the American President, he held up the prize before his eyes, then again he would withdraw it.² At length Jefferson grew impatient and threatened an alliance with Eng-

**Treaty
rejected**

¹ Schouler, Vol. II, p. 102.

² A few years later the United States actually seized West Florida; but the occupation was not considered legal by foreign powers. In 1819, when Spain ceded Florida to the United States, West Florida was included in the cession, and the United States accepted it in order to gain a legal title.

land, ignoring the fact that the impressment business was increasing. But when the Rule of 1756 was revived by the British government, and when not only our sailors, but even our ships were ruthlessly seized by the British,¹ even Jefferson could endure it no longer. And still he was for peace. Instead of threatening war, he quietly sent James Monroe and William Pinkney to London to make a treaty in place of the portions of the Jay Treaty which had expired. A treaty was soon framed, and it reached America in the spring of 1807; but as the English ministry had refused to renounce the right of search, — and to secure this had been the chief object in sending the two men to London, — Jefferson rejected the treaty without sending it to the Senate.

Before midsummer of that year an event occurred that stirred American society as it had not been stirred since the days of the Revolution. It is known as the affair of the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*.

Three colored men had deserted from the *Melampus*, an English vessel, and had enlisted in the *Chesapeake*, a United States frigate of thirty-eight guns, then fitting out for the Mediterranean under Commodore Barron. The British minister, Erskine, requested their surrender; but Jefferson refused, because, first, England had declined to arrange for the surrender of deserters, and, second, the three men, as the President believed, and as was afterward proved, were all American born, two of whom had been wrongfully impressed from an American vessel in the Bay of Biscay. Upon this Admiral Berkeley, British commander in American waters, issued from Halifax an order commanding the British captains to search the *Chesapeake* and take the men by force.

A few weeks later the *Chesapeake* dropped down to Hampton Roads and put to sea. At the same time the *Leopard*, an English two-decker of fifty guns, stood out to sea. She then bore down upon the *Chesapeake*, and her commander demanded the surrender of the three deserters, producing at the same time Berkeley's order to search the American vessel in case of refusal. Barron replied that he had no knowledge of such deserters, and that the crew of a United States war vessel could be mustered by their own officers alone. The captain of the *Leopard* then shouted through a trumpet, "Commodore Barron must be aware that the orders of the admiral must be obeyed." Next came a solid shot across the bow of the *Chesapeake*, and another; and these were followed

The *Leopard*
and the
Chesapeake,
1807

¹ Within three years, ending with 1807, 349 American ships were captured by the British. Gordy, Vol. I, p. 440.

by a broadside. Barron was utterly surprised. He was unprepared to return the compliment, and after twelve minutes of a raking fire, three of his crew lying dead upon the deck and eighteen wounded, he hauled down the American flag and surrendered his vessel. The crew was now mustered before the British officers, and the three deserters from the *Melampus* were secured.¹

✓ Hitherto only merchantmen were overhauled at sea by British captains; but here was an attack on a United States war vessel, which represented the sovereignty of the nation. The people of the whole country, including the Federalists, flared up with indignation, and there was scarcely a city or a town in the Union that did not pass resolutions denouncing the attack as a dastardly outrage. Jefferson issued a proclamation ordering all English cruisers to leave American waters, and a demand was made upon Great Britain to disavow the act and to make reparation. The British ministry promptly disavowed the attack and sent George Rose to make reparation; but his instructions were such that the United States refused to treat with him. He was instructed to demand the recall of the President's message and the punishment of Commodore Barron for receiving the deserters. His mission came to naught, and the matter hung fire for several years.² Barron was afterwards punished with five years' suspension from service, not for receiving the deserters, but for neglect of duty in not being ready to defend the *Chesapeake*.

FRENCH DECREES AND ENGLISH ORDERS IN COUNCIL

The war now raging in Europe was tremendous. The British nation was superior to the French, and would have crushed it but for the genius of one man, Napoleon Bonaparte. This wonderful man had laid Europe at his feet, and had boasted that his will should be the law of the world. He even had the temerity to dispute the dominion of the sea with the powerful navy of England; but his hopes, in this line, were utterly crushed in 1805 by the victory of Nelson at Trafalgar. Even this seemed not to daunt Napoleon in his vast plans; he rose above this defeat with the audacity of

Berlin
Decree,
November
21, 1806

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¹ Two other men, real deserters from the British service, were also taken. One of them, named Ratford, was afterward hanged at Halifax. The colored men were reprieved on their promise to reënter the British service. More than a year before this, a shot from the British ship *Leander*, in the New York harbor, killed a man on an offending coaster. This had caused great excitement, but nothing to compare with that caused by the *Leopard*.

² Five years after this occurrence the three impressed Americans were replaced on the *Chesapeake*.

genius. He overthrew the Austrians at Ulm and Austerlitz, and the Prussians at Jena; and he now determined to starve the island kingdom by closing its ports to the commerce of the world. He issued from Berlin, Germany, the "Berlin Decree," declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade, making prize of war all merchandise produced by England or her colonies, and declaring that no ship that touched at an English port should be admitted to a port of France or her allies.¹

The news of this decree reached England at the moment when Monroe and Pinkney were about to sign their tentative treaty with that country; and the English agents now appended to the treaty a protest against the decree of Napoleon, and reserved the right of the British government to retaliate in case neutral nations submitted to it. For taking such a position England could not be blamed; but far otherwise was her action a week later. Without waiting to see what "neutral nations," which meant the United States, would do, she issued an Order in Council, closing to neutrals all ports under French control. This order, with the Berlin Decree, struck a terrible blow at American commerce; but this was not all. Late in the autumn of the same year (1807), while the American people were still raving over the *Chesapeake* affair, the English issued an Order in Council which was a violation of international law, and which struck at the very foundations of American sovereignty. By this order any neutral vessel trading at a European port from which British ships were excluded was required first to stop at an English port and pay a duty, and this must be repeated on the return voyage. The object of this order, as acknowledged by the English premier, was not simply to cripple Napoleon, but to protect British trade from the rising commercial power of the United States. No self-respecting people could obey such a decree, and it is certain that this order would not have been issued had our country then been able to protect itself against all comers.

Napoleon waited but a few weeks after this order was issued before sending forth from Milan, in retaliation, one of his famous decrees, declaring that any vessel having been searched or having paid a tax at a British port, might be seized in any French port as a lawful prize.

Order in
Council,
January 7,
1807

Milan
Decree

¹ This was part of his so-called "Continental System," a combining of the continental powers to break down England. This decree had been preceded by Napoleon's closing the ports of Bremen and Hamburg to British commerce, and by England's declaring a blockade of the coast from Brest to the Elbe, May, 1806.

These orders and decrees were aimed at America as the only neutral worth considering; not that either of the great belligerents wished to provoke America to war, nor that either bore malice toward the American people or government. But it is true that each sought to draw the United States into a war with the other, and failing in this each showed a contempt for American rights that would not have been shown toward a first-class power.

What now could America do? Three ways were open: first, to ignore the French decrees and the English orders, but such a course would have resulted in an alarming destruction of American shipping and practically in sweeping it from the seas; second, to make war on both France and England, the two most powerful nations of the earth, a course that might have resulted in the downfall of the Republic while still in its youth; third, to refuse to trade with either of the offending powers, and this at the cost of ruining thousands of our merchants, and throwing tens of thousands of sailors and laborers out of employment. Which road should be chosen? Jefferson was preëminently a man of peace; he had a mortal fear of a national debt and of endangering liberty by strengthening the union. And besides, Jefferson had a theory, an original theory, and here was his opportunity to give it a trial. He believed that the nations of the world would live at peace with us from motives of self-interest; that these two would rescind their hateful decrees rather than lose American trade. Offer a bone to two bull-dogs fighting, and they will take little notice of the bone; they will still fight. So with France and England. Their struggle was a death struggle, and they could not turn aside for the little that America had to offer. Jefferson had this yet to learn, and he had to learn it by experience. He chose the third mentioned of the three ways. He chose not to trade with the offending powers — to lay an embargo on American commerce.

THE EMBARGO

On the 22d of December, 1807, one of the most remarkable measures in the annals of Congress was enacted into law, in accordance with a secret message of the President; and the fact that a measure so undemocratic in its nature and so extraordinary in its requirements passed both houses by great majorities, and almost without debate, showed the wonderful power with which the President still swayed his party. This was the

most rigorous and arbitrary piece of national legislation, as regards private property, ever enacted in the United States.¹ By this law an embargo was laid, for an indefinite time, on all foreign commerce, and by it every man in the country engaged in foreign trade was deprived of his occupation. Except among the few remaining Federalists, the embargo was well received at first. But it was not long before the coasting vessels, which were not inhibited by the act, were engaged in smuggling goods into Canada and into Spanish Florida, and indeed many of them sailed to transatlantic ports. This led to a supplementary act in January, by which coasters were put under heavy bonds and made subject to severe penalties. Other supplementary acts were passed from time to time, each more severe than the preceding, until at length all foreign trade by land or sea was made illegal. As the summer of 1808 passed, and the people saw that neither France nor England gave any sign of yielding, the embargo became very unpopular, and they did everything possible to evade the law. They traded with France through Florida and with England through Canada. Barrels of flour in stacks were placed on a hillside near the Canadian boundary line, when "accidentally" they were started rolling across the line until all were safe on Canadian soil. The people, especially in New England, threatened rebellion and disunion. Jefferson exhibited wonderful courage and vigor in carrying out his measure. He placed troops along the Canadian border; he patrolled the Atlantic coast with gunboats and frigates; he enjoined the governors of states to call out the militia to enforce the law where necessary. The scene was a distressing one. Ships lay rotting in the harbors. Wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, and other articles of produce were piled in the barns of the northern farmer and the southern planter and along the wharves of every seaport.

After the embargo had operated for more than a year, and still there were many evasions of the law, an Enforcing Act was passed by Congress January 9, 1809. By this law no coasting vessel could be loaded until the owner had given a bond for six times the value of the ship and the proposed cargo; any produce being moved "apparently" toward foreign territory was subject to seizure, and the officials were to be supported by the army and navy of the United States. Such legislation was drastic in the extreme; yet Jefferson did not shrink for an instant from putting it into operation. But

Enforcement
Act

¹ There were other embargoes at other times, but they were always limited to a definite time, a very few months.

his great popularity was on the wane. The South bore its burden with scarcely a murmur; but in New York and New England, where his hand fell more heavily, the President was denounced as a ruthless tyrant. When the Embargo Act was first passed, the legislature of Massachusetts was Democratic, and it pronounced the act a "wise and highly expedient measure." But the Federalists now had control of the legislature, and it denounced the embargo in unsparing terms. So in Delaware, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.¹ Jefferson was not insensible to these denunciations. Six days before he retired from office he signed an act repealing the Embargo Act, and on the day of the inauguration of James Madison the period of the odious law came to an end. In place of it, however, an act of non-intercourse with France and Great Britain was passed.

Most historians regard the planning and carrying out of the embargo the great blunder of Jefferson's life. To this opinion we cannot fully subscribe. It was a drastic measure, it is true, and it scattered to the winds Jefferson's old strict construction theories; it brought ruin to thousands of honest business men; it emptied the treasury, and paralyzed the energy of the nation; it almost overthrew the Democratic party, and threatened the foundations of the Republic; but it was a last resort to avoid war, and with all its disastrous effects it was no doubt better than a war with both France and England. It was an experiment, and experiments are often useful, even though they fail. It taught the people *not* to rely on commercial restrictions, and such a lesson was needed. Jefferson saw many of his best friends alienated; he saw his popularity waning and his fortune in Virginia greatly impaired; but he never wavered in his self-chosen duty.

The effect of the embargo on France was very slight. It even brought from Napoleon the Bayonne Decree, ordering the seizure of all American ships found in French, Spanish, or Italian waters. He explained that, as American vessels were forbidden to leave their own ports, he was only assisting Jefferson to enforce the embargo. As a result of this kindly act, Napoleon was enabled to seize and confiscate over two hundred American ships.

The effect of the embargo on England was more marked, but not so marked as had been hoped. It brought great suffering to the poor in the manufacturing cities; but it proved an advantage to shipping interests and to land owners, whose crops brought double their usual prices. But England suffered a permanent loss from the fact that the embargo turned the people of New

¹ H. V. Ames, *State Documents*, No. 1, pp. 26-42.

England to manufacturing, and from this small beginning that branch of industry has grown until the New World rivals the Old in manufactories.

CHARACTER OF JEFFERSON

Of all the public characters in our early history, Jefferson is the most difficult to classify.¹ He was many-sided, and his public life was full of contradictions.² He had organized a new party as the champion of the people's liberty, and as a state-rights Republican; but no other President interfered so much with personal liberty, and few have come so near to driving the states into open rebellion.³ These conditions, however, were brought about by foreign wars, and had no place in Jefferson's original purpose. His enemies pronounced Jefferson a doctrinaire and an impractical idealist, and they were in some measure right. In consequence of his ideals, which he attempted to carry out in practice, he made many blunders. His statesmanship was farsighted in its ultimate aims, but not always so in its means of attaining an end. His dread of a national debt was almost child-like, while his anti-military and anti-naval policies were far in advance of his age.

Two convictions had Thomas Jefferson. Both were vast in scope and revolutionary in human government. To carry out

¹ **Jefferson's Religion and Learning.**—There has been much dispute about the religious belief of President Jefferson: Many of his contemporaries were of the opinion that he was an atheist, or at least an infidel; but this was erroneous, and it had its origin in the part he played in disestablishing the church in Virginia, and in certain excerpts from his writings. While Jefferson was a vestryman in the Episcopal church for many years, to the time of his death, he was very broad in his religious views, and made no quarrel with his neighbor for believing "in one God or twenty gods." He had no patience with Puritanism, and his strife with the New England clergy ended only with his public life. There is no doubt that he was sincere and even devout. He pronounced Christianity the purest and sublimest system of morals ever delivered to man. To John Adams he wrote: "An atheist I can never be. I am a Christian in the only sense Christ ever wished one to be." He was doubtless a man of pure morals, notwithstanding the attacks of some of his enemies.

Jefferson was very studious. His learning was remarkable for its compass, and could scarcely be equaled in his times. It was said that he "could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin." One of his biographers quotes a northern man who spoke thus of Jefferson: "When he spoke of law, I thought he was a lawyer; when he talked about mechanics, I was sure he was an engineer; when he got into medicine, it was evident that he was a physician; when he discussed theology, I was convinced that he must be a clergyman; when he talked literature, I made up my mind that I had run against a college professor who knew everything." Even Buffon, the naturalist, wrote him, "I should have consulted you before publishing my natural history, and then I should have been sure of the facts."

² Henry Adams, Vol. I, p. 277.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 454.

these two he devoted his life, and on these he staked his reputation. One was his belief that the nations can live in harmony — without war. In this belief he destroyed his ships and disbanded his armies. In this belief he sacrificed his popularity, his fortune, and his friends. The time will come — perhaps it is near at hand — when human warfare will be a tragedy of the past; when armies and navies will be needed no longer; when an enlightened race will reject the barbarous methods of a crude civilization of by-gone ages — and then Jefferson will be remembered as a pioneer, a voice crying in the wilderness.

The other principle to which the genius of Jefferson was devoted may be expressed in the one word — Democracy. This was his chief idol, and without this his type of statesmanship had no excuse for existence. The claim, made by many, that state rights was a cardinal object of Jefferson's devotion, is erroneous. He was a strong friend of state rights, it is true, not from state pride, nor from a local and limited patriotism; but because he saw, and was the first to see, that the power of the states was the most promising safeguard against the threatened encroachment of the national government. State rights was therefore but a means to an end with Jefferson. Why should he care more for state rights than for county rights or township rights, except in so far as they promoted the great object for which he entered public life — to secure the rule of the democracy?

Again, Jefferson had founded his party on the theory of strict construction, and to this day shallow historians assert that he failed in the great aim of his life, because he gradually abandoned his theory of constitutional interpretation and adopted the old Federal doctrine of loose construction. In sober truth, Jefferson cared nothing for strict construction. It was to him, like state rights, only a tool, a weapon, the means of gaining an end, and that end was the triumph of Democracy. I may even go farther and say that Jefferson was not an enemy to a strong central government. His life-work bears out this statement, though his words often contradict it. He first opposed a strong government because he feared that it would foster class rule, to the exclusion of the masses, and his life struggle was against class rule. No longer did Jefferson oppose a strong government when it was the creation of the people, and existed at their pleasure and for their good; but he was an unrelenting foe to such a government by any power except the power of those who were to be governed. Jefferson studied into the European monarchies till his heart was sick with loathing at their corruptions and their tyrannies. He

believed that the human mind was dwarfed by over-government and oppression, and that the remedy lay in self-government.

So great was Jefferson's popularity at times that many were led to believe that his chief object was to win popular applause, rather than to serve his country. Let us examine. If devoted to self-interest, why did he, an eldest son, abolish the law of entail and of primogeniture in Virginia? Why did he, a slaveholder, oppose slavery all his life? If a seeker of popular applause, why did he appear in no northern city during the last thirty years of his life, including his entire presidency? Why did he suppress the date of his own birth in order to abolish the monarchical practice, as he termed it, of celebrating the birthdays of public men? These are not the acts of a time server or a self seeker.

Jefferson, on becoming President, could not always carry out his theories, and he often found himself standing on old Federalist ground. He became nationalized by the responsibility of power. His statement, that the chief object of government was to restrain men from injuring one another, had to be modified; but this did not indicate a change of principles; it was a rising to an emergency, an adjusting of his sails to the veering of the wind. With all his changing he never changed in the one thing, the idol of his heart, the passion of his life, — his desire for a rule of the democracy. To this principle he was as constant as the northern star.

It was the genius of Jefferson above all men that instilled the spirit of democracy into American life and put the seal of true republicanism on the nation's institutions. Democracy has won in the United States, and the spirit of its founder lives in all our political parties. He stamped his individuality on the American nation more than any other man. Democracy is supreme in this country. In all matters of government the people rule, except where their own lethargy has suffered the political boss to gain a temporary ascendancy. If combinations of wealth or other interests gain control of the government, it is because the people do not use the machinery that is in their hands. We have also nationality, strong and firm; but this has its being only at the will of the democracy. All constitutions, laws, congresses, and courts are subject to this great, final, national tribunal — the People. No statesman can rise above and disregard this power; no act of Congress is so stable that it may not be ground to powder by the ponderous weight of public opinion. This vast being, the Public, has discovered his strength, and it was Thomas Jefferson above all men who awakened him to self-consciousness,

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CHAPTER XVI

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND EARLY PROGRESS

HAVING traced our political and military history to this point, it will now be desirable to go back a few decades and gather up some of the neglected threads of the story of our early national life. Much that has been said in our chapter on colonial life will still apply, for the American of 1800 bore more resemblances to the colonist of 1700 than to the American of our own times, especially in his social and industrial life. At the opening of the nineteenth century we still find a nation of farmers, of poor roads, and of undeveloped postal service. Many of the comforts and necessities so highly prized by us were unknown at that period. In no respect has our progress been more striking than in the means of travel and communication, in which the world made almost no improvement for two thousand years. To-day one can take a richly furnished sleeping car at Philadelphia in the evening and awaken the next morning at Pittsburg, or Buffalo, or Boston. Or one may travel by automobile or airplane. In the early days the journeys made by stage coach were long and laborious, and people traveled little as compared with the endless hurry to and fro of all classes in our own times. Of those who sought a home in the Great Valley beyond the mountains, few were ever seen again by friends and kindred who remained in the East.

SWARMING ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS

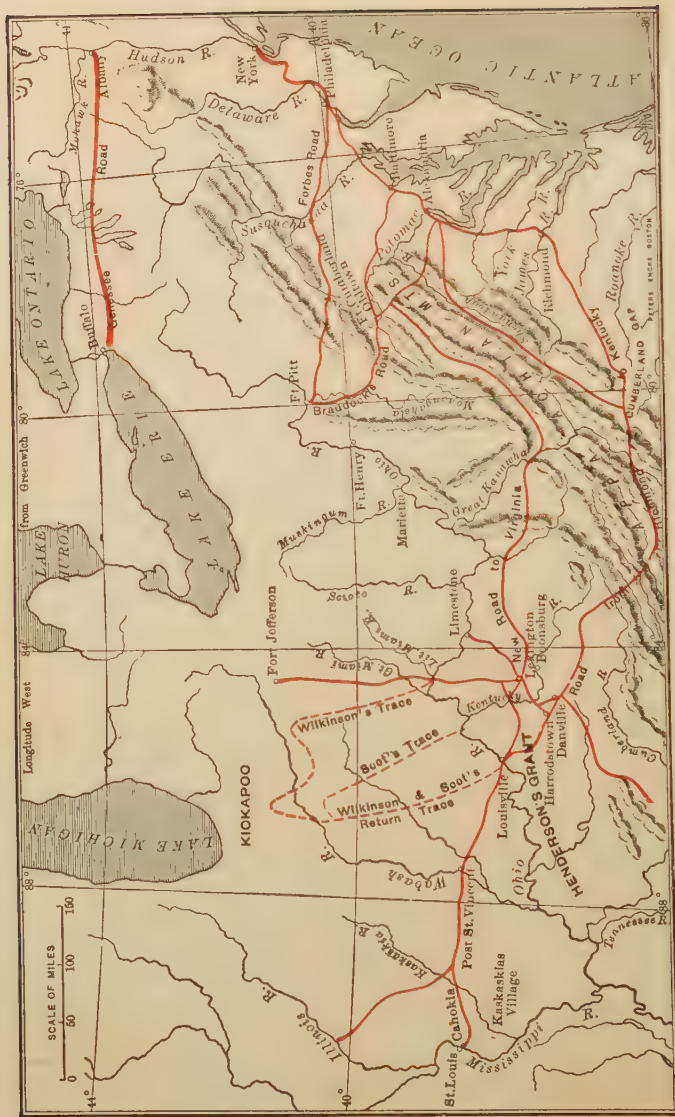
The perils of the early settlers of Virginia and New England were again encountered two centuries later by the men who settled in the great valley of the Ohio and the Mississippi. They had to hew out their homes in the great forest, to fell the giant timbers, and to encounter the wild animal and the wild Indian. They were a hardy race, the Americans of that day; they were strong, self-reliant, and full of the spirit of independence and individualism. Scarcely had the treaty at the close of the Revolution given to the new republic the vast domain extending to

the Father of Waters, when the eyes of great numbers of people of the sea-board states turned toward the West. The treaty, itself, was a source of boundless inspiration. Here was a continent to be developed, not by the doling out of a royal hand, but by the initiative of a free people, a self-governing democracy. No royal dynasty was here to oppress the people, as in many of the countries of Europe, no idle aristocracy or profligate nobility to exploit the industries and remind the toiler of his humble station. And yonder beyond the mountains were millions of unclaimed acres of virgin soil!

The advance guard of the western movement was the hunter or trapper. He had no family and no home. Dressed in a hunting shirt and leggings of deerskin, with his long-barreled rifle in his hand and a keen-bladed knife in his belt, on foot or on horseback, alone or perchance with one or two companions, he made his way into the dark forest. Here perhaps for months he pursued the life that he loved above all things. Then he packed the peltries, carried them to some trading station where he sold them, and purchased supplies for his next trip.

After the hunter came the temporary settler, called the "squatter," the "backwoodsman," or the "bushwhacker." He loved the wild life of the woods; he could not endure the restraints of civilized society. With his family he went far from human habitation and built his cabin among the trees. With no pretense of owning the land, he might clear an acre or two and raise some vegetables, but his chief food was wild game. If he had a horse and a few cattle or hogs, they found their subsistence on the wild range. When permanent settlers came into the neighborhood, the squatter moved farther into the wilderness. He was not a savage, nor even a barbarian; he was a primitive man living in prehistoric times. After him came the migrant farmer, who remained longer, perhaps, but eventually moved on and gave way to the permanent settler.

The permanent settlers came sometimes by single families, sometimes by small groups. Their object was to build permanent homes, to found new communities, and to foster civilization. During the first two or three decades after the adoption of the Constitution, great numbers of people made their way from the East to the lands beyond the Alleghanies. The usual vehicle for the journey was the heavy wagon with its high-arched canvas covering — the



ROADS AND TRAILS WESTWARD TO THE MISSISSIPPI

covered wagon. This was loaded with food for the journey, with seeds for planting on arrival, and with a few tools, farm implements, and cooking utensils, room being reserved for the family. Behind the wagon trotted the family dog. Bidding good-by to kindred, friends, and neighbors — usually a good-by for life — leaving behind them the old home with its fond memories, and the cemetery with its willows where their ancestors lay, these sturdy pioneers set their faces toward the land of the sunset.

The journey was long and full of hardships. The roads were little more than widened Indian trails. Often the men were obliged to hew away logs that had fallen across the road, or to cut saplings to fill ruts and quagmires.

The covered wagon

At evening the emigrant family camped near a stream or a spring of water, built a campfire, cooked and ate their supper and, wrapped in robes, found their sleeping place in or around the wagon. The horses, after being hobbled lest they stray too far, were turned loose to forage for themselves. Such a journey was not always so lonely as we might think. There were many emigrant families moving in the same direction, and they often met one another and encamped at the same spot.

Before leaving his eastern home, perhaps the settler had purchased from the government or from some land agent, for two or three dollars an acre, a small farm on the installment plan. Arriving at their destination, the family would continue to live in the covered wagon until a hut or cabin could be built, usually a temporary one to be replaced by a better one in a year or two. The next step was to clear away a patch of ground and make it ready for spring planting. If industrious and thrifty, the farmer would add several acres to his clearings each year; he would build a stable and a corncrib. The farm would become more productive; the farmer at length would build a good house and abandon the cabin. Such was the experience of the ancestors of many of our leading men and women of to-day.

Sometimes the pioneer settled many miles from the nearest neighbor and the loneliness of the family was overwhelming. At length other families settled nearby lands, and still others. A town grew up. Then came ministers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, merchants. Schools and churches were built. The community was transformed and the comforts of life were multiplied. The farm of the early settler became worth thousands of dollars, and hundreds of acres were added to it. His children settled on the farm or entered the professional or business world, and the "old settler" spent his

The old settler

declining years amid peace and plenty. He gathered his grandchildren about him and told of the days of long ago — of the long journey in the moving wagon and of the time when the forest frowned on every side and the wolves howled about the lonely cabin in the wilderness.

LIFE ON THE FRONTIER

The pioneers who left the more populous east knew that they were leaving behind them the conditions of luxury and refinement and that the new life in the wilderness would be one of toil and privation. The busy hum of industry and social life was exchanged for the deep solitude of the woods. Often at night the stillness was broken by the shriek of a panther, the howl of the wolf, or the melancholy moan of the owl. Even in the day time the solitude was oppressive. Song birds were unknown in the primitive forest; but the gobble of the wild turkey, the tapping of the woodpecker on a hollow tree often relieved the monotonous stillness of the woods.

The cabin of the pioneer, built of round or rough-hewn logs, was of one room and a loft, one door, one window, and a fireplace with an outside chimney. The open spaces between the logs were filled with clay, the floor was made of hewn slabs called puncheons. The door and floor of the second story or loft (which was reached by means of a ladder) were made of clapboards. The dishes and plates were pewter or wood, the dippers and buckets were gourds and hardshell squashes. Salt and a few other necessities had to be brought on packhorses for long distances, sometimes hundreds of miles. For food there was always an abundance of wild game and every man and boy was an adept with the rifle. But such food alone was very inadequate. One writer, the son of a pioneer, says: "The meal we brought over the mountain was exhausted six weeks too soon, so that for that length of time we had to live without bread. Lean venison and the breast of wild turkeys we were taught to call bread and the flesh of the bear we called meat. After living on this diet for a time we all became sickly. We eagerly watched the growth of the potatoes, squashes, and pumpkins, hoping soon to have something that would answer for bread." The family had a small garden and a larger inclosure called a "truck patch." Salt pork and hominy also figured largely in the food supply. Clothing was made of skins of animals or of coarse cloth, wool or flax, woven and made up

**The log
cabin**

in the home; both sexes wore deerskin moccasins instead of shoes.

After a community became fairly well settled there was much to break the monotony of the lonely life. Log rollings and "raisings" when a new cabin was to be built brought men and boys from far and near, sometimes for forty miles. In addition to the work in hand they engaged in various amusements, such as displaying their strength, or their skill in marksmanship. On the same day and at the same home the women and girls met and prepared the meals, employing their extra time in quilting or preparing fruit for drying. At the end of the day the older folks went home, but the young people remained and spent the night in merry making, usually dancing to the tune of the violin, called a fiddle.

The house
raising

Nothing was more interesting in the backwoods than the wedding. This was the one festival not accompanied by labor. From all the country round the guests came, on foot and on horseback, to the home of the bride. The ceremony took place about noon. Then came the dinner, a veritable feast. The table was perhaps a great rough-hewn slab, supported by four round legs set in augur holes; the dishes were of pewter, wood, and horn. If there were not enough knives to go round, the men drew their hunting knives from their belts and supplied the deficiency.¹ Soon after the dinner was over the dancing began and continued until the next morning.

The
wedding

Not long after the wedding the men came together for the purpose of building a log cabin for the young couple. In a few days, sometimes in a single day, it was completed — walls, roof, floor, fireplace, and chimney — but the newly-weds were not allowed to move in until it had undergone a "housewarming," a night of festivities and merry making, by the young people of the entire neighborhood.

NEW STATES

One of the most interesting features in American history lies in the admission of new states, not as subordinates and dependents, like the provinces of ancient Rome or the colonies of modern Britain, but as equals with the original thirteen. The process began with the admission of Vermont on March 4, 1791, and ended with the admission of Arizona on February 14, 1912, when

¹ Howe, *The Great West*, pp. 202-205.

the entire area of continental United States was exhausted. The United States, though having no colonies, was the greatest colonizer in the world during the 19th century, but this fact was disguised by the further fact that our colonies became coequal states.

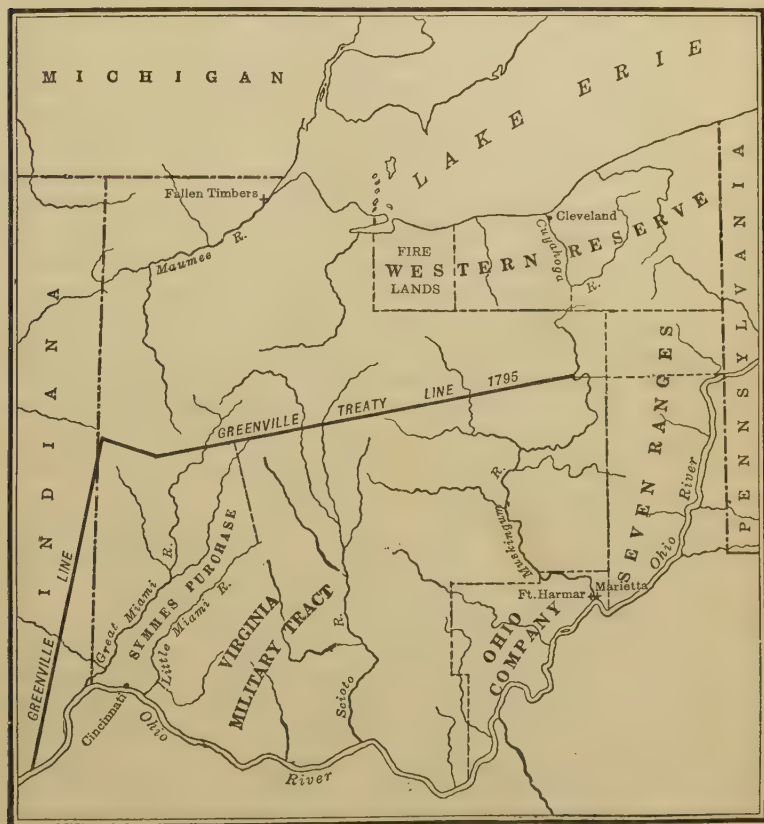
As early as 1777 Vermont, whose Green Mountain Boys had made a record in the war, adopted a constitution and applied for separate statehood. The request was not granted, chiefly on account of conflicting claims on its soil by New York and New Hampshire. The plucky Vermonters were ready to fight both rather than yield, and after a struggle of fourteen years Vermont was admitted into the sisterhood and became the fourteenth state.

A year later Kentucky was raised to the rank of statehood. Even before the war of the Revolution John Finley, Daniel Boone, and a few other lone hunters had made their way into the vast wilderness of Kentucky, which was then the western extension of Virginia. Before the war had closed a wave of hardy pioneers had poured across the mountains by way of the Cumberland Gap and the Falls of the Ohio in order to make their home in this promising land. By 1790 the people numbered 73,000 and they were clamorous for separate statehood. The consent of Virginia had been secured and Kentucky, by act of Congress, became the fifteenth state.

South of Kentucky lay the extensive region of mountains, hills, and many fertile valleys, known as Tennessee, the western extension of North Carolina. As early as 1769 a settlement was made at Watauga, led by James Robertson, joined later by John Sevier. Other settlements were soon made and the men of this remote frontier gave a notable account of themselves at the battle of King's Mountain. In 1784 the people of Tennessee, feeling that they were not properly protected by the parent state, banded together and, without authority, formed a new state and called it the "State of Franklin." They elected John Sevier governor. North Carolina objected to the proceeding, and civil war was imminent; but at length the new state collapsed and ceased to exist. It was only after passing through a territorial probation, after years of struggle with the parent state and of Indian fighting, that Tennessee was admitted as a member of the Union.

The first state to be carved out of the Northwest Territory, provided for in the famous Ordinance of 1787, was Ohio. This Ordinance had followed hard upon the Second Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784), by which the Six Nations

had given up their shadowy claim to the lands north of the Ohio. But the natives occupying those lands refused to recognize the validity of the treaty and the result was a fierce and bloody racial war. It was this great stretch of wilderness between Kentucky and Lake Erie, known by the beautiful Indian name of the river



EARLY LAND PURCHASES, RESERVATIONS, AND SURVEYS IN OHIO

that belted it on the south, which was the chief prize for which the French and Indian War had been waged. After that war had given it to the English and the Revolution had given it to the Americans, there were other disputes concerning the ownership of the soil. Virginia gave up her uncertain claims; the Iroquois did the same at Fort Stanwix. Then came the tug of war with the natives, encouraged and furnished with arms and ammunition

by the British, who still held Detroit and a few other frontier posts.

General Josiah Harmar was sent to Ohio. He built a fort at the mouth of the Muskingum in 1790, made an expedition into the Indian country, but was repulsed. President Washington then chose General Arthur St. Clair, who led an army against the Indians. St. Clair, a grandson of a Scotch earl, reached America in the midst of the French and Indian War, was with Amherst at the capture of Louisburg and with Wolfe at the fall of Quebec. Later he served valiantly against his native land in the Revolution. He was chosen governor of the Northwest Territory. He gave the growing village in southwestern Ohio the name of Cincinnati. Chosen to chasten the savage natives of the Wabash Valley, he set out with an army of about 2000. Washington had cautioned St. Clair against surprise and ambush, but he failed to heed the warning. On a branch of the Wabash he was ambushed by the Indians and his army was cut to pieces. Leaving great numbers dead or wounded on the field, and all their baggage, a fraction of the army escaped by flight into the forest. The defeat was one of the most disastrous in the history of Indian warfare. St. Clair continued to be governor, but was severely censured for this defeat and he never rose again in public estimation.

General Anthony Wayne — "Mad Anthony" — the hero of Stony Point, was next chosen to lead an army against the red men. When informed by Washington of his selection, Wayne is said to have answered, "I am the very man you want." Gathering an army around Pittsburg, Wayne put the men in training. It was two years before he was ready for the coming ordeal. In the autumn of 1793 he marched into the Indian country. On reaching the site of St. Clair's defeat, he buried 600 decayed bodies of the victims of the red men's bullets. Again he offered peace to the tribes, but, flushed with their victories over Harmar and St. Clair, they preferred war. They even murdered two messengers sent to them with a flag of truce. They chose to meet the white invader in the valley of the Maumee at a spot where a tornado had leveled many of the trees. What fine protection for the dusky warrior the prostrate timbers would make! But Wayne's men leaped from log to log in a bayonet charge at the very outset, and before half of his 3500 men had got into the conflict the Indians were scampering for their lives and the battle of the Fallen Timbers was over.

St. Clair's
defeat

Anthony
Wayne

Battle of
Fallen Tim-
bers

Wayne then pushed on into Indiana and built a fort which he called after his own name, and the thriving city that grew up near the spot retained the name of Fort Wayne.

The battle of the Fallen Timbers completely broke the resistance of the Indian tribes of Ohio. The war ended as all our Indian wars have ended — in a final defeat of the red men. With their primitive, prehistoric methods they had no chance against the irresistible advance of the restless white men from the East. This battle led to the treaty of Greenville, made at the town of that name in western Ohio in the summer of 1795. Here Wayne met the chiefs of many tribes, with eleven hundred of their followers, and here was signed the treaty by which the Indians gave up many thousands of square miles of land. From this time all of central and eastern Ohio was free from Indian raids and massacres. Then came the rush of settlers from the East and the South.

Treaty of
Greenville

Under the Articles of Confederation Congress had adopted a plan for the laying out of western territory in townships, each to be six miles square, divided into thirty-six sections of 640 acres each. The sixteenth section was to be reserved for the support of schools.

Among the colonial claimants of the lands of Ohio were Virginia and Connecticut. Virginia on giving up her claims retained an immense tract north of the Ohio River for the benefit of her soldiers of the Revolution; Connecticut retained a tract in the northeast the width of Connecticut and one hundred and twenty miles long, called the Western Reserve. These reservations were settled largely by people from Virginia and Connecticut respectively. But the honor of planting the first settlement in Ohio fell to Massachusetts. A land company formed in Boston by Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler purchased of Congress a large tract around the mouth of the Muskingum River, in 1787, as already noticed. The next year Putnam, with about forty families, crossed the mountains of Pennsylvania, floated down the Ohio in a boat which he named the *Mayflower*, and founded the town of Marietta on the Ohio at the mouth of the Muskingum opposite Fort Harmar. Cincinnati was founded before the end of the same year. In 1796 Moses Cleveland founded a town on the lake shore and gave it his own name. Many of the settlers of central Ohio had been soldiers of the Revolution, who received by act of Congress lands for their services in the war. In 1803 Ohio became the seventeenth state in the Union.

Marietta

The great artery of trade and travel for this middle western country was the Ohio River. Great numbers of western movers having made the overland journey across the mountains from the East, changed to the easier method at Pittsburg and floated down the river. Pittsburg was a busy mart in those days, a half-way station where traders and trappers, adventurers and would-be settlers from many lands met and commingled. Various kinds of river craft were used in descending the river — the covered skiff or canoe for the lone traveler, the rude open flatboat, the boxlike ark with its roof covered with wagons, farm implements, and furniture, and the huge raft of logs bound together on which shanties for separate families were built. On one of these the movers would stow their goods with ammunition and food supplies, and float with the current. The trip, however, was not without its dangers. Many a boat was attacked by lurking Indian bands along the shore and in some instances the whole or part of the pioneer party was slain. In 1811 the first steamboat on the Ohio, built by Nicholas J. Roosevelt, was launched at Pittsburg. As the years passed others were built and a new era in river traffic was begun. Great numbers of the early settlers, not only of Kentucky and Ohio, but also of Indiana and Illinois, found their way to their new homes by way of the Ohio River.¹

The Ohio River

INFLUENCE OF THE FRONTIER

In American life there has always been a marked difference between the frontier and the more settled portions of the East — a difference in political, social, economic, and even in religious life. The frontiersman, with all the perils, privations, and hardships of the wilderness, enjoyed an unrestrained liberty unknown to the older communities. Conscious of equality with his scattered neighbors, far from the centers of legal restraint and of social conventions, he became an extreme individualist, a thoroughgoing democrat in his attitude toward government. When the states voted on the adoption of the Constitution every delegate from the frontier voted against it. They felt a repugnance toward absentee government, as the colonists had felt in their attitude toward the mother country. They felt that the men who won the wilderness should govern it. Why should they be governed by the land-holding aristocracy in the East? And it

¹ An observer at Louisville in 1810 counted 211 boats passing down the river in two months. Paxton, p. 157.

was this inflexible belief in the right of self-government that led the men of the middle West to clamor for separate statehood as soon as their numbers would warrant it.

It was impossible that in time the fierce democracy of the frontier should not profoundly affect the East and the whole country. Many were the fears expressed in the Constitutional Convention that the time might come when the West would overshadow the East and dominate the country, and it was seriously proposed that provision be made enabling the East always to outvote the West in national councils. No such provision was made, and one can imagine what must have been the feelings of its advocates could they have looked but twelve years beyond the forming of the government and seen this same spirit of western democracy in complete control of the country.

Democracy
of the fron-
tier

The constitutions adopted by the new states were extremely democratic. They cast aside the religious and property tests of the older states and based their governments on manhood suffrage. Remembering the troubles in colonial days with the royal governors, they gave their governors little power. In Ohio, where St. Clair had more than imitated the royal governors, the constitution of 1802 made the governor a mere executive agent of the legislature at a salary of a thousand dollars a year and with no appointing or veto power. These western constitutions had an influence, no doubt, in modifying and democratizing the constitutions of New York, Virginia, and other states.

Great efforts were made, in spite of the Ordinance of 1787, to introduce slavery in Ohio, and still greater a few years later were the efforts to make Indiana and Illinois slave states. In 1805 Indiana as a territory passed the Indenture Act, which permitted a modified form of slavery, and Illinois, when separated from Indiana in 1809, continued this law in force. The chief purpose of the law was, not only to protect Southern settlers along the Ohio in their slave property, but to attract more settlers from the South. But as the years passed still greater numbers of settlers came from New England and the Middle states. In each territory anti-slavery sentiment came to prevail and Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois came into the Union as free states.

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS

Except for a brief notice in our limited space, this important subject, like American literature, must be left to separate works.

The most striking feature in our early colonial history is found in the Puritanism of New England. But the rigors of Puritanism, established by law in all the New England states except Rhode Island, were softened by the changing of the times and a movement to disestablish it was at length successful. Vermont, the first to separate church and state, did so in 1807; Massachusetts, the last, did so in 1834, after a long agitation. Meantime the main body of Puritans took the name Congregational, while a portion that had split off became the Unitarian Association.

The English or Episcopal church had been established in Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas, but in all of these it was disestablished before the close of the Revolution. Many of the royalists who fled from the country were members of this church; in fact, the church was almost ruined by the war. It also suffered from the fact that it did not have an American episcopate. But in 1784 Samuel Seabury was consecrated and became the first American bishop. The Roman Catholics, residing chiefly in Maryland and Pennsylvania, were not numerous during the colonial period, though they constituted almost the only church in Mexico, South and Central America. The first Catholic bishop in the United States was John Carroll, consecrated at Baltimore in 1790. The growth of the church thereafter was very rapid, chiefly through immigration.

The Presbyterian and Lutheran churches were early planted in Pennsylvania. When the new settlements of the West took definite form, the Presbyterian was the first missionary church to work among them. No other church in our history has had greater social and political influence than has the Presbyterian. The Lutherans could boast a strong leader in Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the "Lutheran patriarch" of Philadelphia, a notable figure of the Revolutionary period. He was the father of the famous "Fighting Parson" of Virginia and of the first Speaker of the House of Congress. The Lutheran and Reformed churches labored under the handicap of not having European feeders that used the English language, but both overcame it in a large measure by missionary work among the immigrants of their respective faiths.

The Methodists and Baptists were the great missionary churches of the early period, and in point of numbers they came to lead all other Protestant churches in America, the Methodists coming first and the Baptists closely following. Both founded missions on the frontier, following hard upon the Presbyterians. Their passionate, emotional appeals and their simple forms of

worship won the people and they made many converts. Sometimes great religious gatherings in the woods, known as camp meetings, continued for many days, and were characterized by intense religious excitement.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in America was organized at Baltimore in 1784 and Francis Asbury was made the first bishop. The Baptists, though they never made great headway in Europe, were destined to become a great factor in the religious life of America.

All the above-mentioned denominations and a few smaller ones have founded colleges and seminaries and on the whole have played a very great part in the educational as well as the religious development of the country.

INVENTIONS AND INDUSTRIES

Three notable factors at this period produced changes that profoundly affected the industrial, economic, and social conditions of the world. Two of these, the cotton gin and steam navigation, were American inventions; the third was the application of the steam engine to industrial machinery, which gave rise to the factory system.

THE COTTON GIN AND SLAVERY

The production of cotton was meager before the Revolution and up to the end of the century, the chief reason being the difficulty of separating the seed from the fiber. This difficulty was removed by the cotton gin, an invention of Eli Whitney. One day as Mrs. Nathanael Greene was returning from the North to her plantation in Georgia, she met young Whitney on board the ship. He was a graduate of Yale and was going South to teach school. So impressed with the young man was she that she gave him shelter in her home. He proved himself exceedingly clever in mending and making things about the house. Mrs. Greene, on hearing some planters say that if only some one would invent a machine to separate the cotton seed from the fiber the people of Georgia would soon be rich, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, why not apply to my young friend, Mr. Whitney, he can make anything." Whitney was soon at work and the result was the cotton gin (April, 1793), a simple machine that picks the lint from the seed by means of a revolving wheel with teeth. With this machine one worker could clean as much cotton in a day as two hundred could do by hand.

The cotton gin

In a few years it was widely used in the South and cotton growing became the chief Southern industry.

It has been said that the cotton gin fastened slavery on the South, and there is much truth in the saying. There had been a movement in various Southern states to abolish slavery, as the Northern states had done, and there is little doubt that it would have been done but for the cotton gin. Slave labor was well adapted to cotton raising and the new invention brought a vast extension of cotton growing lands — over the mountains and far into the alluvial valleys of the Mississippi and Red rivers. Slave labor became an important factor in Southern life. All the Southern states had shut off the African slave trade; but South Carolina reopened it on December, 1803. In the next four years 202 slave ships with cargoes of negroes entered the port of Charleston.¹ The Constitution had provided that Congress should have no power to prohibit the slave trade before 1808. In March, 1807, at the behest of President Jefferson, a law was passed to take effect the first of the following January. But the law was evaded by smugglers, especially until 1820, when Congress passed a law making the slave trade piracy, carrying the death penalty. The price of slaves rose and the border states, having more slaves than they needed on their worn-out tobacco fields, sold them in great numbers to the cotton states. Thus was begun the interstate slave trade, which continued to the Civil War.

STEAM NAVIGATION

Robert Fulton is the reputed inventor of the steamboat. The real inventor was John Fitch; at least he deserves more credit than any other of the inventors who were striving to solve the problem of steam navigation. Among these were William Henry, Oliver Evans, James Rumsey, and John Stevens. Fitch's life was tragical. As a boy on a Connecticut farm he longed for books and a chance to study, but these were denied him by an unsympathetic

¹ Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 134. History reveals no more inhuman business than the African slave trade. The blacks were secured by kidnapping, or by purchase from their "kings," and they were stowed in the ship, shackled to the deck, in a space so small that they could not stand or sit up; sixteen inches was the lateral space for each slave. Here they were obliged to lie until the cargo was made up and the ship reached America, sometimes half a year. So hard and unsanitary were the conditions that often thirty per cent of them died before reaching their destination. The South was not alone to blame for this satanic traffic. Northern traders carried on a large part of it; slave ships were fitted out in New York and Boston.

father. On reaching manhood he married a woman who proved to be a shrew and he fled from home to the westward. Becoming interested in steam navigation, he spent some years constructing a steamboat. He made a trial trip up the Delaware while the Constitutional Convention was sitting in Philadelphia. Among the thousands of people who stood on the river bank to see the new wonder were Washington and Franklin. Between Philadelphia and Trenton he made many trips and carried many passengers. But the business did not pay and when the boat, his third one, was no longer useful and he attempted to raise money to build another, he failed to interest men of means. Utterly discouraged, he went west, to the wilderness of Kentucky, where some years later he died by his own hand. The vision of Fitch was that a new era in navigation was about to open, that the rivers and seas of the world would soon be dotted with steam craft. But the great public had no such vision. Believing the project impractical, they dismissed the subject after the first curiosity had been gratified.

Then came Robert Fulton, an artist and an inventor of Pennsylvania. As a youth he had stood in the crowd and witnessed the experiment of Fitch on the Delaware. Later, after spending some years in England, after inventing various useful machines, he secured the papers of Fitch and devoted himself to steam navigation. His first experiment was on the Seine River in France, the necessary money being furnished by Robert R. Livingston, the American minister in Paris. In August, 1803, he came so near success as to bring this from a Paris newspaper: "At six o'clock in the evening . . . Fulton put a boat in motion and . . . produced the curious spectacle of a boat moved by wheels, these wheels being provided with paddles or flat plates, and moved by a fire engine."

Robert
Fulton

A larger boat was needed and Fulton and Livingston decided to make their next trial on the Hudson. An engine was ordered in England and a famous ship builder engaged. In August, 1807, the *Clermont*, 130 feet long, named after Livingston's country seat on the Hudson, made its first trip to Albany, in thirty-two hours, and the return trip in thirty hours.

Before the end of the same year John Stevens, another disciple of Fitch, had a successful steamboat in operation. He succeeded just after Fulton had won the popular heart, and while Fulton won undying fame, Stevens and Fitch, and half a dozen others, almost equally successful, have been forgotten by the public. The great problem of steam navigation was solved. In 1811 Roosevelt, as we have noticed, built a steamer on the Ohio

and within a decade scores of them were in use on rivers, lakes, and bays. In 1819 the *Savannah* became the first steamer to cross the Atlantic.

AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURING

Agriculture was crudely carried on for many years after the Revolution. The plow of the farmer, with its wooden mold-board, was very similar to that used in ancient Egypt and Babylonia. The farmers declared that the iron plow poisoned the soil and not before 1825 did the cast-iron plow come into general use. Also about that time the grain cradle and the fanning mill came into use. Rotation in crops was hardly thought of and farmers often moved on and took up new lands when the soil became exhausted.

Manufacturing was stimulated during the Revolution, but lagged greatly thereafter owing to the flood of English goods poured into the country. Later came the new tariff law of 1789 which renewed the life of the infant industries. The great industrial change of the time came through the applying of the steam engine to factory machinery. Gradually but completely the change came about and it was a tremendous change. It profoundly affected the social life of the people. The domestic system, in which manufacturing was done in the home and the motive power was horse power or human muscle, was exchanged for the factory system in which the worker yielded up his independence and became a wage earner. The family spinning wheel had to give way to the new machinery, the hand loom yielded to the power loom, and the home factory was replaced by the great manufacturing plant with its colossal machinery and its thousands of workers.

The American textile industry was dependent at first on a few important English inventions — on Hargreaves' spinning jenny, Arkwright's water frame, Crompton's "mule," and Cartwright's power loom. These machines were of immense importance. By hand only one thread at a time could be spun. Today a single machine may spin 12,000 threads at a time. And the advance made by the power loom over the hand loom is equally astonishing. The application of steam power to these and various other inventions of the time furnished the foundation for the world's marvelous industrial progress during the nineteenth century.

The British Parliament passed laws against shipping machines,

or plans and models for making them, out of the country. Such secrets are not easy to keep, however, and the Americans were soon making their own machines. Samuel Slater, who learned the cotton-spinning business in Arkwright's mill, came to America and in 1789 built the first cotton mill, in Rhode Island, constructing it entirely from memory. Before the outbreak of the War of 1812 the American people were manufacturing a very considerable portion of their textile needs, and the same is true of the iron, leather, furniture, and other industries.

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Nothing is more important in the study of the life and ideals of the frontier than sketches and local histories, many of which were written by the pioneers.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PERIOD OF THE WAR OF 1812

NOTWITHSTANDING the decline in Jefferson's popularity, eight of the state legislatures invited him to stand for a third election. But he declined; not on the ground taken by Washington twelve years before, but because, as he declared, it was well to establish a precedent for the future. He was the author, therefore, of our unwritten custom that no man serve more than eight years in the presidency. He was one of our two or three Presidents who, having served two terms, might have been elected for a third.

It is quite possible that he could have been elected to a third term, and at every succeeding election to the end of his life; but he refused all overtures in order to carry out a principle which he believed to be for the best interests of the country — and seldom has patriotism risen to such sublime heights in this or any other land. But he did the next thing — he practically chose his successor. It was mainly through Jefferson's influence that his secretary of state was preferred before the other two aspirants, James Monroe, who had long been a friendly rival of Madison, and George Clinton of New York. A week after the inauguration Jefferson left the Capital City on horseback "for the elysium of domestic affections." He reached Monticello, March 15, and in the remaining seventeen years of his life he never again passed beyond the bounds of his native state.¹

MADISON AT THE HELM

The little man of quiet, simple manners, who now stood before ten thousand people and read his inaugural address in a "scarcely audible tone," had been a leading figure in public life for many years, and was by training eminently

Madison

¹ Jefferson's popularity soon rose to its normal standard, and as long as he lived he was the chief adviser of his party, being in constant correspondence with Presidents Madison and Monroe. After 1812 he became reconciled to his old friend and rival, John Adams, and the two were friendly correspondents as long as they lived, though they never met again. Both died on the national holiday, July 4, 1826, but a few hours apart.

equipped for the great office. James Madison as a framer of the Constitution had done more than any other man in making that instrument what it is; he had been a leader in Congress under Washington, and had now just completed his eight years as chief in the Cabinet of Jefferson. Certainly he knew the inner workings of the government as few could know them. Moreover, next to his retiring chief, Madison was the ablest man in the country, save one, Albert Gallatin.

The new President's trouble began from the day of his installation. He sincerely desired to make Gallatin secretary of state; but there was a faction of Democrats in the Senate, headed by Senators William B. Giles of Virginia, Samuel Smith of Maryland, and Michael Lieb of Pennsylvania, who hated Gallatin and determined to prevent his confirmation. This faction, encouraged by George Clinton, who was again Vice President, and aided by the Federalist, could control the Senate, and Madison had to yield. Gallatin remained in the Treasury, and Robert Smith, a brother of Senator Smith from Maryland, was made secretary of state. The arrangement was humiliating to the President, who was thus forced to accept for the chief place in his Cabinet a man wholly incompetent, a man in sympathy with a faction that used its power to weaken the administration. For two years this arrangement dragged on, when at last the patient Gallatin lost patience and threatened to resign from the Cabinet. This awakened the slow-moving Madison, and led him for once to play the master. He defied the Senate faction by dismissing Robert Smith and choosing James Monroe as secretary of state. The country and even the Senate sustained him, and a signal victory was gained for the administration.

There was a delicious ray of sunshine that brought joy to many at the beginning of the Madison administration. Mr. Erskine, the English minister at Washington, receiving instructions from Canning, the British foreign secretary, announced that the Orders in Council would be withdrawn on June 10, on condition that the President remove the non-intercourse restriction, in as far as it concerned England. Whereupon Madison made a proclamation suspending the non-intercourse act with England. Great was the rejoicing on all sides. The eastern ports became beehives of industry. Vessels were quickly laden with the long-accumulated produce, and in a few weeks a thousand had launched upon the sea for foreign ports. Madison enjoyed a moment of intoxicating popularity; but it was only a moment. The bubble soon burst.

Relations
with Great
Britain and
France

The overzealous Erskine had exceeded his instructions, and he was disavowed and recalled. When the news reached America that the Orders in Council were still in force, the President issued a new proclamation, reviving the non-intercourse act with Great Britain.

Francis James Jackson was then sent to replace Erskine. Jackson was a man of much pride and little tact, who boasted an acquaintance with "most of the sovereigns of Europe," and felt that he had come to treat with a lot of "savage democrats, half of them sold to France." He began by accusing the administration of deception in treating with Erskine in the knowledge that he was exceeding his instructions. Madison informed him that such insinuations were inadmissible from a foreign minister dealing "with a government that understands what it owes to itself." In the face of this warning, Jackson, with incredible effrontery, repeated his accusation, and was informed that no further communications would be received from him. Thus ingloriously ended his diplomatic career in America.

Meanwhile our relations with France were approaching another crisis. In the spring of 1810 the American Congress removed the restrictions on foreign commerce, but forbade intercourse with England or France if either continued hostile to our trade. This has been pronounced the most disgraceful act on the American statute books. "When Great Britain and France were raining upon us blows such as no powerful nation had ever submitted to before, we folded our hands and bowed our heads with no word of protest, except to say that if either one of them would cease its outrages, we should resent the insults of the other."¹ Napoleon had issued his Rambouillet Decree, confiscating all American ships found in French waters. But on learning of this act of Congress, he offered to revoke his Berlin and Milan decrees. This was only a contemptible trick by which to draw more of our vessels into his trap, and all that were entrapped were seized in accordance with a secret order.

While our foreign relations continued in this strained condition, an event in the Northwest recalled the attention of the people to important matters at home. The Indians of the Northwest had given little trouble for several years after their defeat by Wayne in 1794. But in recent years they had again become hostile, owing chiefly to the ambition of a great leader, Tecumthe or Tecumseh, who belonged to the Shawnee tribe. Tecumseh's ambition was to unite all the tribes of that region into one great Indian nation, and through

¹ Gordy, Vol. II, p. 72 (Revised Ed.).

it to restrict all further encroachments of the white man. He was a man of remarkable eloquence and powers of leadership, and he was assisted in his plans by his twin brother, known as the Prophet.

The governor of Indiana Territory was William Henry Harrison, a future President of the United States. He was a son of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a governor of Virginia, and an intimate friend of Washington. At the time of St. Clair's defeat by the Indians in Ohio, young Harrison, a boy of nineteen years, was a medical student in Philadelphia. At the advice of both Washington and Jefferson, he left his studies and went to the West to aid in the war against the Indians. With a brave heart he set out to win glory for himself and honor for his country. In September, 1809, Harrison made a treaty at Fort Wayne with the Delaware, Miami, Kickapoo, and other tribes, by which three million acres on the upper Wabash were ceded to the United States. The twin brothers were not present. When they heard of the cession, they were wroth, and declared that the land belonged to all the tribes, and that a part had no right to sell without the consent of all. They pronounced the treaty void and threatened to kill every chief that had signed it. A year passed, and the Indians, while professing friendship for the whites, kept up a series of outrages on the frontier. Harrison advised them that the depredations must be stopped; but they continued, and he prepared for an attack.

With some nine hundred men, General Harrison marched into the Indian country in the autumn of 1811. Tecumseh was absent in the South. His brother, the Prophet, occupied the town of Tippecanoe on the Wabash. Harrison marched on and encamped near the town. An hour before day next morning about five hundred Indians, with fearful yells, emerged from the underbrush and made an attack. A desperate struggle raged for two hours, when the Indians broke and fled. They abandoned their village, which the Americans burned, and then hastened back to the white settlements. The battle of Tippecanoe did not belong to the war with England that was soon to come, nor had the British much, if anything, to do with inspiring it.

Battle of
Tippecanoe

DRIFTING TOWARD WAR

The prophetic words of Benjamin Franklin were destined to come true — that the war ending with the surrender of Cornwallis

was simply the war of Revolution, and that the war of Independence was yet to be fought. Two events in 1811 hastened the crisis with England — (the withdrawal of our minister from London, and an impromptu duel between two vessels at sea.) William Pinkney, one of the ablest diplomats ever sent to a foreign court by the United States, after laboring and struggling in vain for five years with the British ministry, took “inamicable leave.” This event had stirred the ministry a little. It had led them to hasten in appointing a minister to Washington, Augustus John Foster, the first since the inglorious failure of Jackson a year and a half before. While Foster was on the sea en route for his new field of duty, the other event occurred.

Pinkney
leaves Lon-
don, Feb-
ruary, 1811

On the partial reopening of our trade with France, British armed vessels were again sent to blockade New York, and they amused themselves capturing vessels bound for France and impressing American seamen. One of these ships, the *Guerrière*, was said to have impressed a man named Diggio, and the secretary of the navy sent the *President*, a 44-gun frigate under Captain John Rodgers, not only to rescue Diggio and other unfortunates but to “protect American commerce,” to “vindicate the injured honor of our navy,” and to support the honor of the flag “at any risk and cost.” This was a new spirit for the nation that had suffered twenty years of the impressment business and had defended itself with protests alone. Rodgers was under full sail from Annapolis to New York, when he sighted a vessel which he believed to be the *Guerrière*; but she showed no colors, and he was not sure. He gave chase, and when within hailing distance, Rodgers shouted through his trumpet, “What ship is that?” The answer from the stranger was an echo of his own words, and Rodgers asked again, when instantly a flame of fire leaped from the dark hull of the strange vessel, and a shot was lodged in the main mast of the *President*.¹ The lesson of the *Chesapeake* had not been thrown away; the *President* was prepared. In a moment both vessels were throwing broadsides. In fifteen minutes the strange vessel was silenced and disabled. At day-break next morning Rodgers discovered that he had been fighting the *Little Belt*, a British corvette of twenty guns and about half the force of the *President*. Her encounter with the *President* proved disastrous. Twelve men lay dead and twenty-one

**The Presi-
dent and
Little Belt,**
May 16,
1811

¹ This account was given under oath by Rodgers and all his crew; but Captain Bingham of the *Little Belt* gave a different account, claiming to have been fired on first.

wounded on her decks; "all the rigging and sails cut to pieces, not a brace nor a bowline left,"¹ while one boy was wounded on the *President*. This incident was hailed with delight by the American people as the avenging of the outrage on the *Chesapeake*.

Meantime Foster arrived. Pinkney, while yet in London, had asked the significant question, What was Foster to do when he arrived in Washington? Foster had no power to promise a repeal of the Orders in Council, and the administration would treat with him on no other ground. He offered to settle the *Chesapeake* affair without even demanding reparation for the greater disaster to the *Little Belt*; but even this made no impression. Every subject brought up by the British minister received the same answer, the Orders in Council must be repealed. It was clear that the United States had at last taken a stand — that if the Orders in Council were not repealed, there would be war. Foster wrote this to his government, but the British Cabinet, led by the short-sighted Spencer Perceval, refused to be moved.

The Twelfth Congress met in December, 1811. It differed greatly from its immediate predecessors. No longer do we find the temporizing spirit; no longer was Congress dominated by the fathers of the Revolution. A new **New spirit in Congress** generation had arisen to take charge of public affairs. Especially in the House did this spirit of the rising generation manifest itself. Here were half a dozen young leaders, War Hawks, as they were called, who took control of the House and shaped legislation for years to come. The leaders of this new school were Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, both destined to spend nearly half a century in the forefront of national life. They were ably seconded by Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and Langdon Cheeves and William Lowndes of South Carolina; and closely associated with them was the aged John Sevier, whom we saw, a third of a century ago, directing the battle at King's Mountain. Henry Clay was elected Speaker the first day he entered the House, and this position he continued to hold so long as he was a member of that body. Born in the "slashes" of Virginia, Clay was left fatherless and penniless in childhood. He read law, and afterward migrated westward and made his home in the new state of Kentucky, where he soon rose to fame as a member of the bar. Now he began his remarkable career as a party manager that has few parallels in American history. Under his leadership the Twelfth Congress set itself

¹ From Captain Bingham's report.

to restore the sullied honor of the country, and to do this there was no alternative but war.

President Madison still hesitated. He was almost as fondly devoted to peace as had been the great Democrat who preceded him.

Declaration of war, June 18, 1812 But a new election was drawing near, and the young leaders in Congress gave the President to understand that he could not have their support for reëlection unless he was willing to declare war. Madison yielded. During the winter Congress sounded the war trumpet; it voted to raise the regular army by 25,000 men, and authorized a loan of \$11,000,000. Early in April an embargo of ninety days was laid, as a preliminary to a declaration of war. A little later Congress authorized the President to call out 50,000 militia. On June 1 the President sent his war message to Congress, urging an immediate declaration of war. The primary reasons given were four in number: (the impressment of our seamen; British cruisers harassing our shipping along the American coast; pretended blockades of the European coast, by which American ships had been plundered on every sea; and the Orders in Council.)

As to this declaration, two things are notable: first, there had been equal *casus belli* constantly for five years, and at certain times greater cause than at this moment; second, France during the same period had offended equally with England, or nearly so. Why declare war now? and why against England and not against France? The first question is answered by our account of the change in party leadership. As to the second, it would have been suicidal to fight both England and France. England was the mother country, and it was more irritating to receive from her such unrelenting harshness than from the free lance, Napoleon, who made little pretense of observing international custom. Another cause of this decision was that France presented no vulnerable point. She possessed no territory to invade on this side of the water, and her navies had been destroyed and her commerce swept from the seas. Yet the war might have been averted. The British ministry was slowly yielding. England did not want war, and would have yielded sooner had she seen that America was in earnest. Even now the yielding process was slow, owing to the obstinacy of Premier Spencer Perceval; but on May 11 Perceval was shot dead in the House of Commons by a lunatic, and the Orders in Council were repealed June 23. But five days before this, and weeks before the news of the repeal had reached America, Madison had set his hand to the declaration of war. The repeal came too late.

Madison had a hard fight to secure a second election. In the spring of 1812 the war party was fiercely opposed in Congress by the Federalists, led by Josiah Quincy, and by a few of Madison's own party. War being declared in spite of them, they hoped to reverse the decision by defeating Madison at the coming election. DeWitt Clinton of New York (whose uncle, Vice President George Clinton, had recently died) became the peace party candidate and he was indorsed by the Federalists. Clinton won all the New England electoral votes; Madison captured all the Southern and Western frontier states. The Middle states were divided, Pennsylvania casting the deciding vote for Madison. On the ticket with him Elbridge Gerry was chosen Vice President.

OPENING OF HOSTILITIES

The country was ill prepared for war in 1812. The ten old regiments, scarcely half filled, were scattered through the West in garrisons of scarcely a hundred in a place. Detroit, the scene of the desperate and vain efforts of the great Pontiac; Fort Dearborn, where was to rise in the next generation the city of Chicago; Fort Wayne, Fort Harrison on the Wabash, and other posts — each was held by a handful of men who could ill be spared, for the Indians were sure to cast their lot with the British. The seacoast was unguarded. The raising of armies was exceedingly slow work, and the eleven million loan was only a little more than half taken by the first of July. Henry Dearborn, a former member of Jefferson's Cabinet, was made senior major general and commander in chief. The other major general was Thomas Pinckney, who was to command the southern department. The brigadier generals appointed were, James Wilkinson, formerly connected with Burr's conspiracy, Joseph Bloomfield, ten years governor of New Jersey, Wade Hampton of South Carolina, James Winchester of Tennessee, William Polk of North Carolina, and William Hull, governor of Michigan. These were all elderly men, all had seen service in the Revolution, none had ever commanded a regiment in battle, and most of them had "sunk into sloth, ignorance or intemperance."¹ But worst of all, the people were not united. The Federalists constituted an anti-war party, and did everything to hamper the administration. They were also gaining at this moment; they had won in the recent elections in New York and Massachusetts, and even in Congress the Democrats lost one fourth of their strength in the

**Opposition
to the war**

¹ Scott's *Autobiography*.

final vote on the declaration of war. Had the vote been deferred a month, as the Federalists urged, the news of the repeal of the Orders in Council would have reached America, and the war may have been averted. After the declaration had been passed, a number of the New England Federalists issued a protest, declaring that the war was a party and not a national war, and disclaiming all responsibility for it.¹ When Madison called upon the states for militia, the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island flatly refused to send their quota. Thus at the outset the administration was greatly handicapped by the want of unanimity among the states.²

Our navy consisted of six first-class frigates, built in old Federalist days, and twice as many smaller vessels, while England boasted nearly a thousand war ships. Such was the deplorable condition of the United States at the opening of war with the British Empire. But there were a few advantages: England was engaged in European wars; her navy was scattered over the seas of the world; our little navy was in the hands of young and able men; Canada was open to invasion.

WAR IN THE WEST

At the opening of this war occurred what is considered the most disgraceful event in American history, — the surrender of Michigan Territory without a battle. The invasion of Canada was the first and chief aim of the administration. To this end Dearborn was to coöperate from the Niagara frontier with an army from Michigan. But Dearborn was incapable of grasping the situation. He spent the summer in Boston and Albany getting ready and doing nothing. William Hull was governor of Michigan. Detroit contained some eight hundred people and a fort, a square inclosure of two acres. Receiving orders to invade Canada from the west, Hull crossed the Detroit River and prepared to besiege Fort Malden, a few miles below. The British began to strengthen their fort, and in quick succession news reached Hull of the fall of Michilimackinac, and that a large body of Indians were moving toward Detroit, that his supply train from Ohio had been cut off by Tecumseh, and that a force of British had passed Niagara en route to Detroit. Hull was disheartened. He gave up the siege of Malden and returned to Detroit.

¹ *Niles's Register*, Vol. II, p. 309.

² There was also some disaffection on the British side. There was armed resistance at Montreal, which was soon put down; 367 Canadians joined Hull, 9 were executed for treason in 1814. See *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, p. 337.

The British forces in Upper Canada had the good fortune at this time to be commanded by a man of remarkable energy and military ability — General Isaac Brock. When Hull recrossed the river, Brock, with a few hundred men, was hastening with all speed toward Detroit. Crossing the river with about seven hundred regulars and militia and six hundred Indians, he moved upon the fort for an attack. Hull was vacillating and utterly discouraged. As the enemy approached, he was greatly agitated; he sat on an old tent with his back against the rampart, moody and silent. Yet he might have made an immortal name that day. He had two 24-pounders planted so as to cover the road on which the enemy was advancing, and his army almost equaled that of Brock.¹ But Hull imagined the forest swarming with savages, and he thought of the women and children in the fort, among whom was his daughter. His supplies would last but a month, and then at the inevitable surrender, woe to those who remained alive! Hull's former bravery now forsook him utterly, and to the astonishment of friend and foe he surrendered the fort and his army without a struggle — and all Michigan Territory. On the same day Fort Dearborn (Chicago) was burned to the ground by a horde of savages, the garrison having been massacred, the day before, to the last man.

Isaac Brock

Surrender of
Michigan,
August 16,
1812

Hull was afterward tried by court-martial and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the President in consideration of his services in the Revolution. Hull did not play the man on that day at Detroit, and cowardice in a soldier is a crime. But Hull was not alone at fault. He was not properly supported, and part of the blame should have been borne by General Dearborn, by Secretary Eustis, and by President Madison.

But one week elapsed after the capture of Detroit when the energetic Brock reached Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara, with his prisoners. American troops were meanwhile hastening to the lake region from Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, Commodore Chauncey was building a fleet on Lake Ontario. General Stephen Van Rensselaer commanded the New York militia, and was stationed at Lewiston. General Alexander Smyth was at Buffalo with sixteen hundred men. But these two commanders were each independent of the other, and a rivalry prevented their coöperation. Van Rensselaer then determined to act alone, to cross the river and attack the enemy on the height above Queenstown. In the early morning of October 13, ten

¹ Rossiter Johnson gives Hull's force at one thousand, *War of 1812*, p. 35.

American boats, having crossed the rushing Niagara, landed with some hundreds of men on the Canadian shore. Led by Captain John E. Wool, they ascended the hill and attacked an English battery near which stood General Brock, who barely escaped capture by flight. Brock then made an attack on Wool; but an American bullet penetrated his breast, and he fell dead.



SEAT OF WAR IN THE LAKE REGION

Wool was painfully wounded, but for some hours he held the ground he had won, when Colonel Winfield Scott came and took command. Six hundred American troops now occupied the heights, when early in the afternoon they saw in the distance a large force of the British advancing from Fort George, under General Sheaffe, who had succeeded Brock. Van Rensselaer, who had also crossed the river, now hastened back to Lewiston to bring over the militia, but they refused to cross. The general rode among them and urged them to go to the rescue of their brethren on the hill, but all his efforts were fruitless. The men gave as their reason for not crossing the fact, as they understood it, that they were engaged in a defensive war, and were not obliged to leave the soil of the United States. The true reason was cowardice. The

**Battle of
Queens-
town
heights**

noble six hundred on the heights beyond the river were attacked by more than twice their number, driven back, down the hill, over the precipice to the brink of the river. Here they found no boats, and nothing was left but to surrender. Though the British won a clear victory this day, their loss in the death of General Brock was irreparable.

He was certainly a brilliant leader and his influence after he was gone had much to do in bracing Canada for defense. There is much truth in the statement that it was Isaac Brock who saved Canada to the British Empire. General Van Rensselaer resigned from the army in disgust. The chief figure in the next scene of the drama was General Smyth. Succeeding Van Rensselaer, he made a feint of invading Canada, and issued a bombastic proclamation; but after a few weeks of bluster he was hissed out of the army, and was dismissed from the service. The year 1812 closed with little encouragement to the Americans except from their success on the ocean, to be noticed later. Hull had surrendered all Michigan; Van Rensselaer, unable to control his militia, had sacrificed an army at Queenstown; Smyth had ended his brief military career in a fiasco. The only American success on land this year was the repulse of about seven hundred British at Ogdensburg, New York, by a force under Jacob Brown, a Quaker farmer, who proved himself the most vigorous American commander yet in the field.

VICTORIES ON THE SEA ¹

In striking contrast with our continued failures in the lake region during this eventful year were the unexpected victories on the ocean. Little was expected of our navy, which was a pygmy compared with that of England; but ere the close of the first year of the war the world was astonished at our naval victories. With no attempt to give a naval history of this war, we must notice briefly a few of the notable sea fights of the year 1812.

The most famous of these naval duels was that between the

¹ In addition to our naval struggle with the English, we were confronted with the problem of self-defense against the privateers of the Mediterranean.

During the war the Dey of Algiers had again practiced his depredations on American vessels. In the spring of 1815 Decatur sailed into the Mediterranean with a fleet of ten vessels. Two days later he fell in with the Dey's finest frigate in search of American merchantmen. In half an hour Decatur had captured her, and a few days later another met a similar fate. Decatur then forced the Dey to sign a humiliating treaty, giving up all his prisoners without ransom, and making indemnities for all his extortions. He then sailed to Tunis and Tripoli and exacted similar reparation; and from that time American shipping was safe in the Mediterranean.

Constitution, a 44-gun frigate, and the *Guerrière*, a British frigate of thirty-eight guns. The *Constitution* was commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, a nephew of the unhappy governor of Michigan.

The *Constitution* sailed from Boston and on August 19 she sighted the *Guerrière*. The meeting was welcomed by both sides.

The English ship was inferior to the American as seven to ten, but this counted little to the audacious *Constitution* and *Guerrière*, August 19 tar who represented the Mistress of the Seas. A London paper had boasted that no American ship could cope with the *Guerrière*, and her own captain, Dacres, had only a few days before challenged any one of our frigates to battle. Each vessel recognized the other on sight as a mortal foe, and here upon the rolling deep, eight hundred miles from land, they both prepared for an immediate duel to the death. After wearing an hour for position, with an occasional shot, the two ships came within easy range side by side, and each began to pour broadsides into the other. Half an hour after this deadly fire began, the *Guerrière*, a helpless wreck, struck her colors and surrendered. The *Constitution* was not greatly damaged. Her loss in killed and wounded was fourteen, while the enemy's loss was seventy-nine. Captain Hull set fire to the remnants of the proud English vessel, took his prisoners and hurried back to Boston to receive the plaudits of his countrymen. Even the Federalists joined in the glad shout of victory that spread over the land.¹ Why so much ado about sinking this one ship, when England had a thousand more? The fact is, this victory meant more than appeared on the service — it meant the beginning of the end of the impressment of seamen; it meant an awakening in the American sailor, a self-confidence that he had not felt before; it meant a disputing with England the right of way upon the seas where she had reigned, a queen without a rival. "A small affair it might appear among the world's battles, it took but half an hour, but in that one half hour the United States of America rose to the rank of a first-class power."²

The defeat of the *Guerrière*, however, was not the first of our naval victories. Six days before, the American frigate *Essex*, thirty-two guns, Captain David Porter, had captured the British sloop of war *Alert*, twenty guns.

Next in point of time after Hull's victory came the affair of the *Wasp* and the *Frolic*. The former was an American sloop of

¹ The victory of the *Constitution* occurred but three days after the surrender of Detroit, and the news of both reached the coast at the same time.

² Henry Adams, Vol. VI, p. 375.

war of eighteen guns, Captain Jacob Jones. The *Frolic* was a British vessel of almost the same size and equipment. They met five hundred miles off the coast of North Carolina, and one of the bloodiest of naval battles was the result. The sea ran high, and the two ships, riding upon the waves or sunk within their troughs, poured forth their broadsides with deadly ferocity. They drifted so near together that the rammers of the American guns touched the side of the *Frolic*. At length, after Jones had raked the enemy from stem to stern, and less than twenty of the one hundred and ten Englishmen were left alive and uninjured, the Americans, who had lost but ten in killed and wounded, boarded the enemy's deck and hauled down the British flag. The pitching of the vessels in the rolling sea had furnished a fine test of marksmanship, and the result was wholly favorable to the Americans. But they were not allowed to enjoy the fruits of victory, for on the same day the two vessels were captured by the British seventy-four, *Poictiers*, and carried to Bermuda.

Wasp and
Frolic Octo-
ber 18

Exactly one week after this battle a greater one took place far out on the Atlantic, between the *United States*, one of our largest frigates, Captain Stephen Decatur, and the British frigate *Macedonian*. The two ships compared in size and force in favor of the *United States* about as did the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*. Again the American gunnery was greatly superior to the English. The battle continued nearly two hours, when the British vessel, after receiving a hundred shots in her hull, surrendered, her killed and wounded being nine times greater than on the *United States*. The *Macedonian* was brought to America, repaired, and added to our heroic little navy.

The *United*
States and
Macedonian

One more of these brilliant victories closed the year's events. The now famous *Constitution*, "Old Ironsides," had put to sea again, under Captain Bainbridge, who had commanded the lost *Philadelphia* in the Mediterranean, and had lain for a year and a half in a Tripolitan prison. On December 29, Bainbridge encountered the English 38-gun frigate *Java* off the coast of Brazil. A desperate battle of two hours ensued. The *Java* was entirely destroyed, and her captain, with some sixty of his men, was among the slain. Thus ended the wonderful six months' record of our navy. The Americans had won in all these desperate duels on the sea, and in each case the proportion of British loss in killed and wounded was far greater than the difference in the vessels account for. Meantime, three hundred British merchant ships had been captured,

Constitution
and *Java*

chiefly by privateersmen. The British had also captured many of ours, and in addition to the *Wasp*, as stated above, they had taken two little brigs, the *Nautilus* and *Vixen*.

This marvelous showing in our favor created a tremendous sensation in England as well as in America. "It cannot be too deeply felt," said Canning in Parliament, "that the sacred spell of the invincibility of the British navy is broken." But no one expected this to continue, at least no one expected our little navy to triumph in the end over that of England. Congress was so elated with our successes thus far that it voted, early in 1813, to build four new battle ships of the first class, and six frigates and six sloops of war. The honors on the sea for the year 1813 were about even between the two nations. The first sea fight, between Lieutenant James Lawrence of the *Hornet* and Captain Peake of the *Peacock*, both of twenty guns, resulted as usual. Congress voted a gold medal to Lawrence, and put him in command of the *Chesapeake*, the famous ship that had been attacked by the *Leopard* six years before.

Now, for a time, our good fortune suffered a reverse. While the *Chesapeake* lay at Boston, she was challenged to a duel by Captain Broke of the British frigate *Shannon*, lying off the harbor. Lawrence accepted the challenge. Gathering his untrained crew, he went out to meet a ship of the same size as his own, but with a crew that had been trained for weeks for just such a purpose. The action was short and bloody. The *Chesapeake*, partially disabled at the beginning, fell afoul of her antagonist, and was raked from stem to stern. Her brave young commander received a mortal wound, and as he was being carried below he cried, "Don't give up the ship," and this became a rallying cry to his countrymen. But Captain Broke and his men had leaped aboard the *Chesapeake*, and she soon became their prize. The killed and wounded on the *Shannon* numbered eighty-three, and on the *Chesapeake* one hundred and forty-six. The prize was taken to Halifax, and Captain Lawrence died on the way. England rejoiced exceedingly over this victory, and well she might, for this was her first naval victory of importance since the beginning of the war.

This disaster was soon followed by another. The American brig *Argus*, one of our fastest sailers, while cruising in the English Channel, captured some twenty merchantmen. One of these was laden with wine, and of this the sailors drank freely. Then they set fire to the captured vessel, and the light revealed the *Argus* to the English brig *Pelican*.

Shannon
and *Ches-*
apeake, June
1, 1813

Pelican and
Argus,
August 14

The two came together in a fierce fight. Many of the Americans were intoxicated with the captured wine, and within an hour the *Argus* struck her colors and became a British prize.

In September the American brig *Enterprise* captured the English brig *Boxer*, both of fourteen guns, off the coast of Maine. But both commanders were among the slain, and they were buried at Portland, side by side, with the honors of war.

By the end of the year 1813 the English had captured seven American war vessels mounting 119 guns, while the Americans had captured twenty-six British war vessels mounting 560 guns.¹ What a marvelous showing for our little navy! But its power was now exhausted. On the day of the capture of the *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon*, Decatur, with the *United States*, the *Hornet*, and the captured *Macedonian*, was blockaded in the harbor of New London, Connecticut, and, watched by a squadron of British ships, was compelled to remain there to the end of the war. His ships escaped destruction by the protection of shore batteries. Whenever he planned to escape, the enemy was warned by blue lights on shore. This was supposed to have been the work of anti-war Federalists, and hence they received the opprobrious designation of "Blue-light Federalists." Chesapeake Bay, the Delaware River, and indeed every port and harbor on the entire Atlantic coast, together with the mouth of the Mississippi, were blockaded by cordons of British vessels. Admiral Cockburn, who commanded off the southern coast, burned and sacked the towns and committed many unnecessary deeds of cruelty; while Commodore Hardy, who commanded in New England waters, abstained from all such barbarous practices and proved himself a generous foe and a high-minded gentleman.

One of the last of the American vessels to yield was the plucky *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter. After her victory over the *Alert*, as noted above, she made a wonderful cruise in the Pacific Ocean, capturing many British whalers. In December, 1814, the *Essex* was blockaded by two English ships, the *Phæbe* and the *Cherub*, in the harbor at Valparaiso. At length she was attacked by both in disregard of the neutrality of the port, and the battle that ensued was one of the most dreadful in naval history. The odds against Porter were too great, the *Essex* was almost shot to pieces and took fire, after three fourths of her 255 men had been killed or wounded. The battle had been witnessed from shore by thousands of people who had gathered on

The *Essex*

David G.
Farragut

¹ Johnson, *War of 1812*, p. 206.

the heights to view the magnificent spectacle. Among the crew, of the captured *Essex*, was a boy of thirteen years, whose name was yet to be placed in the first rank of naval heroes. Other naval battles we must leave unmentioned and give a brief notice to the merchant marine.

The victories of our war ships could do little toward destroying the powerful British navy; it was the moral prestige that they gave the United States that made them important. But it was far otherwise with the inroads of our privateers on the commerce of England. The loss inflicted upon British shipping during the two and one half years of war was incalculable. Congress licensed about 250 ships, and these scoured every sea in search of the defenseless merchantman, and the prizes they took numbered many hundred.¹ Many of the privateers plowed the seas for months in vain; others were extremely fortunate. The *True-blooded Yankee* took a town on the coast of Scotland, burned seven vessels in the harbor, and captured twenty-seven vessels in thirty-seven days. The *Surprise* made twenty prizes in a month. The *Leo* captured an East Indiaman worth two and a half million dollars, but it was recaptured. No English merchantman was safe in the Irish Sea or the English Channel. One American captain issued a burlesque proclamation, declaring the entire coasts of England and Ireland in a state of blockade. The merchandise taken reached many millions in value, and represented the industries of every clime and every seaport on the globe — sable furs from the Siberian desert, silks and tea from China and Japan, ivory from Africa, Turkish carpets, silks, wines, gold, and diamonds — all kinds of merchandise carried in English vessels became a prey to these bold, insatiable rovers of the sea, the American privateers.

There has been much recent criticism of privateering. The assertion that it is legalized robbery is true; but war itself is worse than robbery. Why should property, especially that which has a military value, be held more sacred than human life? How could a nation without a navy cope at all with a great maritime power except through privateering? Is it less humane to destroy an enemy's property than to destroy the lives of his men? Abolish privateering? Yes, by all means; but abolish war at the same time, and let the nations settle their disputes by arbitration. Had not privateering been permitted in the war we are treating,

¹ It has been estimated that sixteen hundred British merchantmen fell victims to the privateers and the war ships. Many of these were captured by British vessels before reaching port.

the English could have disposed of our little navy and then harassed our coasts for indefinite years — until we came to their terms of peace. It is certain that Great Britain would not have been ready to come to peace when she did but for the fearful wounds she was receiving through the privateers.

LATER OPERATIONS IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION

We left General Dearborn on the southern shore of Lake Ontario in the vicinity of Sacketts Harbor, where Commodore Chauncey had built a fleet of fourteen vessels. In the spring of 1813 Dearborn planned to capture Toronto (then called York), the capital of Upper Canada. For this purpose he sent General Zebulon M. Pike, the explorer. After a rough voyage in Chauncey's fleet, the troops landed near the town, and were met by an equal number of British and Indians led by Sheaffe. After some hours of sharp fighting the Americans captured the town, when suddenly the ground was shaken by a terrific explosion. The magazine containing five hundred barrels of powder had exploded, and the falling débris killed nearly a hundred men and wounded twice as many. Among the mortally wounded was General Pike, who was struck by the fragment of a stone wall while sitting on a stump talking with a captured British sergeant. The British contended that the explosion was an accident, and the fact that nearly half the killed were their own men, seems to justify the claim. It is impossible to believe that they would have engaged in such wanton destruction of life after having surrendered the town. The British flag was hauled down, and General Pike died with it folded beneath his head.

Surrender
of York,
April 27,
1813

General Dearborn was relieved of his command in June, 1813, and General James Wilkinson was called from New Orleans to take command. John Armstrong, author of the famous Newburg addresses, had become secretary of war instead of Eustis, and he planned another invasion of Canada, with Montreal as the objective point.

Chrystler's
Field, No-
vember 11,
1813

In the autumn, Wilkinson moved from Sacketts Harbor down the St. Lawrence with an army of seven thousand men, while an additional force under Wade Hampton was to coöperate in moving on the Canadian city. But these old generals were jealous of each other, and Hampton refused to serve under Wilkinson. The latter moved on, and when within ninety miles of Montreal met a British army and was defeated in the battle of Chrystler's

Field. Hearing now that he would not be supported by Hampton, Wilkinson abandoned the expedition.

We now come to the most famous American victory in the lake region during the war. Lake Erie was held by a small English fleet commanded by Commodore Barclay, who had fought with Nelson at Trafalgar. The Americans determined to dispute the control of its waters, and Oliver Hazard Perry, a valiant young naval officer, sought and obtained permission to undertake the task. The undertaking was prodigious. The timber of the coming fleet was still standing in the woods; the iron works, stores, canvas, and cordage were in New York and Philadelphia. During the winter scores of sleds and wagons struggled through the deep snows of northern Pennsylvania, bearing the necessary equipment; while over fifty ship carpenters at Presque Isle, now Erie, were busy hewing out the timbers. The work was protected by an excellent harbor inclosed by a bar over which the British could not sail. But Barclay would remedy the evil; he would attack the new-born fleet while crossing the bar, and he watched and waited. Perry's work progressed rapidly. He named his flagship *Lawrence*, after the brave commander whose dying words, "Don't give up the ship," now became the motto of the vessel that bore his name. By the end of July the fleet was finished, and fortune favored it from the beginning. The vigilant Barclay lost his vigilance for a day. He accepted an invitation from a rich Canadian to a Sunday dinner, and took his fleet to the northern shore. On that day Perry's fleet crossed the bar. It was a difficult feat. The larger vessels were lightened and borne up by scows, and after a day and a night of severe toil they were launched on the bosom of the lake, and there they stood defiantly when Barclay returned. The British commander now seemed to have lost his desire to fight, and he wheeled about and fled westward. It took Perry a month to find him; but he did so at Put-in-Bay about sunrise of September 10, and before sunset of that same day Great Britain was without ships or sailors on Lake Erie.

The two fleets were of nearly the same force. Perry had ten vessels with fifty-five guns, and Barclay six vessels with sixty-five guns. Each had about four hundred men. The battle opened at noon, and for some hours there was an incessant roar of artillery. Several of the English vessels directed their fire upon the American flagship, and by two o'clock over two thirds of her hundred and thirty men were killed or wounded. At length the *Lawrence* seemed about

Battle of
Lake Erie,
September
10, 1813

to sink, and the undaunted Perry, waving his banner, passed in an open boat in the face of the enemy's fire to his next largest vessel, the *Niagara*. Presently two of the British vessels fouled, and the Americans, taking advantage of this, raked their decks with a murderous fire; but only for twenty minutes, when the British fleet raised the white flag and surrendered.

Perry's laconic dispatch to General Harrison, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," soon became as famous as the noble words of Lawrence, which he had made his motto. This brilliant victory transferred the control of the lake wholly to the Americans, rendered the recovery of Michigan comparatively easy, and gave to the young American commander an undying fame.

Before the battle of Lake Erie the land forces of both belligerents had been gathering in northwestern Ohio. The British and Indians were there under Colonel Henry Proctor and Tecumseh, the Americans under General Harrison, of Tippecanoe fame. The fall of Detroit had roused the blood of the young men of the West, and they determined to wipe out the dishonor. Early in the year 1813, General James Winchester was moving through western Ohio with a thousand Kentucky troops, and before the close of January he reached Frenchtown on the river Raisin, eighteen miles from Malden. Here he met Proctor with a large body of British and Indians, and a battle was fought in which the Americans were defeated, and many of them taken prisoners. Then occurred one of those scenes of carnage so common to Indian warfare. Many of the Americans while retreating were ambushed and tomahawked; others were butchered in cold blood after they had surrendered. Next day Proctor started back to Malden with his prisoners, among whom was Winchester, and left thirty wounded Americans at Frenchtown. But ere they had gone far, two hundred Indians turned back and massacred the wounded men and set fire to the buildings. "Remember the river Raisin" became the rallying cry of their surviving comrades in the Northwest.

The massacre at river Raisin

After this disaster, Harrison with twelve hundred men built Fort Meigs at the rapids of the Maumee. Proctor besieged this fort in vain for some time, and then turned his attention to Fort Stephenson. This fort stood on the site of the present city of Fremont, in northern Ohio, and was held by a hundred and sixty men, commanded by Major George Croghan, a nephew of George Rogers Clark, whom we have met in the Revolution. Proctor's demand for a surrender of the fort, with the usual threat of Indian massacre, was answered

Fort Stephenson

by the brave Croghan, that every man would die at his post rather than surrender the fort. Croghan had one small cannon, a six-pounder, which he masked and placed so as to enfilade a ditch up which the British were approaching. On they came with sublime confidence, and leaped over the pickets, shouting, "Show the Yankees no quarter." Next moment the cannon, loaded with a double charge of slugs, was discharged, and this, followed by a rifle volley, mowed down every man in the ditch. Again the Britons filled the ditch, and again the single piece was discharged, with the same result. It was now night, and next morning the British had disappeared.

As the summer passed the two armies lay watching each other, until on September 12 the Americans were electrified with the famous dispatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," which meant that Lake Erie had passed into American hands. But this was not all. Harrison's army was about to be more than doubled. Ohio was yet in its infancy, and the older state of Kentucky was the main dependence of the Northwest. And Kentucky did nobly. Governor Shelby, who had fought by the side of Sevier at King's Mountain, marched northward with thirty-five hundred troops, and Colonel Richard M. Johnson came with a thousand cavalry. Harrison now determined to invade Canada. He sent Johnson to Detroit with his mounted thousand, but the enemy had fled; and Michigan, which Hull had surrendered without a blow, was recovered without a blow. The main army was then conveyed in Perry's fleet to Canada and set ashore below Malden. But Proctor refused to fight, burned his stores, and abandoned the fort. Tecumseh, who commanded the Indians, was chagrined at the apparent cowardice of Proctor, and compared him to a fat dog that had carried its tail erect till it became frightened, when it dropped its tail and ran.

Harrison moved up the river and was joined by Johnson's cavalry. Proctor continued his flight; the Americans pursued.

**Battle of the
Thames,
October 5,
1813**

The British army was overtaken at Moravian Town on the Thames River. Here, it is said, Tecumseh made a stand and informed Proctor that the disgraceful flight should be continued no farther; and the result was the battle of the Thames. The British rout was complete; Proctor escaped with a few followers by flight through the swamps and wilderness. The Indian leader Tecumseh was among the slain,¹ and he was said to have met his death at

¹ **Stories of Tecumseh.** — Tecumseh was probably the greatest orator ever known among the Indians. His language was remarkable for poetic beauty. When he

the hand of Richard M. Johnson, a future Vice President of the United States. Among the spoils were six brass cannon captured from Burgoyne at Saratoga thirty-six years before and surrendered by Hull at Detroit.

The campaign ending with the battle of the Thames wholly destroyed the alliance between the British and the Indians, killed the most dangerous Indian enemy since the days of Pontiac, and destroyed all hope of an Indian confederation of tribes. It also resulted in the restoration of Michigan, in the capture of a small British army, cleared the entire Northwest of the enemy, and ended the war in that section. Harrison now stationed a thousand men at Detroit under Lewis Cass, disbanded his Kentuckians and sent them rejoicing homeward, and with the remainder of his troops embarked on Perry's fleet for Buffalo.

Two severe battles in the region of the lakes took place the following summer — Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. In March, 1814, Wilkinson was relieved from the service, and thus ended a long and exceedingly checkered military career. The command now fell to General Jacob Brown; and, aided by a few young and vigorous spirits like himself, the ablest of whom was Winfield Scott, he soon infused new life into the army. And it was quite time for such a change; for Napoleon had abdicated the throne of France and retired to Elba, thus setting free a large number of British veterans, who "had not slept under roof for seven years," and fourteen thousand of these were now sent to Canada to fight the Americans.

At the beginning of July, 1814, we find Brown in the neighbor-

addressed an audience, his face shone with a passionate emotion that wrought magic on his hearers. He was a man of sensitive dignity, as shown by the following incident. When he and his warriors held the famous conference with Harrison, he looked around, after concluding his address, for a seat; but none had been reserved for him, and he seemed offended. A white man quickly offered him a seat near General Harrison, saying, "Your father wishes you to sit by his side." — "The sun is my father," answered Tecumseh; "the earth is my mother, and I will rest on her bosom," and he sat down on the ground.

Tecumseh promised Harrison that in case of war between the whites and the Indians he would not permit his warriors to massacre women and children, and he kept his word. At the siege of Fort Meigs, while the Indians were murdering some prisoners, Tecumseh ran between the Indians and the prisoners, and brandishing his tomahawk dared the former to kill another man. Then turning to General Proctor, who had witnessed the massacre without protest, he exclaimed, "Why do you permit this?" — "Your Indians cannot be restrained," answered Proctor. "Begone," cried Tecumseh, "you are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats."

At the opening of the battle of the Thames, Tecumseh turned to his friends and said, "Brother warriors, I shall never come out of this battle alive; my body will remain on the field." He then unbuckled his sword, and, handing it to a chief, said, "When my son becomes a noted warrior, give him this, and go tell my people that Tecumseh died like a warrior and a hero."

hood of the great waterfall with some thirty-five hundred effective men and a few Indians, while General Riall, the British commander at Fort George, had a somewhat larger force. On hearing of the American advance, Riall hastened forward with two thousand men and took a strong position at Chippewa, just above the falls. Here he was met by General Scott with thirteen hundred men, and after a fierce battle of one hour the British broke and fled.

This battle of Chippewa is noted as the only one during the war in which two armies of regulars, nearly equal in numbers, fought on an open plain with no advantage of position.¹ The result was wonderfully gratifying to American pride. Not only did the Americans win the battle in less than an hour, but their killed and wounded numbered less than half those of the British.²

Twenty days after this battle the two armies met again, in a more desperate encounter. Riall's army was augmented by the arrival of his superior, General Gordon Drummond, in whose rank were many of Wellington's veterans. They met Scott at Lundy's Lane within a mile of the boiling Niagara on the Canadian side. In the evening glow of that broiling summer day the battle was opened. Brown heard the firing and hastened to the field with the rest of the army. For five hours in the darkness the battle raged, each army directing its fire by the flash of the enemy's muskets, while the thunder of artillery answered the roar of the roaring river in the rear.

In this night battle Brown and Scott on the American side were wounded. The British commander, Drummond, was wounded and Riall was taken prisoner. Each side lost over 850 men. The Americans then took a strong position at Fort Erie. Drummond attacked the fort, but was repulsed with heavy loss.

Before these events had fully taken place the British had determined on an invasion of New York from another quarter, and their chances seemed excellent. Early in August eleven hundred more of Wellington's veterans reached Canadian soil, and more were coming. For two reasons the British needed to possess Lake Champlain and northern New York. First, their supplies, cattle and provisions, had been drawn from the unpatriotic residents of New York and Vermont, and Congress was

¹ Adams, Vol. VIII, p. 43.

² In this battle on the American side was the famous Indian, Red Jacket, whom Halleck has immortalized in a poem.

about to make a determined effort to stop this traffic. Second, the British had overrun a large part of the coast of Maine, and had required the people to take the oath of allegiance. This territory England determined to hold at the coming of peace, and to do this a solid military basis was necessary.¹ Hence northern New York must be conquered and held.

Sir George Prevost marched from the St. Lawrence Valley at the head of a veteran army of at least twelve thousand men, over the same route taken by Burgoyne thirty-seven years before, and with a larger and better army than that of Burgoyne. Prevost was supported by a British fleet under Commodore George Downie. The American fleet was under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough and there was a small army ashore. The attack by land and water was to be simultaneous, and it took place a year and a day after the victory of Perry on Lake Erie. The two fleets were nearly equal in force. Downie had little opportunity to show his fighting qualities, as he was killed early in the action. Macdonough has been pronounced the greatest naval commander in America before the Civil War. He was but thirty years old, but he had seen severe service in the Mediterranean against the piratical Barbary States. He managed his little fleet in this fight with wonderful skill. The battle continued for two hours, when the English flagship struck her colors, and finally the whole fleet surrendered except a few gunboats, which escaped. Prevost, with no supporting navy, gave up the expedition and returned to his familiar haunts on the St. Lawrence; and the Empire State has ever since been free from invasion by a foreign enemy.

Invasion of
New York

THE WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN

The British government determined to strike the heart of its enemy by attacking our large cities along the coast. The first of these expeditions, under the command of General Robert Ross, who had served under Wellington in Spain, and had stood by the side of Sir John Moore when that hero fell at Corunna, reached the Chesapeake early in August, 1814. The army consisted of thirty-five hundred veterans, soon increased by a thousand marines from the fleet of Cockburn.

Rumors of the coming of the enemy had been afloat for months, but almost nothing had been done for protection. President Madison appointed General William H. Winder to command the

¹ Adams, Vol. VIII, Chap. IV.

defense. Winder possessed little military ability, but he was willing, and with great effort he collected an army of five hundred regulars and fifteen hundred militia. Ross landed at Benedict, on the Patuxent River, some forty miles southeast of Washington, and by easy marches moved northward toward Bladensburg. The inhabitants could easily have impeded his march by felling trees or by burning

Bladensburg, August, 1814



bridges, but nothing of the kind was done. Commodore Barney, who commanded a flotilla on the Chesapeake, burned his vessels, and, with his four hundred marines joined the force of Winder. The two armies met at Bladensburg just after noon on August 24, the American army having been increased by militia till it numbered probably six thousand men. The President and his Cabinet were also on the ground at the opening of the battle. Soon after the fighting began many of the militia found safety in flight, and the British would scarcely have been checked but for the brave

stand made by Barney and his marines. Barney held his ground till he was wounded and captured.

The battle over, the British rested two hours, when they marched upon the capital, then a village of eight thousand people.

Sack of Washington, August, 1814

The President and Cabinet had returned, and were now fleeing in various directions to escape capture. Mrs. Madison had carefully secured Stuart's famous picture of Washington and the original draft of the Declaration of Independence before leaving the White House. The British army encamped at nightfall within a quarter of a mile of the Capitol, while details of troops, led by Ross and the notorious Cockburn, proceeded to burn the public buildings. It is said that Cockburn, followed by a rabble, entered the hall of the House of Representatives, climbed into the speaker's chair, and put the question, "Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy

be burned?" The vote in the affirmative was unanimous and the torch was applied. The White House was next set on fire, as was also the Navy Yard (by order of Secretary of the Navy Jones), and the triple conflagration lit up the whole surrounding country. All the other government buildings, except the Patent Office, were given to the flames; after which the invading army hastened away and boarded their ships at Benedict.

This destruction of public buildings that had no relation to the operations of war, with many "public archives, precious to the nation as memorials of its origin . . . interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science,"¹ will admit of no defense. No reputable Englishman attempts to defend the outrage. Knight, the British historian, says there was a general feeling in England that the destruction of these non-warlike buildings was "an outrage inconsistent with civilized warfare," and he also points out the fact that from this time to the end of the war the Americans were victorious in every contest.² The first American victory after this wanton destruction of the capital was won on Lake Champlain, as we have seen; while the second, almost simultaneous with the Plattsburg victory, was the repulse of Ross's army before Baltimore.

The capture of Washington had been a task so easy that the British seemed confident of making a prize of the larger and richer city of Baltimore. After making a raid up the Potomac, and plundering Alexandria, they sailed up the Chesapeake and anchored off the mouth of the Patuxent, September 11. But the city had not been idle. The fate of the capital had taught the people a much-needed lesson. Led by the mayor, they threw up embankments on all sides, and erected batteries; while the militia poured into the city, till fourteen thousand were present and ready for duty. General Ross, who had boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter quarters, and who "didn't care if it rained militia," landed at the dawn of day — the day after Macdonough had killed Downie and captured his fleet on Lake Champlain — and began his march toward the city. It was fourteen miles, and five were traversed without an obstacle when Ross met General Stricker with three thousand men to dispute the right of way. A hot skirmish, known as the battle of North Point, ensued. The British drove the Americans back; but it took three hours, and it cost three hundred men, and among the dead was General Ross, in whose

Death of
Ross

¹ See Madison's Proclamation.

² *History of England*, Vol. VIII, p. 378.

breast had lodged a musket ball from one of the despised militia.¹

A large fleet under Admiral Cochrane had meantime blocked up the Patapsco, an arm of the Chesapeake; but it failed to pass the guns of Fort McHenry, and hence was unable to throw shells into the city. All day and far into the night the bombarding continued; but at dawn the American flag was still waving from the walls of the fort. On that night the young American poet, Francis Scott Key, had rowed to the British fleet under a flag of truce to beg the parole of a friend, and the British admiral detained him during the night. Eagerly he watched the fluttering banner above the fort, lit by the powder flashes; and when at dawn he found it still waving, he wrote the national hymn, "The Star-Spangled Banner." The enemy now abandoned the siege, and the soldiers returned to the fleet, which sailed away to foreign waters to return no more.

WAR IN THE SOUTH

Soon after the battle of the Thames, General Harrison resigned his commission; and another future President, one who was to play a great part in American history, was made major general. No other American commander during the war, except, perhaps, Jacob Brown, can be compared in vigor and energy with Jackson. Born in North Carolina² a few days after the death of his father, he grew to manhood in poverty and obscurity. At the time of Tarleton's fearful raids through the South we find Jackson, then a boy of thirteen years, among the fighting patriots. He was taken prisoner, and here the spirit of the man appeared in the boy. A British officer ordered Jackson to clean his boots, but Jackson refused, stating that he was a prisoner of war and not a servant; whereupon the officer struck him with his sword, inflicting a wound that left a scar which he carried to his grave. When released from prison, he walked forty miles to his home while suffering with smallpox. He lost both his brothers in the war,

¹ Two weeks before this Sir Peter Parker had left his ship, the *Menelaus*, in the Chesapeake to dislodge two hundred militia at the mouth of the Sassafras River; but the British were repulsed, and Parker and thirteen of his men were killed.

² The dispute as to whether Jackson was born in North or South Carolina seems to be settled by Parton, his biographer. According to him, the Jackson family lived in South Carolina very near the boundary line between the two colonies. In March, 1767, the elder Jackson died, and his wife, on the day of the funeral, was taken to the home of a relative who lived across the boundary in North Carolina, and here, a few days later, she gave birth to Andrew. Her two other sons, Hugh and Robert, had migrated with them from Ireland two years before.

and his mother died from exposure while ministering to the wants of the patriots. Thus while yet a boy Jackson found himself without parents or immediate friends. On reaching his majority, after having read law for a time, he migrated to the then far West, and made his home in Tennessee. Here he became successively the public prosecutor, a planter, a storekeeper, a judge, and a member of Congress; and he was now commander of the Tennessee militia. He became the first representative of his adopted state in the Lower House of Congress, and served also a short time in the Senate.

Early in the War of 1812 the Creek Indians became hostile; not that they had a grievance against the United States, but through the influence of Tecumseh, who had visited them, and because British agents in Florida had offered them five dollars apiece for scalps of Americans, men, women, or children.¹ In August, 1813, the most dreadful Indian massacre in American annals took place in southern Alabama. It is known as the massacre of Fort Mims. This so-called fort was a stockade inclosure made for cattle by a farmer named Mims, and to this the settlers came for protection when the Indians become hostile. There were now more than five hundred men, women, and children gathered in the place, when a thousand Creek warriors, led by a half-breed named Wetherford, burst upon them and slew more than four hundred in a few hours. Nearly two hundred of the inmates were volunteers, and so brave was their defense that about half of the Indians were killed.

Massacre of
Fort Mims

The country was horrified at the news of the massacre at Fort Mims. Tennessee first came to the rescue; her legislature voted thirty-five hundred men to march into the Indian country under the command of Jackson. With a band of cavalry under General Coffee and a large body of militia, Jackson overran the territory of the Creeks, defeated them with great slaughter at the battles of Talladega and the Horse Shoe, and forced the tribe to sue for peace.² It was soon after this that Jackson was appointed major

¹ Johnson, *War of 1812*, p. 179.

² After the Creeks had been crushed, Jackson set a price on the capture, dead or alive, of the half-breed Wetherford, who had led the Indians in the campaign, as also in the massacre of Fort Mims. One day as Jackson sat in his tent a big Indian chief walked in and said: "I am Wetherford. I have come to ask peace for my people. I am in your power; do as you please with me. I am a soldier. If I had an army, I would still fight; but my warriors hear my voice no longer. Their bones are at Talladega and the Horse Shoe. Do as you will with me. You are a brave man. I ask not for myself, but for my people." Jackson was astonished at this visit. He had intended to put Wetherford to death; but now felt that he could not do so. He gave the chief his liberty on his promise to keep peace in the future — and the promise was kept.

general and given command of the southern military district of the United States;¹ and as the government at Washington had been paralyzed by the invasion of Ross, he was left independent and practically dictator over his district.

In the autumn of 1814 the rumor spread through the country that England was about to send a large fleet to the Gulf of Mexico with New Orleans as the objective point. The rumor proved true. General Sir Edward Pakenham, who had won an enviable fame in the Peninsular War, was chosen for the command. Pakenham was a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and with him sailed Generals Gibbs, Keane, and Lambert, — all famous commanders in their day. The fleet of more than fifty vessels, commanded by Admiral Cochrane, bore at least sixteen thousand veterans and a thousand heavy guns. The avowed object was to "rescue the whole province of Louisiana from the United States"; and so confident were the British of capturing New Orleans that they brought with them a collector of the port and the machinery of city government.

Jackson heard of the approach of the British, and after making an incursion into Spanish Florida he began his long horseback ride through the wilderness to New Orleans, arriving there on the 2d of December. He found the people in a wild state of excitement and without defense; and great was the commotion when the magic news that Jackson had arrived ran through the city. The British fleet arrived on December 10, entered Lake Borgne, and destroyed the American flotilla of six gunboats. The news of this first blow of the campaign struck terror to the city of New Orleans. Jackson put it under martial law and assumed the power of a dictator. He sent to General Coffee, above Baton Rouge, to hasten to the city with his twelve hundred cavalry, and Coffee made the distance of 120 miles in two days. A brigade of Tennessee militia and another from Mississippi also hurried down the river. There was no time to lose, for sixteen hundred men under Colonel Thornton, who had led the English advance at Bladensburg, occupied the

Approach of the British

¹ In the early part of the war Jackson raised two thousand troops and was sent down the Mississippi as far as Natchez. But as no enemy appeared, he was ordered, in the spring of 1813, to disband the army. Jackson was very indignant at this order. It was cruel and outrageous, he said, to lead men five hundred miles from home and turn them out without money or food. He chose to disobey the order: he marched the men back to Tennessee, at his own expense. But the government afterward assumed the expense. The general had three good horses; but these he gave to the sick, while he walked with the rest. While tramping along, some one said, "The general is tough," and another added, "As tough as hickory." From this he soon came to be called "Old Hickory," and the name clung to him through life.

Villière plantation, but six miles below New Orleans, two days before Christmas. Jackson threw his army between the enemy and the city. The two armies came together late in the evening, and a severe night battle, similar to that of Lundy's Lane, was the result. Neither side could claim a victory. On the next day, December 24, as the two armies were recovering from the shock of the battle and laying their plans for another, a different kind of scene was enacted in a far-away village across the sea. On that day the two warring nations, through their agents, signed a treaty of peace; but the telegraph was then unknown, and the war in Louisiana went on.

Jackson intrenched his army between a cypress swamp and the river. So great was his vigilance that for four days and nights he did not sleep, and he took most of his meals while sitting on his horse.¹ On the first day of the new year the armies met for an artillery duel. The British used hogsheads of sugar as a breastwork, and the Americans used cotton bales — both of which proved ineffective. The battle lasted for several hours, and the Americans were completely successful, disabling and silencing every English gun. This was the only time during the war in which a fair, even fight with heavy guns took place, and the British officers frankly acknowledged that their defeat was due to the superiority of the Americans in handling artillery.

**Artillery
duel**

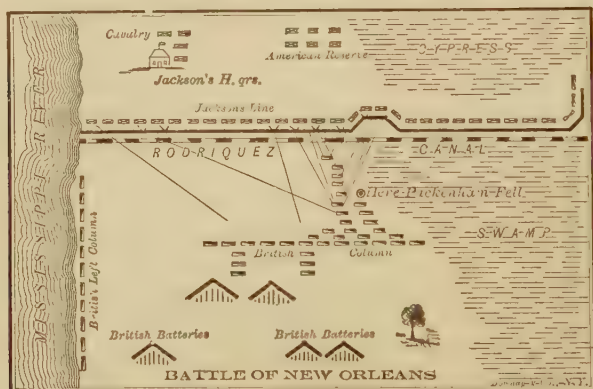
These battles were but preliminary. Everybody knew that the decisive battle was yet to come. A week passed, and Jackson spent the time strengthening his embankment. Day and night the work was pushed with the utmost vigor, and there was scarcely a horse, a mule, or an ox in the city that was not pressed into the service.

The fateful 8th of January was now at hand — and the vessel that bore the tidings of peace was battling with the wintry tides in midocean. The morning was chill and dense with fog. Long before the dawn the two armies were astir. Jackson rose at one o'clock and roused his sleeping army, and by four every man was in his place. The British were also in battle array hours before the dawn. The main attack was that of the British right, to be made by Gibbs. There was some forced merriment along the lines; but the feeling that they were entering a death trap could not be shaken off. Colonel Dale, who commanded Keane's Highlanders, handed his watch and a letter to a friend and said sadly, "Give these to my wife; I shall die at the head of my regiment."

**Battle of
New Orleans**

¹ Parton, Vol. II, p. 117.

Behind the earthen breastwork crouched the American army, thirty-five hundred strong, with a thousand in reserve. Twelve cannon frowned over the parapet. Soon after daybreak the scarlet lines of the British columns were seen through the fog near the cypress trees. A little later the American cannon opened on the advancing foe, and great lanes were cut through their ranks; but on they marched toward the works until they came within musket range. The musketeers then poured in one murderous



volley after another, and the top of the American works for half a mile was an unbroken line of spurring fire. The slaughter of the British was frightful. The killed and wounded fell in heaps. One cannon, loaded to the muzzle with musket balls, mowed down two hundred men at a single discharge. No army, however heroic, could stand before such a storm, and the British columns began to fall back in disorder. At this moment General Pakenham rode from the rear to the head of the retreating column and cried: "For shame, remember that you are British soldiers." Next instant a musket ball shattered his right arm and another killed his horse. He leaped on a second charger and kept on cheering his men, apparently unconscious of his wound. But his time was short. A grapeshot tore open his thigh and killed his second horse, and the two fell together. The wounded general was caught in the arms of friends; but ere they could bear him to the rear, a third shot entered his body, and after gasping for a few minutes his life was gone. Scarcely had Pakenham been borne away when Gibbs received his death wound, and at almost the same moment Keane, who was fighting valiantly on the river bank, was severely wounded; and Lambert became the com-

mander of the army. A very few of the English floundered across the ditch and climbed the American parapet; but none survived except Lieutenant Lavack, who was made a prisoner. Major Wilkinson was one of those who mounted the parapet, but he instantly fell, riddled with bullets. The Americans, struck with admiration at his heroism, leaped forward to save him; but he was dying, and lived only long enough to request that his commander be informed that he died like a soldier and a true Englishman.

Between this main attack made by Gibbs and the river, Keane had made a similar one on the American right and had suffered a similar repulse, but with less loss of life. A simultaneous battle was progressing on the west bank of the Mississippi. The American loss in the main battle east of the river was but eight killed and thirteen wounded,¹ but including the west side the loss was seventy-one. The British left seven hundred men dead upon the field, and twice as many were wounded. The battle continued for two hours; but the chief attack with its fearful slaughter occupied but twenty-five minutes. The Americans did all in their power to aid and relieve the wounded.² Lambert decided not to risk a second attack. He withdrew Thornton from the west side and retreated toward his ships, and on the 27th the whole army reëmbarked and sailed away, and were seen no more on the shores of Louisiana.³

Thus ended the War of 1812 and never from that day to this have these two great Anglo-Saxon peoples come to blows on the battle field.

NATIONAL FINANCES

Aside from the passing of necessary laws for carrying on the government and the war, the chief business of Congress and the administration was to wrestle with the financial problem, and the problem proved an insoluble one at the time. Albert Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury for thirteen years, was a great financier; and had not Congress persistently disregarded his advice, the story of the War of 1812 would not be so humiliating to the

¹ In a letter to a friend in 1839, Jackson stated that in the main battle his loss was six killed and seven wounded. See Parton, Vol. III, p. 633.

² At the close of the battle some five hundred of the British rose unhurt from among the dead and gave themselves up as prisoners. To save their lives, they had dropped down and lain as if dead until the battle was over. Parton, Vol. II, p. 209.

³ Lambert stopped at Mobile and captured a fort; Cockburn ravaged part of the coast of Georgia late in January; and the war on the ocean continued for some months before the treaty of peace became known.

American reader. It was doubtless the incompetency of Congress that brought about the serious condition during the war — a distrust by the people of the credit of the government. The internal revenue system of old Federalist days had been done away; the embargo and non-importation laws had depleted the Treasury, and Congress, against the advice of Gallatin, refused to recharter the United States Bank at the expiration of the old charter in 1811, thereby cutting off the one sure source of government loans. The members of Congress seemed to think that the people would readily make loans to the government when not even the interest could be paid except through other loans. But the people were slow to risk their money with their government. The first loan of eleven millions, called for in the spring of 1812, was taken but slowly, as previously stated. The next year a loan of sixteen millions was authorized, and Gallatin succeeded in placing it only with great effort, paying six per cent interest for the greater portion of it, and selling the stock at eighty-eight cents on the dollar. Another loan of seven and one half millions was soon afterward placed, the discount being the same. Only a small portion of these loans was taken by New England, which was still under the sway of the Federalists. At the same time many people of that section actually lent money to the enemy by purchasing British bills of credit, and they also sold supplies to the British and Canadians.

Exasperated at this, President Madison, in December, 1813, recommended that Congress pass an effective embargo act, and it was done without delay. Then arose a mighty cry from New England. In Massachusetts many public meetings were held to denounce the law as unjust and oppressive. Madison was not, perhaps, altogether without a vindictive spirit in this matter. It can be believed that one of his objects was to punish New England for its persistent opposition to his policy. This embargo was removed in March, 1814.

At an extra session of Congress in 1813 the Democratic party departed from another of its theories. It laid a direct tax and an internal revenue tax on the people. It imposed a stamp tax, and laid taxes on salt, sugar, carriages, and the like. Most of the people saw the necessity of these measures, and responded cheerfully. The next year Madison reported that they had paid the extra taxes with the "greatest promptness and alacrity."

In January, 1814, a bill was passed to refill the ranks of the armies, offering a bounty of \$124, in addition to a tract of land of one hundred and twenty acres, to every one who would enlist for

five years, or during the war. Another loan, twenty-five millions, was then authorized (March, 1814); but the people were slow to respond. Months passed; Washington was captured by the enemy; the specie of the country drifted to the New England banks. Public credit fell to the lowest ebb; every bank in the Middle and Southern states suspended specie payments; the state banks floated great quantities of paper, and all sorts of corporations issued so-called ticket money, good only in the locality in which it was issued. The country at large was without a stable and adequate currency, and was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Boston banks would receive the notes of a Baltimore bank only at a discount of thirty per cent, and the treasury notes, issued from time to time, at a discount of twenty-five per cent.¹ It was found that the new loan could be secured only at the ruinous rate of seventy-five cents on the dollar.

At this juncture, Mr. Dallas, who had succeeded Gallatin in the treasury,² recommended that a national bank be established. After months of sparring, Congress passed a bank bill; but Madison vetoed it in the belief that it would not furnish the needed relief. Another bank bill was soon introduced; but before it could be passed the news of peace was received, and a further consideration was postponed.

The agents of the two belligerents had met at Ghent, Belgium, in midsummer, 1814.³ The instructions from their respective governments were such that it seemed at first impossible to reach an agreement. The English demanded, among other things, that America cede large portions of northern New York and Maine, and set apart a broad tract in the Northwest for the Indians. But when the news of the defeat of Prevost in New York and of Ross at Baltimore arrived, they abandoned their extravagant demands; while the Americans, on the other hand, yielded on the impressment question. The treaty, as finally arranged, is more remarkable for what it omitted than for what it contained.

Treaty of
Peace,
December
24, 1814

¹ The government issued \$40,000,000 in treasury notes during the war.

² Mr. Campbell of Tennessee served a short time between the terms of Gallatin and Dallas.

³ The American commissioners were Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and John Q. Adams. The English commissioners were Lord Gambier, Henry Goldburn, and William Adams. Another treaty, of the greatest importance, was made between Great Britain and the United States in April, 1817. It provided that the naval force on the Great Lakes for each nation be confined to one vessel on Lake Ontario and two on the upper lakes, none to exceed 100 tons and armed with one 18 pound cannon. This treaty could be annulled on six months' notice; but neither nation has ever given such notice. Thus Canada and the United States, with by far the longest international boundary in the world, have developed side by side without warships, fortresses, or soldiers.

It was little else than a mutual agreement to stop the war, as both nations were tired of it. The subject of impressment was omitted with the understanding that, as the European wars were apparently over, England would no longer need to follow the practice. There was no cession of territory by either side. The treaty provided for the restoration of boundaries as fixed in 1783, and for peace with the Indians, and left all the old boundary disputes and the fisheries question, as also the British right to navigate the Mississippi, for future negotiation. Both nations agreed to use their best endeavors to promote the entire abolition of the slave trade. The news of peace and of the victory at New Orleans reached the Northern states at about the same time, and the rejoicing was tremendous.

The dying Federalist party had opposed the war to the last, though many of its members had fought bravely in the armies.

Hartford convention The legislature of Massachusetts made a call for a convention of the New England states to meet at Hartford in December, 1814. Twenty-six delegates assembled, and they sat for three weeks with closed doors. The fact that the sessions were secret gave ground to the rumor that the assembly was treasonable and sought to destroy the Union. What its discussions were, was never known, except from its report embodying a set of resolutions, afterward made public.

To one who reads this report there can be no doubt that the proceedings of the convention were unpatriotic. "A severance of the Union by one or more states, against the will of the rest," says the report, "and especially in a time of war, can be justified only by absolute necessity." Then it proceeds to show that the necessity had come, averring, however, that absolute proof was not yet conclusive that the time for disunion had come. On state rights we find, "That acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void," and that the "states which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions." Here was a reproduction of the Kentucky and Virginia resolution in a more virulent form. The convention also proposed certain radical amendments to the Constitution.¹ The apparent intention was to force these demands upon an unwilling administration while it was hampered by a foreign war, or in case of refusal to make such refusal a pretext for dismembering the Union.

¹ Among these proposed amendments are these: That no new states be admitted to the Union except by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress; that Congress have no power to lay an embargo for more than sixty days; that a President be ineligible for reelection, and that a President be not elected from the same state two terms in succession. See *State Documents*, No. 2, p. 41, edited by H. V. Ames.

The men of this convention were among the leading Federalists of the country, and with all their good qualities it is evident that their patriotism was shallow. But their work came to naught. The news of peace that soon reached America rendered the whole proceeding ridiculous; and the members that composed the convention, as well as the party they represented, thus brought on themselves an odium from which they never recovered.

OBSERVATIONS

The war on the part of Great Britain was a serious and costly blunder. She did not acquire a foot of land, nor establish a principle, nor win a friend. She might have conciliated America with a few slight concessions, and have made us an ally against Napoleon.* She could have dealt that monarch a stunning blow by opening her ports to our commerce, and thus reducing to a nullity all his pretensions to blockade her coasts. But she suffered the dispute with us to come to blows, and thereby lost her monopoly on the sea; sacrificed thousands of lives; and expended money enough to have raised the pay of her sailors to such a figure as to prevent desertions, and to render impressment unnecessary. A remarkable feature of the war is found in the high mortality of British commanders. Seven sea captains were slain in action, besides Generals Brock, Ross, Pakenham, and Gibbs, Tecumseh, and Sir Peter Parker.

On the other hand, the Americans gained greatly by the war, though this did not appear in the treaty, nor at first on the surface. The war had been expensive to the United States also. It had cost thirty thousand lives and a hundred million dollars; the currency had been so debased as to threaten every business interest in the country; the capital had been captured and burned; a portion of the people had been disaffected and had given aid and comfort to the enemy. But with all this, the war had been a successful one to the Americans. It had brought commercial independence and a final separation from European affairs, so necessary to national development. Europe had decided long before that a republican government could not succeed, and ancient Greece and Rome were always held up as examples; and even France, which had become a republic within that generation, had again relapsed into a monarchy. It was believed that our government would also fail, and great was the contempt across the Atlantic for the United States. But when, without a great leader, we held our own on the land for nearly three years, and

more than held our own on the sea against the greatest naval power of the earth, the whole world was astonished. Before this war, the United States was never considered a first-class power; since then it has never been considered anything else. It was then that the nations began to realize that America was a rising giant, and that it demanded their respect; they have never since withheld it.

In our home relations our success was equally marked. The people for the first time began to feel a national consciousness; they saw with clearer vision than before that the nation had a future, a destiny, which no European interference could disturb. French and English factions in American politics disappeared. Soon after the close of the war began that tide of immigration from Europe that poured an unceasing stream upon our shores for a hundred years. Then, also, began that wonderful era of prosperity which has swept down through the century like a tidal wave, and which has no parallel in the history of civilization.

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CHAPTER XVIII

DAWN OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

NOTHING is more interesting to the student of American political history than the gradual change wrought in the Democratic party during the first sixteen years of the nineteenth century. The party had been founded on the principles of strict construction of the Constitution; but it did not gain control of the government until the Federalists had committed the country to a policy of broad construction. Had the early theories of Jefferson on construction been strictly carried out, the Union could not have existed a quarter of a century. Jefferson was wise in being able to see the necessity of abandoning his former theories. His party was founded on the theory of strict construction and state rights, and yet no President ever departed farther from this policy than he in the purchase of Louisiana, and in the laying of an unlimited embargo. He believed that the nations could live in harmony without war; his party waged a foreign war eleven years after it came into power. One of the party's theories was that no navy was necessary; it voted in 1813 to build a navy. Another was its opposition to direct taxes and internal revenue; it established both in 1813. At first the party opposed internal improvements at national expense; in 1806 it passed a law to build the Cumberland Road, and internal improvements have flourished from that time to the present. For years the party opposed a national bank; in 1816 it established one. What, then, can we say of a party that abandons the very foundation stones on which it was built? Simply, that it was wise enough to grapple with new problems, to adapt itself to new conditions. What, then, of Thomas Jefferson, who had been forced to discard, one by one, nearly every plank on which he had stood at his first election to the presidency? As noted on a former page, it was not state rights, nor a weak central government, to which Jefferson gave his life work. These were but means, which he erroneously believed to be necessary means, to a sublimer end. The end was the rule of the democracy, a government by the people. And this he won, — not immediately, not fully during

his lifetime ; but he started the current, which gathered in force and in later years became irresistible.

RECUPERATION

Marvelously soon after the close of the war the people returned to their respective vocations and set about repairing their broken fortunes. But it was the government, rather than the people, that had suffered. The great question now before Congress was that concerning the adjustment of the finances. The money of the country was in a frightful condition. The sources of issue exceeded four hundred in number. Much of the "wild-cat" money, as it was called, was counterfeit ; much came from alleged banks that had no existence.¹ James A. Dallas of Pennsylvania had proved himself an able financier. He now sought to bring about specie payments as soon as possible, and to do this he again urged upon Congress the advantage of chartering a second United States Bank. The charter of the old bank founded by Hamilton had expired in 1811, and, as we have seen, a recharter was defeated in Congress. But now a twenty-year charter for a national bank, with \$35,000,000 capital, was readily obtained. The government subscribed \$7,000,000 of this and the remainder was taken by individuals and corporations. The bank paid the government a bonus of \$1,500,000 for the charter. It had a wonderful effect in restoring confidence, and in a short time the national debt was steadily decreasing, while the people were busy and prosperous and happy.

To the two great industries of the country, agriculture and commerce, a third, manufactures, was now added. The temporary suspension of commerce, through Jefferson's embargo and the war,² had forced the people to begin manufacturing on a large scale to supply their own wants. Before the embargo all the cotton and woolen cloth, tools, china, glass, and the like were brought from England ; but at the close of the war hundreds of manufactories, encouraged by societies formed for the purpose, by prizes and by special acts of state legislatures, had sprung up, and most of these articles were made at home.

Soon after the coming of peace the country was flooded with all manner of merchandise from England, and the people, seeing their new industries threatened, called upon Congress to protect

¹ McMaster, Vol. V, p. 307.

² During the war the duties on foreign imports had been doubled.

by tariff laws what the embargo and the war had protected for them before. The response was the tariff of 1816, fathered by William Lowndes of South Carolina. By this tariff duties were raised to an average of about twenty per cent,¹ and this not only greatly increased the revenue, but proved ample for protection; and the business of manufacturing increased and flourished throughout the land.

Tariff of
1816

There was little speculation as to who would succeed Madison to the presidency. It seemed to be generally understood that James Monroe would be chosen, the only objection being that he was a Virginian, and Virginia had furnished all the presidents thus far except Adams.

Monroe
elected
President

Monroe, however, would have been eclipsed, and would probably have been beaten, by the more brilliant DeWitt Clinton of New York, but for the fact that Clinton had bolted the regular party candidate four years before, and had permitted himself to be the candidate of the anti-war Democrats and the Federalists. He never rose again to national favor, and Monroe now had clear sailing. The Federal party was no longer formidable. The war, which the party had so diligently opposed, had ended happily, and this continued opposition, with the odium of the "Blue Lights" and of the Hartford convention, was a burden too heavy to be borne; and after casting 34 electoral votes for Rufus King against Monroe's 183, the party disappeared from national politics. Daniel D. Tompkins, the vigorous war governor of New York, was chosen Vice President.

The time for retiring, after a long and useful public career, now came to James Madison. With his accomplished wife, known as "Dolly" Madison, he retired to his rural home at Montpelier, Virginia, and there he grew old gracefully amid the scenes of his young manhood. He was the last survivor of the illustrious band that had framed the Constitution, dying in 1836, after twenty years in private life. No President in his declining years ever enjoyed a deeper reverence of the whole people than did Madison.

JAMES MONROE

Monroe has been called the last and least of the great Virginians. He was less original than his great predecessors, it is true, nor was he brilliant nor dashing in any sense; but none was better fitted for the presidency at this moment than he, for the people were now dreaming of national

Era of good
feeling

¹ Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 19.

greatness, and were not in the mood for hero worship. Monroe had made few enemies. He was so open-hearted, generous, amiable, and industrious that he had won the confidence of all classes. "If his soul were turned inside out," said Jefferson, "not a blot could be found upon it." Soon after the inauguration the new President made a tour of the country, ostensibly "to inspect the national defenses," but in fact to strengthen patriotism, to win over disaffected elements, and to obliterate party lines. And his tour was eminently successful. In New England the remaining Federalists vied with the Democrats in doing honor to this "last of the revolutionary fathers." In every town he was met by the leading men, and was cheered by thousands of school children, and by young men and women of every walk in life. It was said that the farmer left his plow in the furrow, the housewife left her clothes in the tub and her cream in the churn and hastened to the towns to see this real President of the United States. While the presidential party was in New England a Boston newspaper gave rise to the well-known expression, "Era of good feeling," which is still used to characterize the administration of Monroe. From New England the President passed through northern New York, to Sacketts Harbor, Niagara, and thence to Detroit, returning through Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. This tour, covering three and a half months, was followed by another to the South, and their great usefulness in cementing the Union and awakening a livelier sense of patriotism was denied by no one.

Monroe had chosen a strong Cabinet. John Quincy Adams became secretary of state, William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, B. W. Crowninshield of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy, while John C. Calhoun took the war department and William Wirt became attorney general. Of these five men, three — Adams, Crawford, and Calhoun — were yet to become important figures on the political stage.

One of the most notable episodes of this quiet administration was that known as the Seminole War, notable mainly because it brought prominently before the public, for the second time, a remarkable character, a future President — Andrew Jackson. The Seminole Indians, a wandering portion of the Creeks, together with some Spaniards and negroes escaped from their masters, kept stirring up trouble with the Americans along the northern border of Florida, which then belonged to Spain, and Jackson with fifteen hundred men was sent against them. He was successful at every turn, and the

Seminole
War, 1818

war was soon over. In this brief campaign Jackson showed that spirit of lawlessness so characteristic of him through life. Monroe was careful not to offend Spain, and through Calhoun, his secretary of war, he instructed Jackson not to lead his army on Spanish soil. But the general thought he knew best, and he led the army across the border without ceremony.¹ He captured St. Marks and Pensacola, both on Spanish territory, and even sent General Gaines against St. Augustine, which was not at all concerned in the war; but Calhoun recalled Gaines, and the town was not taken. Again Jackson exhibited his lawless propensities in dealing with two English captives — Ambrister and Arbuthnot. Ambrister was a young Englishman, who was taken in the act of leading the Indians against the Americans. Arbuthnot was an old Scotch trader suspected of stirring up the Indians. A court-martial sentenced both to death; but it reconsidered the decision in the case of Ambrister and gave him a lighter sentence. But Jackson, believing both men to be guilty, reversed the second decision of the court and ordered both men to be put to death, and it was done. Great was the indignation in England against Jackson when the facts became known. He was denounced as a murderer all over England; but Parliament was more considerate and decided not to allow the matter to make trouble between the two nations, as it was evident that the two men had violated international rights. A British statesman, however, said that if the ministry would but raise a finger, all England would rush to arms at a moment's notice.

But Jackson's trouble was not over. He made enemies in Washington. There were several secret Cabinet meetings in which his conduct was discussed. All the Cabinet were against him except John Quincy Adams; but none wished to become his open enemy, so the meetings were kept secret. Now Jackson thought that Calhoun was his warmest friend and most faithful defender in the Cabinet, but Calhoun made the remark in one of these meetings that Jackson ought to be court-martialed. This was the costliest sentence ever uttered by John C. Calhoun, as will be shown in a later chapter. Many of the people denounced

¹ Jackson always claimed that he had secret orders from the President, through John Rhea, a member of Congress, to conquer Florida. Jackson had said, in a letter to the President, "Let it be signified to me through any channel (say Mr. John Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable, . . . and in sixty days it will be accomplished." This authority he and Rhea claimed to have received; but Monroe always denied having given it. In 1830 the subject came up again, and the aged ex-President, under oath, declared that he had not granted the authority. Whether Jackson and Rhea were right and Monroe had forgotten, was never known.

Jackson, and he was wroth; but Monroe skillfully soothed his feelings, gave up the Spanish forts, and avoided war with Spain. And yet Jackson's tribulation was not at an end. Congress took up the matter. Jackson had enemies in Congress, and a motion was made in the House to censure him for hanging the two Englishmen, and was debated for three weeks, much to the chagrin of the administration; for Monroe had already settled the matter, and England demanded nothing. The war being over, Jackson came to Washington and remained during this strange debate. At length he was acquitted and came out with flying colors.¹ He then made a tour through the North, and was received with great demonstration everywhere. An immense banquet was given in his honor in New York City. This was on Washington's birthday, 1819, and on that same day, John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, and Don Onís, minister from Spain, signed the treaty conveying Florida from Spain to the United States.²

(Secretary Adams bluntly informed Spain that Florida was merely a derelict, a post of annoyance to the United States where every enemy, civilized or savage, could find a base of operations; and he demanded that Spain place a force sufficient to keep order in Florida or cede the country to the United States. Spain could not do the former. She chose to cede Florida to the United States. The compensation was five million dollars.) By this treaty the United States gave up its claim to Texas as part of the Louisiana Purchase and made the Sabine River the western boundary.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

We must now introduce the reader to a great public question, which first became prominent at this period, and which thereafter, with brief intervals, was the most overshadowing public issue for half a century—the slavery question. It first came up as a sectional question in connection with the admission of

¹ In this debate Clay denounced the conduct of Jackson, and thus incurred his everlasting enmity.

² This treaty fixed also the boundary between the United States and Spanish territory of the Pacific coast. It ran up the Sabine to the 32d parallel, thence due north to the Red River, along that stream to the hundredth meridian, north to the Arkansas River, along its right bank to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, north to the 42d parallel and west on this line to the Pacific. The coast south of 42°, known as California, was left to Mexico. Florida came into the possession of the United States in 1821 and Andrew Jackson became its first American governor.

In 1818 the boundary between the United States and British America west of the Great Lakes was fixed. Between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains it was made the 49th degree. West of this lay the Oregon country, claimed by both countries. It was decided that it be occupied jointly for ten years; but twenty-eight years passed before the ownership was finally settled.

Missouri into the Union, and resulted in the Missouri Compromise. The rising West had been rising with great rapidity. Streams of emigration from the East had poured into the great valley of the Mississippi, and one new state after another had joined the famous sisterhood. Louisiana had been admitted in 1812, and four years later her northern sister of kindred name, Indiana, became the nineteenth state. Indiana was the first of six states to be admitted in six successive years, the others in order being Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri. It was the last of these that brought up the momentous issue that was destined to shock the country almost to its destruction, and to be settled at last in blood. The Missouri Compromise was purely a slavery question, and a rapid glance at the existence of slavery in America before this date is here in place.

The enslavement of the African race for commercial purposes had its beginning in southern Europe about half a century before the discovery of America by Columbus. It was transplanted to Central and South America by the Spaniards, and it existed there for a hundred years before being introduced into the English colonies of North America. Soon after the small beginning made in Virginia the institution grew and spread to other colonies as they were founded; and at the opening of the Revolution there were about six hundred thousand slaves in the colonies. The slave-traffic during the colonial period was very lucrative and was carried on chiefly by English traders. At various times the colonies attempted to restrict the evil, but in each case the attempt was crushed by the British Crown, simply because the trade was profitable. As early as 1712 Pennsylvania passed a law to restrict the increase of slaves, but it was annulled by the Crown.¹ Virginia made a similar attempt, a few years later, by laying a tax on imported negroes. South Carolina attempted to restrict the trade in 1761, as did Massachusetts a few years later; but in each case the effort was summarily crushed by the Crown. As late as 1770 King George wrote the governor of Virginia, commanding him on pain of the royal displeasure "to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." Thus while the mother country prohibited slavery on her home soil, she not only encouraged but enforced it in her colonies.² But the colonists were in part to

Slavery in
the colonies

¹ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. I, p. 4.

² Before 1772 slaves were held in England. In that year Chief Justice Mansfield decided, in the famous Somerset case, that it was illegal to hold slaves in England, and that decision, which freed about fourteen thousand blacks, has never since been reversed.

be blamed, for they purchased the slaves; otherwise the traffic would have died out.

Slavery in the colonies was first opposed by the Quakers and Pennsylvania Germans in the latter part of the seventeenth century. John Wesley, the great founder of Methodism, visited the South in later years and pronounced the institution the "sum of all villainies." At the opening of the Revolution all the colonies had slaves; but the Northern states soon began to emancipate, not so much from motives of morality as because the institution was unprofitable. Massachusetts abolished slavery by a decision of the courts; Pennsylvania provided for gradual emancipation in 1780; New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island in 1784; New York in 1799; New Jersey in 1804, and so on. There were a few left in New Jersey as late as 1850. Jefferson inserted a clause against the slave trade in the Declaration of Independence, but it was struck out. The Ordinance of 1787 kept slavery out of the Northwest.¹ The law of 1808, prohibiting the slave trade, brought relief to all opposers of the institution, for it was generally believed that the artery of slavery was now severed, and that it would eventually die out in the South, as it had in the North; and little was heard on the subject during the next ten years. But this hope was a delusion. Whitney's cotton gin brought cotton to the front and rendered it eventually the chief agricultural staple in America. More slaves were needed to raise cotton and slavery fastened itself upon the South with a firmer grasp, and at the same time the conviction was slowly taking possession of the northern heart that the whole system was wrong and should be checked. On both ethical and economic grounds the North came to oppose the extension of slavery. The South was quick to see that the only way in which to prevent future legislation unfriendly to slavery was to increase the number of slave states, and thus to increase its representation in the United States Senate.

The Missouri slavery agitation and, it may be said, the entire slavery dispute of the following forty years may be regarded as an indirect result of the compromise of the Constitution, giving

¹ In 1784 Jefferson introduced an ordinance for the government of the Southwest, the territory "ceded already or to be ceded" to the United States, afterward Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, etc., in which a clause prohibited slavery in the territory after the year 1800; but this clause was struck out by a majority of one. Had it been carried and been effective, slavery would have been confined to a few Atlantic states in the South, and would doubtless have died a natural death. But a certain member from New Jersey, who would have voted for it, was absent on the day when the vote was taken. Thus the entire course of American history was changed by the absence of one man from Congress on a certain day in 1784. See Greeley, *American Conflict*, Vol. I, pp. 38-40.

the states equal power in the Senate. But for this provision the slave states could have had no hope of maintaining equal power with the free states in the Senate. The North had far outrun the South in population, and had the Senate been based on population, as was the House, the free states could have dominated the Senate as well as the House; the slave states, conscious that they were subject to the will of Congress, would not have waged so unequal a warfare. It is possible that the long sectional quarrel over slavery and the Civil War would have been prevented. In our time it is not of much consequence that New York with nearly fifty times as great voting power as Delaware in the House, has only equal power in the Senate; for each senator in a broad sense represents the whole people; but in the days of sectional conflict over slavery this constitutional provision had a most profound and serious meaning.

A vast region was added to the United States by the Louisiana Purchase, and as the time approached for this to be carved into states, the all-important question arose, Slavery or no slavery in the great West? Missouri was the first of the trans-Mississippi territories to apply for statehood, and on its application the first great battle between the North and the South was fought. The slaveholders had stolen a march by settling in Missouri with their slaves; and when the application for statehood came to the Fifteenth Congress, it provided for slavery in the new state. But it was clearly seen that if Missouri were admitted with slavery, it would be very difficult to keep it out of any part of the Louisiana Purchase. Slavery in Missouri must therefore be opposed, and the man for the occasion was at hand.

There was a young man in the House from New York, named James Talmadge, who now rose and moved to strike out the slavery clause in the Missouri bill, or, more exactly, that there be no further introduction of slavery into Missouri, and that all children born in slavery after the admission of the state should be free at the age of twenty-five years; and his speech in support of the motion was the most eloquent heard on the floor of Congress since the time of Fisher Ames. Talmadge was powerfully aided by John W. Taylor, also of New York, and the two succeeded in defeating the Missouri bill with slavery. But the Senate rejected the House measure, and it was left over till the next Congress. During the interval the subject was discussed on all sides, and the agitation was intense; but the people could do but little, as the next Congress had already been elected.

Talmadge
and Taylor

The Missouri question was not only an ethical and an economic one, it involved also a deep constitutional principle. Had Congress the power to lay restrictions on new states that were not laid on the original thirteen? Would the new states be coequal with the old if admitted under such limitations? The members from the South took the ground that the Constitution gave Congress no such power. They argued also that the treaty ceding Louisiana to the United States contained the express provision that all property rights must be protected by the United States. Those from the North, with some exceptions, contended that as Congress had full control in governing the territories, it had the power to place conditions on their admission as states.

One notable feature of the debate was that no one from either section stood up for slavery as a moral or an economic benefit to the country; all agreed that it was an evil. But the South contended that making a slave state of Missouri would simply scatter and lessen the evil without increasing it.

The Sixteenth Congress, ever memorable for the Missouri Compromise, met in December, 1819, and this great question soon came up for a final solution. As Talmadge was not a member of this Congress, Taylor was the champion for free Missouri. The leaders on the other side were Henry Clay, the speaker, John Tyler, a future President, Charles Pinckney, a framer of the Constitution, and William Lowndes. Again the House adhered to its antislavery position, and again the Senate disagreed. In the Senate the debates even surpassed those of the House, the leader for slavery in Missouri being William Pinkney of Maryland, with Rufus King of New York as his leading opponent. The Senate was balanced, half from slave states and half from free states; but there were a few northern senators who, from constitutional grounds, or from a desire to please the South, voted with the southern members. One from Indiana, and both from Illinois, now voted with the South, and the two houses again reached a deadlock.

It happened that at this time Maine, which had belonged to Massachusetts from colonial days, was asking for admission as a separate state; and the Senate, acting on a suggestion made in the House by Mr. Clay, brought in a bill to admit Maine, and to this bill they attached the one to admit Missouri, with slavery. This was passed February 16, 1820, whereupon Senator Thomas of Illinois made a motion to amend the bill by annexing a clause prohibiting slavery in all the remainder of the Louisiana territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, the

Great
debates

southern boundary of Missouri. This became the famous compromise line. It was adopted by the Senate, but the House rejected it; and still again each House voted to stand its ground. Then a joint committee was appointed, and this committee agreed to admit Maine and Missouri separately, leaving the Thomas amendment to the Missouri bill. This report was adopted by both houses; and Missouri, with the Thomas compromise line, was admitted as a slave state. President Monroe signed the Maine bill on March 3, and the Missouri bill March 6, 1820.

But this did not end the strife concerning Missouri. The act of March, 1820, was simply an act enabling the territory to form a constitution for statehood. When the people of Missouri adopted a constitution, they inserted a clause making it the duty of the legislature to exclude free negroes and mulattoes from the commonwealth. This brought on another great debate in Congress. The objection to this clause was based on the ground that the



Constitution guarantees to the citizens of any state all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several states. The two houses again failed to agree, and again the decision was made through a joint committee. Henry Clay was the mover and the chairman of this committee, and from this fact he became known as the author of the Missouri Compromise.¹

This committee reported a bill to admit Missouri on an equal footing with the original states, on the condition that its constitution should never be construed so as to authorize any law by which a citizen of any other state should be excluded from the privileges which he enjoyed in other parts of the Union; and that the legislature of Missouri should pass a solemn act declaring its consent to this condition. This was accepted by both houses, and became a law on the 28th of February, 1821; Missouri accepted the condition and became a state in the Union.

¹ Clay appointed the House members of the committee who arranged the first compromise of the year before, and his selection of men favorable to the compromise caused him to be credited with the authorship of it.

The Missouri contest had far-reaching results. It has generally been considered a victory for the South, in that Missouri was actually admitted as a slave state. But the South had yielded the constitutional principle. By agreeing to the compromise line it had conceded that Congress had the power to determine the status of slavery in the territories. Furthermore, Missouri was admitted with a condition not imposed on the original states. This fact and that giving Congress power over slavery in the territories were both in accordance with loose construction, not exactly of the Hamiltonian type, but rather of that which Jefferson held in his later years. These events soon opened the eyes of the South to the fact that broad construction had taken deep root in the Democratic party, and to the further fact that the status of slavery would, in a great measure, rest henceforth on the will of Congress. This new revelation to the South brought about within the next ten years a division in the Democratic party.¹ The portion more favorable to non-interference with slavery, which became the Democratic party of Jackson, went back, to some extent, to the early doctrine of Jefferson, and became strict constructionists, the chief object being to protect slavery from Congress, which, in the Lower House, must ever be dominated by the North. The other portion of the party at length became the Whig party, under the leadership of Clay. These mighty political forces were set in motion by the Missouri Compromise.²

MONROE'S SECOND TERM

James Monroe was elected to the presidency a second time by a unanimous vote, save one.³ This unanimity indicated, not the overshadowing greatness of the President, nor his inherent power

¹ Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 104.

² The aged ex-President, Thomas Jefferson, was one of the first to see the deep significance of the Missouri question. Though unfriendly to slavery, he favored its extension into Missouri, as it would dilute and scatter the evil without increasing the number of slaves. Jefferson was alarmed at the rise of parties on geographical lines. To John Adams he wrote concerning the Missouri debate (December 10, 1819): "From the battle of Bunker's Hill to the Treaty of Paris we never had so ominous a question. . . . I thank God that I shall not live to witness the issue." Jefferson was greatly alarmed for the future of the country. After the compromise line had been settled, he wrote: "The question sleeps for the present, but is not dead," and, "This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened me and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union." But he seems later to have regained hope. On December 26, 1820, he wrote to Lafayette, "The boisterous sea of liberty, indeed, is never without a wave, and that from Missouri is now rolling toward us; but we shall ride over it as we have over all the others."

³ An elector from New Hampshire, declaring that Washington should stand alone in being unanimously chosen to the great office, voted for John Quincy Adams.

to draw all men unto himself, but rather that party lines had been extinguished, that no other aspirant had secured a following, and that this mediocre President was considered a safe man, and was trusted and loved by all the people.

In December, 1823, President Monroe set his hand to a document that has made his name more famous in foreign lands than that of any other of our early presidents except the name of the Father of his Country. In his annual message to Congress that year he laid down a principle of foreign policy to which the government has adhered with the utmost tenacity from that time to the present, and this policy took the name the world over of the Monroe Doctrine. This "doctrine" grew out of the rebellion against Spain of her possessions in the New World, and the encroachment of Russia on the western coast of North America.

When Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808, after deposing the king of Spain, placed his own brother on the throne, the Spanish colonies of the New World rebelled and, beginning in 1809, declared their independence, one after another. On the fall of Napoleon at Waterloo they might have returned to their old allegiance had not Spain attempted to force on them her old despotic colonial system. Again they rebelled and for years they fought up and down their mountain slopes and no doubt would have lost in the end but for the leadership of two military geniuses of great ability — José de San Martín and Simon Bolívar.

In 1817 San Martín led an army from the Plata to Chile, making a perilous passage of the Andes, and brought deliverance to Chile and Peru from the yoke of Spain. Bolívar rescued Colombia and Venezuela. Spain was unable to send sufficient forces to subdue the patriots; the colonies had set up governments of their own and thus the South American republics were born.

San Martín
and Bolívar

These newborn nations sought recognition by the United States, and in Congress Henry Clay was their champion. He called for immediate recognition, declaring that these "millions of people were struggling to break their chains." For two reasons President Monroe hesitated — because he did not yet feel assured that the Latin Americans were able to maintain their liberty, and because he feared that recognition might interfere with the negotiations, then pending, for the purchase of Florida. Spain had waited a year before signing the Florida treaty, hoping thus to prevent the United States from recognizing the new republics. When at length she signed it and the Florida treaty was out of the way, and when the great success of San Martín and Bolívar was

known, Monroe signified his readiness to recognize the new republics and asked an appropriation for sending ministers (1822).

The American people, remembering their own long struggle for liberty, rejoiced in the success of the South Americans; but in Europe the opposite feeling prevailed. Democracy was not dead in Europe, but it had suffered a fearful relapse after the wild fire of the French Revolution had burned out. Autocracy was rampant and the nations even joined in a compact to aid one another in putting down any move for popular liberty wherever it might rise. In November, 1815, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain formed the Quadruple Alliance, the first three of which had previously formed the "Holy Alliance." These four nations decided to hold conferences at intervals for the purpose of planning how best to prevent revolutions, which meant how to keep the people in subjection under autocratic rule. They succeeded in crushing uprisings in Spain, Portugal, and Naples. At one of these conferences, at Verona, 1822, the powers discussed the advisability of aiding Spain in resubduing her sometime colonies in America. Now it happened that one of these powers, England, was not in congenial company, for democracy was not wholly eclipsed in that country. Moreover, England had a flourishing trade with South America and was unwilling to see it go back to the control of Spain. The following year George Canning, the British foreign minister, proposed that his country and the United States issue a joint declaration against any interference with Latin American independence, disavowing at the same time any intention of seizing for themselves any Spanish American territory. Richard Rush, our minister in London, laid the matter before President Monroe.

Monroe was willing to form such an alliance; but first he would seek advice from the two former presidents, Jefferson and Madison. Both wrote him their approval and no doubt our traditional policy of isolation would have been abandoned then and there and the alliance formed but for the objections of one man, the real author of the Monroe Doctrine, John Quincy Adams, secretary of state. Adams declared that the United States should act alone, that it would be more candid and more dignified to do so "than to come in as a cockboat in the wake of a British man of war." He succeeded in converting the President and Cabinet and thus on this great subject shaped the course of the administration. It was decided to put the matter before the world by means of the President's annual message, which was given to Congress on December 2, 1823.

It consists of two parts, the first being directed to Russia, the owner of Alaska. Russia had recently warned foreign vessels not to come within a hundred miles of a portion of the Pacific Coast which she did not own. Monroe ^{The Monroe Doctrine} rejoined in the following language: "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle . . . that the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

This declaration was quite successful. A year later Russia agreed in a treaty with the United States not to claim any territory south of $54^{\circ} 40'$ on the Pacific Coast.

The second part of the "Doctrine" was aimed at the relations of Spain with her former colonies. After referring to the amicable relations between the United States and the European powers, it declares that any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere "as dangerous to our peace and safety"; also that any attempt to oppress or control the governments which have declared and maintained their independence cannot be viewed by the United States "in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

This famous declaration, though written by Adams, took the name of the President and has thus been known ever since. It was a simple and brief notice to Europe that, however land hungry the nations might be, they must in future keep their hands off the Western Hemisphere, except where they were already established.

This doctrine was not new. Its roots may be found in the neutrality proclamation of Washington, in his farewell address, and in Jefferson's warning against "entangling alliances." This attitude of non-interference in European affairs expanded until it resulted in a determination to oppose all European interference in matters wholly American. It was now eminently effective. Russia ceased her encroachments, and the European alliance abandoned all intention of aiding Spain against her former colonies. On various occasions since then has this doctrine been called into operation, the most notable being in 1865 against France in Mexico, and in 1895 against England in Venezuela. The twofold object of the Monroe Doctrine is to guard against that which may be "dangerous to our peace and safety," and to

protect republican government in the Americas. The Monroe Doctrine is not a part of international law, nor has it been placed on the statutes of our country; it is simply a policy, a declaration of an attitude taken by the Executive of this government with reference to the relations of the European powers to the republics of this hemisphere. It is a mistake to believe that the doctrine is becoming obsolete; it is more firmly embedded in the American heart at this time than ever before. A still greater mistake is the opinion held by some that the ultimate object of the United States is to absorb the republics south of us into our own government. Nothing is farther from the truth. What the future attitude of the United States on this subject may be, no one can prophesy; but for the present it is safe to say that if any South or Central American country were to seek admission to our Union as a state, or even as a dependent territory, the united voice of our people would be against it.

The policy of building roads and canals and improving rivers and harbors at national expense was long getting a foothold owing to strict construction theories and to the contention that such improvements, paid for by all the people, benefited only those who lived near them. On the day he went out of office President Madison vetoed a comprehensive bill for internal improvements. He represented the old school that was disappearing.

Five years later, in 1822, a bill to repair and operate the Cumberland Road, which it will be remembered was authorized in 1806, was passed by Congress and vetoed by President Monroe. In 1824, however, an act for making surveys, plans, and estimates for national routes became a law. This was a second entering wedge, the first being the authorizing of the Cumberland Road nearly twenty years before. After this the government set apart money from time to time for internal improvements; but the coming of the railway rendered the constructing of roads and canals less urgent, and national aid for many years was confined chiefly to the improvements of rivers and harbors.

Closely associated with the subject of internal improvements was that of the tariff, which received much attention at this period. Notwithstanding the tariff of 1816, the people suffered a money panic two years later, caused chiefly by the reaction from the disturbed condition during the war, and by the inflation due to the springing up of several hundred local banks. Most of the people, however, believed that a higher rate of protective duties would prove

**Internal
improve-
ments**

**Tariff of
1824**

a cure-all for the ills of the country. Led by Henry Clay, who had now become the champion of the "American System" of protection, this party passed a tariff bill in the House in 1820 which was defeated in the Senate by a single vote. But the people continued their clamor for higher protection, and in 1824 the second general tariff of the century was enacted into law. By this tariff the duties on wool, iron, hemp, lead, and many other articles were increased, and an average scale of about thirty-three per cent was reached. This tariff was not a sectional measure.¹ Among its opponents were Daniel Webster, Mr. Cambreling of New York City, and several leading men from the South. The North and the border states, led by Clay, were its chief supporters.

The Seventeenth Congress, expiring in 1823, had done nothing, almost nothing—except to intrigue and plot and counter-plot concerning the presidential succession. Monroe's term was passing into history; somebody must succeed him, and for the first time the whole country was at sea concerning the choice of a candidate. The Federal party had disappeared, and the Democratic party had absorbed the whole people; but this did not bring political harmony.

Four candidates early loomed up on the political horizon, each with his personal following, and each claiming to represent the true democracy. Three of these were mem- The presi-
dential cam-
paign of 1824 bers of Monroe's Cabinet: John Quincy Adams, secretary of state and son of former President John Adams; John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, the brilliant, patriotic young South Carolinian; William H. Crawford of Georgia, secretary of the treasury, former minister to France and, as many believed, an intriguing politician. The fourth was Henry Clay of Kentucky, the "man of the people," the idol and speaker of the House of Representatives. Crawford was Monroe's chief rival for the nomination in 1816, and so sure did he feel that he would succeed Monroe that in 1820 he piloted an act through Congress known as the "Crawford Act," which gave greater power to the president in the appointment of civil service officials. By this act, which stands on our statutes to this day, the tenure of civil service officials was reduced to four years, whereas before this time such officials had been appointed without a definite time limit. This act threw an immense appointive power into the hands of every incoming President. Eight years were yet to elapse before the national party

¹ See Burgess, *Middle Period*, p. 115.

convention was to come into existence; the congressional caucus still assumed the right to name candidates. But the caucus for this purpose had lost its force with the people. The last of these was held at this period, and it nominated Crawford; but it was attended by less than half the members of Congress.¹ The other candidates were nominated by various state legislatures.

As the canvass progressed, another star was added to the constellation; and now there were five. As near the close of the War of 1812 a star had risen in the South that soon outshone all the others, so it was now, and it happened to be the same star, — Andrew Jackson. The rude but virile state of Tennessee had, as early as 1822, boldly put forward this grim old hero of New Orleans, who was now nearing the completion of his three-score years; and great numbers of the people, weary of the intrigues of the trained politicians, turned instinctively to this “man of the people” and made his cause their own. But the constellation was soon again reduced to four, as Calhoun quietly dropped out and accepted second place on the ticket. The election came; the people spoke through the electoral college, electing Calhoun Vice President, but failing to choose a President; and for the second time in our history, and the last thus far, this momentous duty fell to the House of Representatives. Jackson had received the highest number of electors, ninety-nine; Adams came next with eighty-four, Crawford securing forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven.

The Twelfth Amendment provides that the House may vote for the three highest only, and this shut Clay out, as he was fourth in the list. But for this, Clay might easily have become President, had he chosen to vote and to work for himself, for he was speaker of the House and was very popular in that body.² The House dallied with the great subject, and before it came to a vote every member turned aside to pay homage to a stranger who appeared upon its floor. He was an aged, thin-faced, kindly man, whom every American revered as a father, — Lafayette, the friend of liberty.

In the dark days of the Revolution, when in the bloom of his young manhood, this doughty Frenchman had left his youthful

¹ About this time Crawford suffered a severe stroke of paralysis, from which he never fully recovered; but during the campaign his friends kept the fact from the public as best they could.

² Again, Clay would have been third on the list instead of Crawford, but for a trick played on him in Louisiana. When the legislature of that state chose electors, it did so when two or three of Clay's friends, who held the balance of power, were absent, and thus the state voted for Jackson and Adams instead of Clay.

wife and his luxurious home to offer his life and his fortune in the holy cause of liberty; and now at the end of half a century he returned to visit the land he had never ceased to love. And never in the history of the United States has any other foreigner received the glad welcome, the universal homage of the people, as he did. Lafayette had greatly changed. His love of liberty was still warm and young; but the blithe step was gone, his hair was silvered, and his brow was furrowing with age. But greater was the change in the land that his eyes now looked upon, — then a few distracted colonies struggling toward the light, now a nation that commanded the world's respect, with its rising cities, its opening industries, its continental domain.

Visit of
Lafayette

General Lafayette arrived in New York in August, 1824. As he traveled through the country, men and women of every rank hastened to the towns to see this hero of a past generation and to join in the universal shout of welcome. He visited every state in the Union, and spent the winter in Washington. Congress voted him \$200,000 and a township of land in Florida, which he was asked to accept, not as a gift, but as a partial recompense for his Revolutionary services; and this proved a godsend indeed during the remaining nine years of his life, for he had lost his fortune in the various changes of the French government. In June, 1825, he was in Boston, on the greatest gala day that Boston ever saw, and laid the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument, on the fiftieth anniversary of the famous battle. After a visit of nearly fourteen months the nation's guest departed for his native land in the *Brandywine*, named for the battle in which he had been wounded, in southern Pennsylvania.

We return to the presidential election. The eyes of the nation turned to Henry Clay. His power in the House was so great that it was generally believed that he held the election in his hand. Clay was no friend of Jackson, nor of Crawford; and even he and Adams were not, and had never been, close political friends. But a choice must be made, and one of these three must be chosen. At length Clay announced that he would vote for Adams; his adherents followed his example, and Adams was elected, receiving the votes of thirteen states, while seven states voted for Jackson and four for Crawford.

Election of
John
Quincy
Adams

Adams made Clay secretary of state, and the Jackson party raised the cry that there had been a bargain, a corrupt bargain, between Adams and Clay. This cry was kept up for years, and

it played an important part in the next presidential election.¹ Clay got into trouble with John Randolph about the matter.

Duel between Clay and Randolph Randolph was a remarkable man in many ways. He had entered Congress in 1799, when scarcely more than a boy, and had soon attracted attention by his tall, awkward appearance, his ungovernable temper, his keen wit and biting sarcasm. During his long career in Congress he made many an enemy quail, when the object of his sarcasm and pointed out by his long, bony finger. As a wit he has never been equaled on the floor of Congress. He usually talked as he chose about any one; and on this occasion he referred to Adams and Clay as "the Puritan and the Blackleg." Clay was angry when he heard this. He had chafed restively under public accusations. Now he could contain himself no longer. He challenged Randolph to a duel. Randolph was not angry with Clay. He had called him a blackleg; but he often used such terms without expecting them to be taken too seriously. But Clay was not to be appeased, and the two men met on the field with loaded pistols. They each fired once without effect. Clay fired again, the bullet passing through his antagonist's coat. Randolph then fired into the air, threw down his pistol, and stepped toward Clay with extended hand. This was too much. Clay's face changed in an instant; he threw his pistol to the ground and ran to meet Randolph, and the latter said with mock seriousness, "Mr. Clay, you owe me a new coat." — "I'm glad the debt is no greater," said Clay; and the two men indulged in a long, fervent handshake.²

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

As a boy of seven years John Quincy Adams had stood with his mother and viewed the famous battle of Bunker Hill from afar; and this may be considered the beginning of the longest public career in American history. Two years later this boy, who never knew a boyhood, was a regular postrider making daily trips from his village to Boston. At the age of eleven he accompanied his father to France and began a course of severe study. At fourteen he was a private secretary to our minister at St. Petersburg.

¹ Through Adams's Diary we learn that some of Clay's friends did approach Adams on this subject before the election; but there is not the slightest proof that Adams made any promises. The cry of corrupt bargain had, in fact, been raised before the election in the House in the hope of coercing Clay to vote for Jackson. Clay's acceptance of a place in the Cabinet was a blunder that he should have avoided.

² For a full account, see Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. I, pp. 70-77.

At eighteen he had visited every country in Europe ; and, returning to his own land, he was graduated at Harvard two years later. No American statesman ever lived a more strenuous life, none had a more varied experience, and none a cleaner record. When elected President in 1825 Adams had been a professor at Harvard and a practicing lawyer in Boston. He had served in the legislature of Massachusetts and in the United States Senate. He had aided in framing the Treaty of Ghent, had been minister to five European courts, and had completed his eight years as secretary of state. No man in America was by training better fitted for the presidency than Adams ; and few were less fitted by natural temperament.

No President ever entered upon the great office with a clearer sense of duty, or with nobler motives than did Adams. But like his father before him he was wanting in tact, in the ability to manage men. He was a man of the sternest puritanic integrity ; he subjected himself to severe discipline in his private life and public duties. He judged other men by his own high standard of morality, and saw their faults rather than their virtues. His manner was cold and repelling, and with all his wide acquaintance he had no intimate personal friend, nor did he make any effort to win friends. He enjoyed little popularity among his own class, and still less among the masses of the people. As Ezekiel Webster wrote his brother Daniel, Mr. Adams's support came "from a cold sense of duty, and not from any liking of the man." On the whole, Adams was, with all his defects, one of the most admirable public characters in our history ; and his greatest service was rendered in the House of Representatives, where, after his term as President, he spent seventeen years of his old age.

The single presidential term of Adams may be recorded in small space, as both Senate and House were against him, and they refused to pass any administration measure of importance. In his first message the President recommended a system of Federal improvements on a far larger scale than had been hitherto undertaken ; but Congress opposed such extensive improvements, and Adams was left powerless to carry out his projects.

Early in this administration the Panama Congress, a convention of the American republics to be held at Panama, became the prominent public question. The object was to deliberate on a continental policy concerning commercial intercourse, to restrict the extent of blockades, and to establish firmly the Monroe Doctrine. Clay was its chief promoter in the United States. His object was to organize the

Panama
Congress,
1826

Americans against Europe for commercial advantage and self-protection. He won Adams and the Cabinet to favor sending delegates, and Adams announced in his message that this would be done. But the Senate was obstinate, professing to fear "entangling alliances," though its real object was to thwart the administration. At length, however, the bill passed. But the victory of the President was a barren one, for the Panama Congress had adjourned before our delegates reached the place.

The only other matter of national importance — except the "Tariff of Abominations," to be noticed later — that belongs to Adams's term of office, was that concerning the **Georgia and the Creeks** Indians of Georgia. When Georgia ceded her western lands to the United States in 1802, the latter engaged to remove the Indians from the bounds of the state when it could be done peaceably. Various treaties and purchases were made subsequent to this, but in 1824 the Indians declared they would sell no more land. The white people of Georgia became enraged at this and demanded that the government carry out its contract. A treaty was made at Indian Springs, in 1825, ceding the Indian lands; but the tribes refused to accept it, and put to death the chiefs who signed it. President Adams then notified Governor Troup of Georgia that he was expected to discontinue his survey of the Indian lands until the United States government had completed its negotiations with the Indians.¹ Whereupon the governor became frantic, and blustered and fumed against the United States to his heart's content. President Adams was not appalled by the irate governor; he sent General Gaines to Georgia with instructions to prevent the survey of the lands, by force if necessary. The next year, 1826, another agreement with the Indians was made by the United States government. By this agreement a large portion of the Indian lands were secured to Georgia. But the Georgians were not content with the incompleteness of the work, and the governor was again defiant, and even prepared to resist the power of the United States.

President Adams, while careful to uphold the dignity and authority of the government, was unwilling to allow the matter to come to blows without being sure of the support of the country. He therefore laid the subject before Congress; but Congress refused to give the matter serious attention. This encouraged the Georgians in their attitude toward the Creeks, and they also

¹ See Ames, *State Documents*, No. 3, pp. 25-36.

laid claim to jurisdiction over the lands occupied by the Cherokees within the state. In 1827 the legislature passed a law in accordance with this claim, though the lands had been solemnly guaranteed to the Indians in a treaty in 1785; but Governor Troup declared this treaty not binding on the state, on the ground that Georgia and the United States were equal and independent powers! The Indians appealed to President Adams for protection in their rights; but he, about to retire from office, chose not to embarrass his successor by committing the government to any policy in the matter.

By anticipation it may here be stated that the trouble with the Cherokees continued under Adams's successor. Georgia claimed jurisdiction over their lands; they resisted and appealed to the President, who refused to aid them. The matter came before the United States Supreme Court, and was decided, in 1832, against the Georgians.¹ But President Jackson sympathized with the state and refused to enforce the decision of the court. At length, a few years later, some sort of agreement having been reached, the Cherokees, who had made commendable progress in agriculture and education, were removed to the Indian Territory, beyond the Mississippi. The action of Georgia throughout was little short of nullification.²

As this presidential term drew to a close the country prepared itself for a fierce contest. Adams was a candidate for reelection, with Andrew Jackson as his opponent. Unlike Adams, Jackson was popular; he could win friends and he could win crowds. He had risen from the lower walks of life, and the people regarded him as one of themselves. Adams was looked upon as an aristocrat, and, moreover, he refused to turn a hand to secure his own election. Many of the public servants who held their offices at his discretion, including some of his own Cabinet, were openly working for Jackson, but he refused to notice the fact. Even those who worked for his election received no word of gratitude or encouragement from him. He took the high ground that the influence of the office should not be used to further an election. One would think that such fidelity to duty would have been rewarded; but it was not. Jackson was elected by a large majority of the popular vote, as well as of the electoral college.³

¹ *Worcester vs. Georgia*.

² See Ames, *State Documents*, No. III, p. 36 sq.

³ All the states except two, South Carolina and Delaware, now chose electors by a popular vote; these two still retained the old system of choosing by the legislature.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL

In our time we are apt to forget the fact that after the government was founded there were great and vital questions that required many years of experience for their solution.

Among the builders of American constitutional government, one of the foremost was John Marshall. In his old age John Adams declared that the "proudest act of his life" was the appointing of Marshall chief justice of the Supreme Court. Marshall's was beyond a doubt the most powerful judicial mind this country has produced. By his great court decisions he influenced profoundly the whole future trend of the government.

One of the vital questions requiring judicial settlement was the exact relation between the states and the Union. Would the spirit of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions prevail, or would the time come when the Supreme Law would reign undisputed over the whole land? In our day it would seem very amusing if some hot-headed state governor would flare up, declare his state sovereign, and assume to resist the national authority. Such a thing occurred more than once in the early period. One of the recognized principles of our government is that the Supreme Court can pronounce on the validity, the constitutionality, of a law passed by Congress. The matter was settled by Marshall in the case of *Marbury v. Madison* in 1803. The decision annoyed Jefferson and his party; but, although then in power, they could do nothing to change it. The same principle was applied to the states in various later decisions, especially in the case of *Cohens v. Virginia*, 1821. In this decision Marshall held that the Federal Supreme Court could set aside the decisions of state courts and the acts of state legislatures if repugnant to the national Constitution.

The Constitution provides that no state can make a law impairing the obligation of a contract. The legislature of Georgia made certain land grants in the Yazoo Valley, but a later legislature repealed the law and canceled the contract. The case came before Marshall, *Fletcher v. Peck*, in 1810, and he decided that the original contract must stand. The same principle was carried still further in the Dartmouth College case in 1819. The legislature of New Hampshire changed the charter of the college without the consent of the trustees. Marshall decided that the act was null and void because a violation of a contract. In this trial Daniel Webster, defending his *alma mater*, rose to national fame as a constitutional lawyer.

One of the great cases that came before Marshall was that of *McCulloch v. Maryland*, in which two most important questions were involved. In 1816 Congress had chartered a bank. It established branches in various states, one of which was in Maryland at Baltimore. The state of Maryland laid a tax on this branch but the cashier refused to pay it. When the case came before the Supreme Court Marshall decided the two great questions, first, that the bank charter was valid, thus establishing the implied powers of the Constitution; and second, that no state can tax a national institution. The power to tax is the power to destroy. If the states may tax the branch bank, they may tax the mail, the mint, the judicial process, or any government agency to such an extent as to defeat its purpose. So thought John Marshall and the country has wisely followed his decision.

One more of these far-reaching decisions let us notice. It is known as *Gibbons v. Ogden* and was rendered in 1824. The state of New York granted to Livingston and Fulton the exclusive right to employ steam craft on the waters of the state, including the Hudson River and the waters about New York City. Any one else doing so had to secure a license from Livingston and Fulton on pain of forfeiting his vessel to them. The highest court of New York sustained the law. But when the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States the decision, rendered at great length by Marshall and based on the clause in the Constitution giving Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce, was against the monopoly. The waters of New York and of all the states were made free to all whether their craft were propelled by steam or otherwise. This decision was one of momentous importance and has had a profound effect on the history of the nation. (See note on page 467.)

The great court decisions of Marshall settled finally some of the most troublesome questions of the time. They gave the Supreme Court tremendous power, the power to pronounce on the validity of national and state laws. They pronounced against the power of a state to violate a contract, to tax a national agency, or to grant a monopoly in matters that touch interstate commerce. On the whole the Marshall decisions did more than any other agency before the Civil War in adjusting the states and the nation in their proper relations with one another.

WESTWARD DEVELOPMENT AND GENERAL PROGRESS

We have noticed the great flow of humanity across the Appalachian Mountains to the fertile valley of the Ohio and the Ten-

nessee, resulting in the admission of several new states. Louisiana had been admitted in 1812 and the next to join the Union was her northern sister of kindred name, Indiana. **New States** William Henry Harrison, as a delegate in Congress from the Indiana Territory, aided in securing the passage of a land law (1800) reducing the minimum that a settler could purchase from 640 to 320 acres. This law greatly stimulated the westward movement, but it was not before 1820 that a truly helpful law was passed, enabling a mover to purchase as little as eighty acres, at \$1.25 an acre.

Soon after the War of 1812 the moving spirit again seized the people of the East and the ever receding frontier of the Northwest had moved from Ohio to the valley of the Wabash. **The Lincoln family** Harrison and his little army had cleared the way for the settlement of millions of acres in that promising land. And soon the people came almost in droves. From one small town in Maine came twenty wagons with one hundred and sixteen persons. From every New England state, from New York and Pennsylvania and all parts of the East the movers flocked to the new lands of the West. But Indiana, sparsely settled as it was, seemed too crowded for many of the newcomers; they pushed on into the prairies of Illinois. These two states were admitted to the Union soon after the war, but their inhabitants were by no means all from the North. From the new states of Kentucky and Tennessee great numbers, especially of the younger generation, crossed the Ohio and established homes. Among these was the family of Abraham Lincoln. The Lincolns were among the early pioneers of Kentucky. In 1816 they crossed the Ohio, and after spending a dozen or more years in southern Indiana, moved on into Illinois.

South of Tennessee the movement of the population was similar to that of the Northwest. The small farmer with his meager holdings, unable to compete with the aristocratic plantation owners of the seaboard, sold his little farm and moved westward. **Southern migration** The victory of Jackson over the Indians, like that of Harrison in the Northwest, cleared the way for the early settlers. Later came also the rich planter with his crowd of slaves, driving his herds of cattle before him, to join in taking up the alluvial bottom lands between Tennessee and the gulf coast, where at length cotton became king, as it had been along the Southern Atlantic seaboard. Mississippi and Alabama were among the six new states to be admitted into the Union in six successive years. The last two, Maine and

Missouri, have been noticed in our account of the Missouri Compromise.

The great want of the rising West was better means of travel and transportation. The mountain barrier that nature had thrown between the great valley and the eastern seaboard must be overcome if in the power of man to overcome it. It is true that the people of the West had an outlet to the world of immense importance by way of the Ohio and the Mississippi, especially after the steamboat had replaced the clumsy flat boat and keel boat. But this was not enough. By this route the distance from Pittsburg to Philadelphia was greater than the width of the Atlantic. By means of the Conestoga wagon, which still lumbered across the mountains, the cost of carrying grain to the East or utensils and implements to the West

Canals



THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

was almost prohibitory. It is doubtful if the East and the West could have held together under the same flag had not the future furnished stronger ties to bind them. In a notable speech in the House in 1817 Calhoun urged the building of roads and canals in order to bind the East and West and prevent disunion.

Some relief came with the building of the Cumberland Road, an improved highway from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio River at Wheeling, and later extended through Ohio and Indiana into Illinois. It grew out of a suggestion of Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin in 1802; an act of Congress in 1806 authorized its survey and it was opened to the public some years later. Other important roads were constructed across the mountains, turnpikes as they were called, some of them built by private enterprise and for their use a toll was charged. Then came the canals.

A veritable craze for canal digging took possession of the public mind about 1820.

The first great canal to be completed in America was the Erie

them, and indeed the business of the entire country was affected by this great improvement.¹

One of its effects was to increase the rage for canals over the country. Philadelphia saw its western trade threatened with ruin. This led the people of Pennsylvania to decide on digging a canal between their two chief cities, and the work was soon begun. It was an almost impossible task to construct an artificial waterway across the Alleghanies; in fact it was found impossible at some points and the canal boats were drawn up steep inclines by an endless rope and transported across the high levels by rail. Bravely the Pennsylvanians labored and they did a great work, but Philadelphia never regained the prestige it had lost to New York. The great Ohio Canal joining Lake Erie with the Ohio River, from Cleveland to Portsmouth, was begun in 1825. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal extended from Pittsburg to Washington. Many other canals of smaller pretensions were built, and many were begun and never finished, for another and far superior mode of inland transportation was now attracting the attention of the people.

Other
canals

The vast network of railroads that now covers the United States had its beginning at the time we are treating. John Stevens, an inventive genius of the highest order, who had done almost, if not fully, as much as Robert Fulton for the steamboat, was now the chief advocate of steam railways. In March, 1823, the Pennsylvania legislature granted Stevens a charter to construct a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia. In 1828 the work was begun, under a renewed charter, and a line was in operation a few years later from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna. This grew into the Pennsylvania Railroad. The cars first used were drawn by horses. The action of Pennsylvania in projecting canals and railways alarmed the people of Baltimore lest Philadelphia steal its western trade, and they decided to build a railroad to some point on the Ohio River. Work on it was begun in July, 1828, and this was the origin of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The first steam locomotive was brought from England in 1829, where experiments in steam railways had been in progress for over ten years, but it proved a failure. In 1831, however, a locomotive was successfully used in South Carolina, and within a few years others were in operation in various parts of the country. But for years after this beginning

Railways

¹ It is interesting to note that New York voted in 1903 to expend \$101,000,000 to improve the canal. But in spite of the fact that the use of the canal is free, it is used but little. The railroads have practically absorbed the whole business of transportation.

many of the cars, even on the steam roads, were still drawn by horse power. The roads were owned by the state and the cars and engines by individuals or corporations. Any one owning a car or an engine had the use of the road. The engines were rude machines compared with those of our own times, but they went faster than the horses, and this caused much confusion. Eventually the railroads passed into the hands of private corporations, and horses were everywhere supplanted by the steam engine. The rapid progress in steam navigation by land and water brought about a wonderful stimulus in manufacturing and created a great demand for labor-saving machinery, to be noticed in a later chapter.

In books and literature the country was making a famous beginning. The newspapers, numbering two hundred at the beginning of the century, seventeen of which were
Literature dailies, had now greatly increased in number; but their subscription rates were still high, as printing was a cumbersome business, the modern steam press being yet a thing of the future. The majority of the people did not take a newspaper. The postmaster was often the only one in a town who took a paper, and on its arrival the villagers would gather about him to hear him read the news.

Some of the most famous American authors were writing during this period. To the older set belonged Washington Irving,¹ James Fenimore Cooper, Fitz-Greene Halleck, William Cullen Bryant, and Noah Webster.² These were all famous before the close of the first quarter of the century. Next came the galaxy of literary men born in the early part of the century: Henry W. Longfellow, Edgar Allan Poe, John G. Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mrs. Sigourney, and N. P. Willis, — each of whom had published one or more books by 1830. Many of these books, as well as their authors, are world-famous, and have taken a permanent place in our literature. Henceforth the curt remark of Sidney Smith, "Who reads an American book?" could be readily answered in a single word, — everybody.

¹ Irving was born in 1783, on the day that Washington made his triumphal entry into New York, and was one of the first to receive his name.

² Webster published his Dictionary in 1828.

John Marshall and the Monopolies.—The case of *Gibbons v. Ogden* was perhaps the most momentous of all the Marshall decisions. The granting of a monopoly in steam navigation in New York in 1811 had a far deeper meaning than appeared on the surface. The same company to which the grant was made sent Nicholas J. Roosevelt to New Orleans and he procured for the company a similar grant from Louisiana giving it a monopoly of the whole lower course of the Mississippi. Anyone plying a steam boat on that great waterway within the bounds of Louisiana without a license from Livingston and Fulton must forfeit his boat and equipment and pay a fine of \$5000.

It was a time when the craze for steam navigation had taken a powerful hold on the public mind. Other states were quick to follow the example of New York. Georgia granted to one man, Samuel Howard, the sole right to use steam craft on the waters of the state. Massachusetts and New Hampshire granted a similar right to John L. Sullivan. Vermont granted a monopoly to her portion of Lake Champlain. But there was friction also. Several states made laws refusing the use of their waters to the Livingston and Fulton company unless a similar favor was granted their craft in New York waters. Here indeed were the beginnings not only of hideous, oppressive monopoly, but also of endless commercial warfare among the states. Then came the Marshall decision, shattering and annihilating the whole fabric.

Imagine for a moment our present-day conditions had no such decision ever been made. Any venal state legislature could barter away the people's rights, could grant a perpetual franchise to a conscienceless corporation, the highest bidder perhaps, to which the people in future would have to pay tribute all the traffic would bear. Imagine further such monopolies being granted to railroad, telegraph, and telephone companies! Certainly the people will appreciate more and more, as the centuries pass, the services of the great Chief Justice.

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Students should always consult more extensive works than can be given in these notes; such as the writings of statesmen, Messages and Papers of the Presidents (Richardson is the best), contemporary speeches and newspapers, and the Congressional Record.

CHAPTER XIX

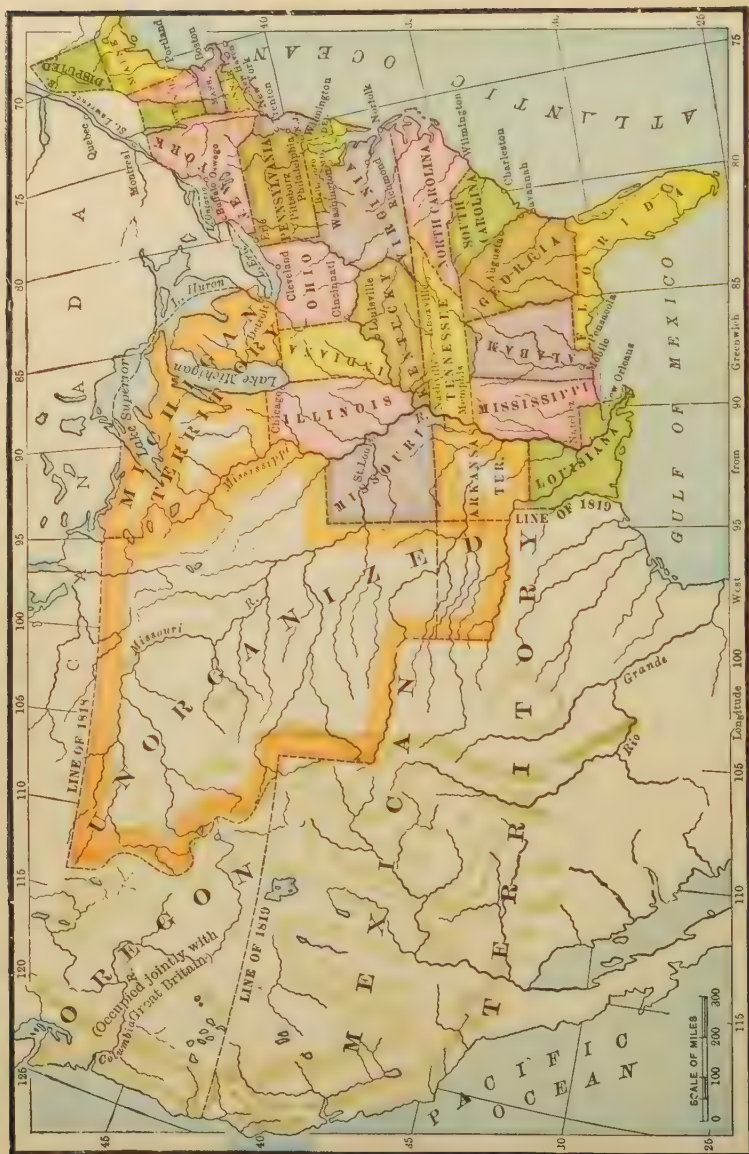
THE ERA OF JACKSON

AMERICAN LIFE IN 1830

THE census of 1830 footed up nearly thirteen million people, scattered over about half the present limits of the United States. West of the Mississippi River was a vast unbroken wilderness, save for Missouri and some parts of Louisiana and Arkansas. Texas and California still belonged to Mexico, and the ownership of Oregon was unsettled. Little else than a wilderness were Michigan, Illinois, and large tracts of other fast-growing states east of the Mississippi. The great cities of the West are all of recent growth. Cincinnati was then a considerable town and was called the "Queen City of the West"; but Chicago was a rude wooden village, and the buffalo still roamed over the sites of Omaha, Denver, and San Francisco.

Changes were rapidly going on in the East. Virginia was no longer the first state in population, nor even second. New York was now first, Pennsylvania still held second rank, while Virginia was relegated to the third place. The three leading cities each boasted a millionaire of untold wealth — Girard of Philadelphia, Astor, the New York merchant-prince, and Lawrence, the founder of the Boston cotton mills.¹ The telegraph was unknown at this day, and our present vast network of railroads was just making a beginning. The old stagecoach days were not yet over, and their relics are still to be found in various parts of the United States. Any one who travels through the country will find here and there a house very different from the ordinary farmhouse. These are usually large stone buildings, two stories high, with spacious rooms and halls, situated in old towns or on the main roads, twenty miles or more apart, and are always old. They are relics of the stagecoach period, and were called inns or taverns. The aged people long remembered and eagerly told of the good old days when travelers from all parts of the country would lodge there; or when political meetings were held at the inn, and the

¹ Schouler, Vol. IV, p. 6.



THE UNITED STATES IN 1830

people would come together to discuss public questions and sing their political songs over the social glass; or when the young people from far and near would assemble and spend the night in carousal and merrymaking.

The American of that day was known abroad as the Yankee. Every country has its typical citizen, and the typical American, whose likeness has been preserved to us in the well-known picture of "Uncle Sam," was tall, lean, wiry, and awkward. He had a roving, keen, inquisitive eye, and no stranger could escape him without gratifying his appetite for news. He was the keenest bargain driver in the world. To foreigners he was courteous, but he would flare up in an instant, if any one spoke against his country.

The typical American

There were few rich men and almost no poverty. The chief subjects that engaged attention were religion, politics, and money-making.¹ The great majority of the people were religious, though the intolerant spirit of colonial days had passed away. Nearly every man was interested in politics. He took pride in the fact that he was part of the state, and had a voice in shaping the laws. But the most conspicuous characteristic of the Americans was the widespread desire to become rich. In wealth there is power, and here were no social castes to keep a man down, however humble his birth; and the American sought wealth, not only for the distinction and comfort that it brings, but also that he might give his children advantages that he did not have in his youth.

Democracy reigned supreme by 1830. "The principle of the sovereignty of the people," says De Tocqueville, "has acquired in the United States all the practical development that the imagination can conceive. The people are the cause and the aim of all things; everything comes from them and everything is absorbed by them."² The Declaration of Independence had set forth the dogma that the rights of man are inherent and the gift of nature; but half a century passed before that principle became triumphant. It reached high-water mark in American history at the time of Jackson's presidency. The principles of Federalism were wisely retained in the general government, but the current of democracy, set in motion by Jefferson in the closing decade of the eighteenth century, had swollen into a tidal wave, and Federalism existed now only at the will of the democracy. Nothing illustrates this triumph of the people more than the rapid spread of the suffrage and of religious liberty. When the Constitution went into op-

Triumphant democracy

¹ Schouler, Vol. III, p. 4.

² *Democracy in America*, Chap. IV.

eration a property qualification or a religious test was required in nearly every state, and probably not more than one hundred and fifty thousand of the five million people could vote.¹ The new states forming constitutions, with rare exceptions, recognized manhood suffrage without the religious or property test. The old states brought about the same results by amending their constitutions, and by 1830 the suffrage of the adult white male population was almost universal.

THE PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT

Andrew Jackson, "the people's man," was now President. He was the first of our Presidents, but not the last, to rise from the ranks of the common people; all his predecessors were from the so-called higher class of society. Until long past middle age, Jackson had shown no inclination toward a political career. If he had any ambition beyond the quiet life of a planter, it was a military ambition. Twice he resigned from the United States Senate before finishing his term. He made little impression in Congress, and seemed to dislike public life. Thirty years after his first service in the House, he was recalled by Gallatin as a tall, lank, uncouth frontiersman, with long hair gathered in a queue and tied at the back with an eelskin. After resigning from the Senate in 1797, he lived an obscure life till the battle of New Orleans, when he suddenly sprung into a world-wide fame. As above stated, he did not like public life, and there is reason to believe that his candidacy for the presidency annoyed rather than pleased him² until it reached a certain point, until he believed himself to have been defeated by a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay. Then the contest assumed a different form, a victory to be won, and his old warrior spirit arose, and he left no stone unturned until he was seated in the presidential chair.

The outgoing President refused to attend the inaugural ceremonies, as his father had done twenty-eight years before. He felt that he had good grounds for taking such an attitude. The facts in brief are these: During the campaign in the preceding summer, Jackson's wife was shamefully attacked, and the poor woman, who was doubtless innocent, died a few weeks before the inauguration. Jackson believed that her death was partially due to these

¹ Thorpe, *Constitutional History of the American People*, Vol. I, p. 97.

² "Do they think," said Jackson, in 1821, "that I am such a darned fool as to think myself fit for the presidency? No, sir; I know what I am good for. I can command a body of men in a rough way, but I am not fit to be President." Parton, *Life of Jackson*, Vol. II, p. 354.

attacks, and he felt very bitter against every editor who had published them. The administration organ at Washington had copied them, and Jackson, believing that Adams had something to do with their publication, and also remembering the "corrupt bargain," refused to call on Adams, according to custom, when he reached the Capital City some days before the inauguration; and hence Adams refused to attend the ceremonies. He remained in the city for a week, then quietly left for New England.

The inauguration of the new President was a grand affair; the day was fine, and the crowd was vast. The people had flocked from every point of the compass to see the people's man made President. Jackson, despite his want of early training, was capable of assuming the manners of the most highly cultured. He was not in the least overawed by the presence of the great, nor did he affect to show contempt for the refinements of social life. His address to the great audience that now stood before him revealed no tendency to cringe, nor was it marred with a taint of bravado. "His manner was faultless," writes an eye-witness who was not his political friend,¹ "not strained, but natural. There was no exhibition of pride or ostentation—no straining after effect or false show." The ceremonies over, a great public reception with refreshments was held at the White House, and the rabble had full sway. They trampled the fine carpets with their muddy boots, stood on chairs and upholstered furniture, and among other things smashed an immense, costly chandelier. "Let the boys have a good time once in four years," said Jackson, — and nothing he ever said gives a deeper insight into the cause of his popularity.

Inauguration
of
Jackson

Jackson chose as his secretary of state the rising Dutch politician of New York, Martin Van Buren, who a few months before had been elected governor of his state. Samuel D. Ingham was made secretary of the treasury, and John H. Eaton secretary of war. The Cabinet was now increased to six members, the post-master-general being admitted to it, and the first incumbent of the new office was William T. Barry of Kentucky.

During the early months of 1829 an affair at Washington, known as the Eaton Scandal, created much public excitement. This matter would not merit the notice of serious history but for the permanent effect it had upon the administration. Many years before this time, one William O'Neal had kept a tavern in Washington, and his house became the lodging place of many of the government officials.

The Eaton
Scandal

¹ Thompson, *Recollections of Sixteen Presidents*, p. 146.

Among the boarders was Senator John H. Eaton from Tennessee. O'Neal had a daughter, a witty young beauty, known over the city as Peggy O'Neal. She was quite free with the inmates of her father's house, and especially with Mr. Eaton — until the gossips were set going and her name became tainted.¹ At length Senator Eaton married Peggy O'Neal. But the Cabinet was now inharmonious in the extreme, and after hanging together till the spring of 1831, it broke to pieces and a new Cabinet was formed.²

Aside from disrupting the Cabinet, the Eaton Scandal had another and still more marked effect on American history. It built the fortunes of the secretary of state. Martin Van Buren was at this time a widower and without daughters, and he could well afford to give his energies to the cause that was so dear to his chief. He called on Mrs. Eaton; he arranged balls and dinners for her; he spoke of her virtue in every social circle; he sought out the British and Russian ministers, both bachelors, and secured their aid in pushing Mrs. Eaton to the front. And he succeeded, not in having her recognized in Washington society, but in intrenching himself in the heart of General Jackson. Never from this moment was there a break between the two, though as unlike they were as winter and balmy spring. It was soon after this time that Jackson decided to name Van Buren as his choice for the presidential succession, and his decision was final, for his party was

¹ Peggy O'Neal first married one Mr. Timberlake of the navy, but he died by suicide in the Mediterranean; and it was in January, 1820, when Mr. Eaton, who was still in the Senate, married the widow. Mrs. Eaton now set out to gratify the ambition of her life — to become a leader in Washington society. But her former history was exhumed, and most of the society ladies of the city refused to recognize her. This was the state of affairs when Jackson arrived in the city. Eaton had been one of his chief campaign managers, and the O'Neals had a warm place in Jackson's heart, as he also had been their guest while serving in the Senate a few years before.

Remembering the slanders against his own wife, now deceased, believing Mrs. Eaton to be innocent, and believing also that the gossip about her was inspired by Henry Clay with the object of ruining her husband, Jackson determined to espouse the cause of the Eatons. He appointed Mr. Eaton to his Cabinet, and did everything in his power to clear the name of his wife, and to give her a standing in society. He wrote scores of letters, he called Cabinet meetings, he attended stately dinners — all for Mrs. Eaton. But the women who held the key to the inner sacred circle declined to open the door to Mrs. Eaton. General Jackson now practically informed the members of his Cabinet that their political fortunes depended on the recognition by their wives of Mrs. Eaton; but these men were powerless; their wives simply refused, and that was the "end on't." Even the President's niece, the mistress of the White House, made a stand. "Anything else, Uncle, I will do for you, but I cannot call on Mrs. Eaton." "Then go back to Tennessee, my dear," said the President, and she went back to Tennessee. Six months later, however, this niece, Mrs. Andrew Jackson Donelson, was reinstated in the White House.

² Mr. Eaton was sent as minister to Spain. He died in 1856; but his famous wife lived to be very old, dying long after the Civil War.

all powerful, and he swayed the party as Jefferson had done thirty years before.¹

The leading members of the new Cabinet were Edward Livingston, secretary of state, Lewis Cass, secretary of war, and Roger B. Taney, attorney-general. Here may be mentioned also Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," com- The Kitchen Cabinet posed of a few of his intimate friends, private advisers, but not members of the real Cabinet. These men were said to meet the President in a private room, which they reached by means of the back door, hence the name. Chief among them were Francis P. Blair, editor of the *Globe*, founded in opposition to the *Telegraph*, which was under the influence of Calhoun; William B. Lewis, who had managed Jackson's first campaign and was a master politician; and, above all, Amos Kendall of Kentucky, afterward postmaster-general. Kendall was a strange character. Silent, wiry, seedy, and slovenly in appearance, he glided in and out of the President's private room more like a spirit than a man. But withal he was frugal and honest, and was possessed of remarkable political sagacity. He devoted all his powers to upholding the name and fame of the President, and was content to remain almost unknown himself. It is believed that Jackson owed more to Amos Kendall than to any other man for the successes of his administration.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

For three reasons the "reign" of Jackson will ever be remembered in our history: The radical changes in the civil service; nullification in South Carolina; and the policy against the United States Bank.

Andrew Jackson was a man of intense patriotism, and he did much for which the country should hold him in grateful remembrance. But for one thing he deserves no credit, and that was his debauching of the civil service, his introducing or permitting the introduction of the spoils-system into national politics. Before the advent of Jackson civil service officials usually held office for life or good behavior. The Crawford Act of 1820, limiting an appointee to a four years' tenure,

¹ In a letter dated December 31, 1829, to Judge Overton of Tennessee, Jackson adroitly names Van Buren for the succession. This letter was to be used in case of Jackson's death, and his health was then frail. But he grew stronger, and the letter remained a secret for nearly thirty years. See Parton, Vol. III, p. 294. But Parton erroneously gives the date as December, 1830. See Von Holst, Vol. VI, p. 163.

had not been enforced. During the forty years preceding Jackson's term but few public officials had been dismissed; but Jackson ignored all precedent and removed clerks, postmasters, and customhouse officials by scores and hundreds, for purely political reasons. This "spoils system" had been in practice in New York and Pennsylvania state politics. It was the spirit of triumphant democracy that brought it into national politics. Jackson could have crushed, or at least deferred it, but did not do so.¹ The system, the motto of which was "To the victors belong the spoils," took a powerful hold on the country and was followed by Jackson's successors for many years; each became a victim to the system whether he would or not; and it was many years later that the movement known as Civil Service Reform in part brought us back to the old practice of the early Presidents.²

JACKSON AND CALHOUN

After tracing the career of Jackson to this point, let us follow another career almost parallel with this one for a long distance, after which they diverge never to meet again. In this second line we trace the life of another of the most striking figures in American history. Von Holst, the German historian, pronounces the life of Calhoun more tragical than any tragedy every conceived by the imagination of man.

The points of resemblance in the lives of Jackson and Calhoun are very remarkable. They were both of Scotch-Irish descent, born in the Carolinas, of revolutionary Whig parentage, and each was left fatherless at an early age. They were both tall and spare in frame, of pure morals and undaunted courage, and each was a born leader and commander of men. They both entered Congress at the early age of thirty years and were leaders in the same great political party. In 1824 they were both candidates for the presidency, one withdrawing and accepting second place, the other being defeated; they were elected four years later, president and vice president on the same ticket.³

¹ See Sumner, *Jackson*, p. 147; Von Holst, Vol. II, p. 14.

² Would that all our Presidents had the conception of the great office held by Washington! Here is an extract from a letter he wrote to a friend concerning another friend who had applied for an office: "He is welcome to my house and to my heart; but with all his good qualities, he is not a man of business. His opponent, with all his politics hostile to me, is a man of business. My private feelings have nothing to do in the case. I am not George Washington, but President of the United States. As George Washington I would do this man any kindness in my power — as President of the United States, I can do nothing."

³ This parallel is adapted from Greeley, *American Conflict*, Vol. I, p. 88.

But these two lines are not wholly parallel; there is here and there a notable divergence. Jackson was entirely without a higher education; Calhoun was a graduate of Yale. Jackson disliked the tedious work of lawmaking; he was sent to Congress three times, and resigned each time without finishing his term; but he was a superb commander on the battlefield. Calhoun, on the other hand, never took the field, but he was a leader in Congress from the time he entered it in 1811 to the end of his long political career of thirty-nine years, with the exception of the few years when he was not a member.

Comparison
of Jackson
and Cal-
houn

For many years Jackson and Calhoun were fast friends. Calhoun aided Jackson to the presidency in 1828. Jackson gave as a toast at a banquet, "John C. Calhoun, an honest man, the noblest work of God." The great ambition of Calhoun's life was to become President of the United States. It was almost a passion with him, and entered into all his political acts. But Jackson had gained such a powerful hold upon the Democratic party that no one could be elected without his support, and any one he might name was likely to become his successor; yet it was believed from one end of the land to the other that Calhoun would be the fortunate one upon whose shoulders the mantle of Old Hickory would fall.

But an evil day came. Calhoun's hopes were blasted forever, and he became a changed man, so changed that the Calhoun of later years could scarcely be recognized to be the same man as the brilliant young patriotic leader of his earlier years. It happened on this wise: It will be remembered that Jackson in the Seminole War of 1818 caused trouble by trespassing on Spanish soil. Calhoun was at that time secretary of war in the Monroe Cabinet. The subject was discussed in secret Cabinet meetings, and in one of these meetings Calhoun suggested that Jackson be subjected to a court of inquiry with a view to his punishment. At the same time Jackson believed that Calhoun was his warmest friend and most faithful defender in the Cabinet. It was soon after this that Jackson had toasted Calhoun as an honest man, the noblest work of God. Their friendship thus continued for many years longer when, in 1830, Jackson heard of the attitude Calhoun had taken in the Monroe Cabinet. Jackson was dazed at the information. He at once wrote Calhoun asking if it could be true. In vain did Calhoun assert that he had never questioned Jackson's patriotism or honesty; in vain did he explain that whatever he may have said in Monroe's Cabinet was in accordance with official duty, and

never intended to mar their personal friendship. But Jackson was unable to distinguish between personal and political friendship. He denounced Calhoun most bitterly, and declared that their friendship was forever at an end. And so it was; they were never reconciled.¹

A breach between two political leaders is not an unusual occurrence, and may often be passed over as of little importance. Sometimes, however, such a quarrel may change the entire working machinery of the government. This Calhoun's change of heart permanent breach between Jackson and Calhoun became a momentous turning point in the life of the latter. Calhoun's great ambition to become President was now blasted. He was a disappointed man, and the effect of his disappointment can be traced through his entire subsequent course. He was a national man, with broad national views, and one of the most brilliant and attractive men in the nation till this time. After this change came over him he was a sectional man and gave his great talents to the interests of slavery as long as he lived.² Slavery during its career in America had many champions of admirable talents, but no other compares at all in ability with Calhoun. The one weapon which he constantly used in dealing his powerful blows was state rights, or, more properly, state-sovereignty. And this brings us to the notable outbreak of the time, a product of this doctrine.

NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The grievance that caused the outbreak in this little state by the sea had been developing for ten years — at least for six years — since the defeat of Jackson for the presidency by John Quincy Adams. It had its origin, not in the quarrel between the President and the "great nullifier," nor even in the tariff, as it is generally supposed, but in a growing discontent of the people, a feeling that the interests of the North and the South were not identical, and that the government was falling into the hands of the North.³ This feeling was intensified by the tariff of 1828, and a few years later it broke into open defiance. During the ten or fifteen years preceding nullification the North and the South had changed places on the subject of the tariff. At

¹ This incident was not the origin or the sole cause of the rupture between Jackson and Calhoun. They had been growing apart for some years.

² I would not be understood to mean that the quarrel with Jackson was the sole cause of Calhoun's change of heart; but without this quarrel he might have become President, and might have remained national in his sympathies.

³ See *Harvard Historical Studies*, No. III, p. 5.

the close of the recent war with England the South was more favorable than the North to a protective tariff. One cause was that the South at first expected to work its own cotton; but this it could not do. Slave labor had not the intelligence to manufacture; white labor could not flourish by the side of slave labor, and the cotton mills were built in New England and Liverpool. Since, therefore, the South could only raise cotton for sale, it came to prefer a low tariff so that it might purchase manufactured articles more cheaply, and through fear that a high tariff would disturb the cotton market in England. New England, on the other hand, was at first so wedded to commerce as its chief industry that it favored free trade or a low tariff. But as its manufactories grew and clamored for more protection, and as it was further discovered that protection did not seriously injure commerce, that section came to favor a high protective tariff. Thus in the years following 1816 the two sections veered around and exchanged places on this great national question.¹

The duties of 1816 were raised in 1824, and these again in 1828. This last measure was called the "Tariff of Abominations." It was supported by the free traders and made as obnoxious as possible by them in the hope that the country would become surfeited with protection; but New England swallowed it. This tariff gave occasion for the pent-up feelings in South Carolina to find an opening; but before continuing the subject, let us turn aside to notice an episode, indirectly connected with it, which brought on the most famous debate that ever took place in the United States Senate.

It was in January, 1830, that Senator Foote of Connecticut introduced a resolution to limit the sale of public lands, or rather to inquire into the expediency of doing so, and from this arose the great debate which took a wider range, lasted over two months, and covered nearly every great question that had agitated the government since its foundation. At length, however, the debate narrowed down to the great rising issue between the North and the South, with slavery as its background, and threats of nullification and disunion as its immediate exponents — and it culminated in the famous oratorical contest between Robert Y. Hayne and Daniel Webster.

¹ It must be stated, however, that South Carolina was an exception in the South from the beginning. In this state high protection was never popular. In 1780 Senator Pierce Butler from that state "flamed like a meteor" against the proposed tariff, and charged Congress with "a design of oppressing South Carolina." In 1816, when Calhoun supported the protective tariff, he did so against the wishes of his constituents and was censured for it. He afterward came to agree with his constituents.

Senator Hayne was an educated man of refined and fascinating manner, soft, winning voice, was an able lawyer, and was possessed of much oratorical ability. And yet Hayne would scarcely be known to our national history but for the fact that he drew from the greatest of American orators the greatest oration of his life. The speech of Hayne was one of the notable speeches of the period. It covered two days, and was made to a crowded chamber. In it Hayne advocated with much power the right of a state to render null and void an unconstitutional law of Congress. The Southerners gathered around him at the close to show their delight at having a champion, as they believed, who was more than a match for Webster.

On the next day, with but one night for preparation, Webster rose to reply. He took the floor like a gladiator entering the arena; his appearance, always impressive, was especially so that day. He was at the prime of life, forty-eight years of age; and his raven black hair, high forehead, shaggy brow, broad shoulders, and deep, melodious voice made an impression on the audience never to be forgotten. Webster's argument was that the Constitution is supreme, the Union indissoluble, and that no state has the right to resist or to nullify a national law. His well-known closing peroration, ending with the words, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," is one of the most eloquent passages in the English language.

This great oration awakened the people to the fact that a new prophet had arisen among them — and so he was, a prophet of nationality. The old Federalist party had originally stood on the ground of extreme nationalism; but that party had ceased to be, and the Democratic party had now been in control for thirty years. This party was equally patriotic with its predecessor, but less pronounced on nationalism, and had some great upheaval occurred within these thirty years, who can tell what might have become of the Union? But now at this new menace to the integrity of the Union the new champion of the old doctrine of nationality arose in the person of Webster.

But Federalism had not been dead, nor even sleeping, nor had it hovered as a disembodied spirit during those thirty years. Not only had its best principles been in a great measure adopted by the democracy; but a bridge of living Federalism had spanned this chasm of thirty years, from Hamilton to Webster, in the person of the great interpreter of the Constitution, John Marshall. It

was Marshall above all men who gave to the Constitution the meaning that it has. And now as the great jurist was grown old and ready to close his earthly labors, it was Webster who took up the cry of nationality and sounded it forth with a trumpet sound; and it took hold on the national mind, and increased more and more for thirty years, when it was strong enough to put down the uprising against the Union in the sixties.

But Webster was not the only one, not even the chief one, to whom the nation owed its preservation in the thirties. This honor must be awarded the Democratic President. Webster was only a voice, and the case required action. Webster's doctrine was too new to take immediate hold upon a people who had so long been schooled in the doctrine of state sovereignty. The condition required action; it required one with power, and Jackson had the power. Had he the inclination, the will? That was the great question in the spring of 1830.

The muttered rumblings of nullification were increasing in South Carolina. There was much dissatisfaction with the tariff of 1828 in other states, and some were belligerent in their utterances,¹ but no other except South Carolina was ready to defy the government. But what will Jackson do? He was a southern man. Would he decide against his own section and espouse the cause of the Union, the doctrine of this rising sun of Massachusetts? In a unique way it was decided to discover the views of the President on this great subject. A banquet was to be held in Washington on the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of democracy, April 13, and Jackson was invited to be present and to give a toast on a subject of his own choosing. He readily saw that the general object was, not so much to honor Jefferson as to foster nullification and disunion and to make Jefferson the "pedestal of this colossal heresy," and the immediate object to discover his own views on the subject. Jackson attended. Many toasts were given, all bearing on state rights, and savoring of nullification. Jackson was then called on for a volunteer toast. He arose amid profound silence, for his views on the exciting subject were unknown. He announced his subject: "The Federal Union; It must and shall be Preserved"; and he denounced as treason all movements toward nullification and disunion. His speech fell like a bomb in the ranks of the South Carolinians; they saw that they could get no sympathy from Jackson, that he was for the Union at all hazards. This occurred two and a half months

The birthday party

¹ See the case of Georgia, Ames, *State Documents*, No. IV, pp. 14-16.

after the great debate between Webster and Hayne and a month before the final break between Jackson and Calhoun.

Notwithstanding the ominous warnings, the South Carolinians rushed on where angels might have feared to tread. Their state was in great turmoil; but it was in Washington that the seeds of disunion were nourished into growth under the leadership of Hayne. But Hayne was not the real leader; those who looked deeper than the surface could see the master hand of Calhoun beneath it all. Again in 1832 some tariff duties were raised, and South Carolina grew desperate. In November, 1832, the crisis came. A convention with the governor of the state as chairman, met at Columbia, and solemnly decided the tariff of 1828 and that of 1832 null and void in that state after the first of the following February, authorized the calling out of the militia, forbade any appeal to the Supreme Court, and declared that if the government attempted to use force, the state would set up a government of its own. This was the famous ordinance of nullification. It was a bold and daring step for the little state to make, especially with such a man as Jackson to deal with at Washington. A few weeks after this the President came out with his famous December proclamation to the people of South Carolina, in which he showed them the folly of their action, appealed to them to pause in their madness, and warned them that if they went on the soil of their beloved state would be drenched in blood; for the general government could not and would not yield to their demands.¹

The government, however, did yield to a compromise, the author of which was Henry Clay. By this compromise the duties above twenty per cent were to be reduced gradually for ten years, when the uniform duty should be twenty per cent. It was agreed to by Calhoun, but was signed with reluctance by the President, as it was a partial yielding to the hotspurs of South Carolina. At the same time, however, he had put through Congress the so-called Force Bill, which enabled him to send troops to South Carolina to enforce the collection of the revenue. This he did under General Scott; but no blood was shed and all was soon peaceful. South Carolina had made one serious miscalculation from the first. She expected other cotton states to follow her example; but instead of doing so, nearly all of them condemned her action. This fact doubtless

¹ To this the legislature of South Carolina made a rather defiant answer, and solemnly declared that any state had the right to secede from the Union. Ames, *State Documents*, No. IV, p. 43.

explains her willingness to yield to compromise. It must be added, also, that there was a lurking fear throughout the North that if Federal guns should be trained on South Carolina, other cotton states might rush to her rescue. This very thing happened twenty-eight years later. Had it occurred in the thirties, it is doubtful if the Union could have been preserved.

THE REELECTION AND THE BANK

When Jackson first became President he had no thought of a second term, but at the urgent request of his friends, he decided to stand for reelection, and Van Buren, whom the Senate had rejected as minister to England, was elected Vice President. From Jackson's private correspondence we learn that he would have preferred to spend the remainder of his days at the Hermitage, near the grave of his departed wife, and that with all his successes and with all his friends and admirers, he was a "sad and lonely old man." His chief object in consenting to serve a second term, if elected, was to carry out his designs against the United States Bank. His leading opponent was Henry Clay, whose party used the name National Republican.

There was another party also in the field in this election of 1832 — the Anti-Masonic party. It arose in the following way: A man named William Morgan of New York published a book disclosing the secrets of Freemasonry and in so doing awakened the implacable hostility of the Masons. One day he was abducted at Canandaigua, carried away in a closed carriage to Fort Niagara, and was never afterward seen or heard of by his friends. It was believed that he was sunk into the depths of Lake Ontario, and the deed was ascribed to the Masons. A violent wave of indignation against the Masonic fraternity spread through New York and adjoining states. Anti-Masonic societies were formed on all sides and they resolved themselves into a political party and entered the arena of national politics for the election of 1832. This party nominated William Wirt, twelve years attorney-general of the United States, for President, and carried one state, Vermont, in the election. The party soon dissolved, and it would scarcely be remembered but for the fact that it introduced into national politics three statesmen destined to great renown in the coming generation, — William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, and Thaddeus Stevens, — and the more important fact that it instituted the national nominating convention, an example soon followed and still followed by all other parties.

The Anti-Masons

But the real contest in 1832 was between Jackson and Clay; and there was but one prominent issue — the United States Bank.¹ Jackson was hostile to the bank and sought to destroy it. Clay was its friend, and he made a bold move, which proved to be a blunder. He had put through Congress, in the midst of the campaign, a bill to recharter the bank. The old charter had four years yet to run, and there was no need of such haste; and Clay's sole object was to force the issue by forcing the President to sign or to veto the bill, and it was sent to him on the 4th of July.

The country waited in deep anxiety for the action of the President. The test was a severe one. Jackson was known to be altogether hostile to the bank; he had thundered against it in his first annual message in 1829, and again in 1830. He had said again and again that Nicholas Biddle, the bank president, and the directors were using their influence and the bank's money to corrupt the people and carry the elections, and that no such corporation should exist in a free government. Could he sign the bill in the face of all that? But could he veto it and risk awakening the wrath of the people within four months of the election? The money of the country was still good, and there were yet no signs of corruption. What could Jackson do? Whatever Jackson may have been, he was no coward. He waited six days and then vetoed the bank bill. As the news of this veto spread, the majority of the people were struck with consternation, for most of them had come to believe that the bank was necessary to the prosperity of the country.

The issue of the campaign was now settled — it was the bank and nothing but the bank. The great trio in the Senate, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, combined against Jackson, and the bank officials, led by "Nick" Biddle, were active in assisting them. Their claim was that the financial equilibrium was so disturbed by the veto that widespread ruin must result. On the other hand, Jackson railed against the bank; his followers took up the cry, and ere long the whole Democratic press was accusing the bank of corruption, and they kept it up until the masses of the people believed that there was truth in the accusation — and so there was.

For some time before the election the popular tide set toward Jackson, and Clay received but forty-nine electoral votes out of two hundred and seventy-five.

This appeal to the people sustained Jackson on the question before the country; but the old bank had four years yet to live;

¹ For an account of the bank see *supra*, p. 438.

and the next year Jackson made one of the boldest strokes ever made by a President of the United States. He removed the government deposits from the bank, on his own authority. He had determined to destroy the institution, and fearing that by his death or through a change in Congress, the bill to recharter it might yet become a law, he decided to ruin the bank by withholding the government moneys on which its life depended. Calling his Cabinet together, he made known his purpose. But the entire Cabinet, except Mr. Taney, the attorney-general, disapproved. It was believed that such an act would ruin the business of the country by ruining this great fiscal corporation, which had practical control of the finances of the nation, and hundreds of smaller banks dependent on it. But Jackson believed the bank to be corrupt and even insolvent, and he was determined on his course; nothing could stay his hand. By the charter no one but the secretary of the treasury had power to remove the public money from the bank. Jackson ordered his secretary of the treasury, Mr. Duane, to do this; but Duane refused and was immediately dismissed from the Cabinet. Taney was then transferred to the treasury, and he proceeded to obey his chief.

Little can we realize at this day the excitement into which the people were thrown by this action of the President. Public meetings were held in every part of the country to protest against it. Thousands who had voted for Jackson the year before now believed that he had gone entirely too far. Petitions came from all sides praying that he replace the bank funds.¹ Jackson, when approached on the subject, would become furious; he would walk the floor like a caged lion. "Go to the monster, Nick Biddle," he would say, "he has millions; it's all a job of the politicians; I will not yield a hair's breadth."² And he did not yield.

But the trouble did not stop here. In a few months the business of the country was greatly disturbed. Banks closed their doors and manufactories were shut down. Distress meetings were held in every center of trade, and they poured their memorials into Congress by the hundreds. Congress met in December, and the Senate debated the subject for weeks amid the wildest

¹ The government deposits in the bank, amounting to near \$10,000,000 at this time, were removed gradually in the course of business. The accumulating surplus was placed in "pet banks" to the amount of \$11,000,000, when Congress passed a law loaning the unused surplus to the various states. But after three quarterly payments, aggregating some \$28,000,000, had been so distributed, a financial crash, to be noticed later, put a stop to them.

² Schouler, Vol. IV, p. 161.

excitement. The leader against Jackson was Clay; but Clay had been so recently defeated by Jackson that personal grievance was thought to have something to do with his opposition. Clay's right-hand man was Calhoun; but his recent quarrel with the President weakened him also with the people.

Jackson was not without friends in the Senate, the ablest and most devoted of whom was Thomas H. Benton, thirty years a senator from Missouri. Benton was a national character, known as "Old Bullion," from his hard money proclivities. Many years before he and Jackson had been enemies and had fought an impromptu duel, but all this was changed, and with unwearied effort and much ability he now defended Jackson against the combination in the Senate. He claimed that the sudden distress of the country had been caused by the willful designs of the bank directors with a view of overthrowing Jackson's popularity and forcing him to replace the deposits. The bank refused its accustomed loans to business men, and it forced smaller banks to the wall by demanding immediate payment in coin of all debts due it. Benton also showed that the old bank in 1811, in order to force the government to grant a recharter, had brought on the country a temporary distress of the same kind and in the same way. He drew from this a strong argument against the existence in a free country of a corporation so powerful as to be able to do this. His points were well taken, and in the end had great effect on the people.

The fury of the Senate against the President did not abate; but that body was powerless. It was under the magic spell of Clay, and would have impeached Jackson beyond a doubt, but the Constitution gives all power of impeachment to the House, and the House was Democratic by a majority of fifty. The Senate, however, rejected Taney as secretary of the treasury, and adopted strong resolutions of censure against the President; who in turn sent a long written protest, which the Senate refused to receive. This annoyed the President greatly, and Benton gave notice that he would move to expunge the resolutions of censure from the Senate journal, and that he would succeed in this or keep up the subject to the end of his official life. He did succeed about three years later, after the Senate had changed political complexion.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND INDIAN WARS

So great were the domestic achievements of the Jacksonian epoch that little notice, usually, is given to foreign affairs; yet

these were important, and in every dispute with a foreign power, as well as in his contests at home, the old warrior President was successful in the end. First came a wrangle with France. The United States held a claim of \$5,000,000 against that country for spoiliations of American shipping after 1803. In a treaty of 1831 Louis Philippe, the newly crowned king of France, acknowledged the claim. But three years passed and the money was not forthcoming, whereupon Jackson came forth in a vigorous message in which was couched a menace. This offended the French Chambers, and they refused to pay the claims unless the President would modify his message. This attitude brought from Jackson a second message, threefold more offensive than the first. In this message he threatened reprisals on French commerce. Congress then took up the matter; but the French government soon ended the trouble by paying the claims. The administration demanded and received payment also of long-standing claims against Spain, Denmark, and the Sicilies. These things touched the popular heart and strengthened the administration. But still more were the people pleased with the opening of the West India trade. Great Britain had closed the ports of the West Indies to American ships some years before. The Adams administration had sought for several years to have this trade reopened, but in vain. Jackson renewed the negotiation through his secretary of state, Van Buren, and by making some concessions to British commerce, won a complete victory.

French
spoliation
claims

West India
trade

Our relations with Mexico were strained during the whole of this administration, and so continued for more than ten years longer. Mexico emancipated her slaves in 1827, but her northern province, Texas, refused to do so, and soon afterward revolted under the leadership of Sam Houston. Jackson sent an army under General Gaines to the gulf coast "to keep Texan Indians off our soil," but in fact to connive with Houston. Gaines's troops deserted freely and joined Houston, and received no rebuke from the government. Jackson even demanded damages of Mexico and threatened reprisals when the damage claims should have come from the other side. Nothing was plainer than that, contrary to his usual honesty, Jackson was unfair in his dealings with Mexico.

Two Indian wars marked the administration of Jackson. The first occurred in the northwest and is known as the Black Hawk War. Black Hawk, a former pupil of Tecumseh, who had, like

that great chief, espoused the cause of the British in the War of 1812, was now chief of the Sac and Fox tribes. His war with the whites in 1832 arose from the usual cause of Indian wars—land cessions. General Gaines, and later General Atkinson, were sent against him. Black Hawk was defeated and at length taken captive. He was then taken East that he might see the greatness of the United States. He called on the President at Washington and visited most of the great cities of the East. He was highly honored in this tour, thousands of people swarming to the towns to see this monarch of the forest. While bearing himself with the dignity of a ruler, Black Hawk was deeply impressed with the white man's government, and returning to his western home, was faithful to his promise to keep the peace in future.

Far more formidable was the war with the Indians of the South, beginning in 1835, and known as the Second Seminole War, the first being that of 1818 with Jackson as the chief figure. The various southern tribes had been slow to remove to the lands allotted to them west of the Mississippi, and in 1834 the President sent General Wiley Thomson to Florida to urge their departure. But the Indians, led by the strong chieftain, Osceola, rose in rebellion. In December, 1835, Major Dade and a hundred soldiers whom he led were ambushed and massacred in a Florida swamp; and on the same day Osceola, with his own hand, assassinated and scalped General Thomson, while the latter was sitting at the table dining with friends. These acts stirred the government to vigorous action. General Scott was sent to take command, and he soon subdued the Creeks, and removed thousands of them to their new home. But the Seminoles were still hostile, and they extended their forays into Alabama and Georgia, attacking mail carriers, stagecoaches, and even towns, from which the people fled for their lives. General Jessup commanded in Florida. He made a treaty with the Indians, but Osceola trampled it under foot and refused to be bound by the most sacred promises. Hundreds of the troops perished in the swamps of fevers and of the bites of venomous serpents. At length Osceola came to General Jessup under a flag of truce, and was detained, sent to Charleston, and confined in Fort Moultrie. Jessup was severely censured for violating the sanctity of a flag of truce; but he explained that as this was the only way in which he could stop the career of this treacherous chief who violated every obligation, he felt justified in doing as he did. Osceola died of fever at Fort

**Black Hawk
War, 1832**

**Seminole
War**

Osceola

Moultrie in 1839. But the war went on, continuing in all about seven years, and costing the United States \$30,000,000.

CHARACTER OF JACKSON

The student of history must search long to find a parallel to this remarkable man, who has been pronounced "the incarnate multitude," and whose will dominated the government of the United States for eight years. The period was noted for its great men, and yet Jackson stood alone as the transcendent figure of the times. Such leaders as Clay, Webster, and Calhoun were powerless while Jackson occupied the political stage. His popularity in his party was unbounded. The people came to believe that he could do no wrong, and that he stood like an angel with a flaming sword, guarding their interests against the designs of the politicians. It is difficult to rate Jackson as a statesman. He had little training in statecraft, but he was gifted with an intuition that proved remarkable for its accuracy. His insight into human nature was almost unerring.¹

The most conspicuous element in Jackson's character was his will. This was as inflexible as steel. He usually reached his conclusion on a great subject without apparently considering the matter, and then, deciding on his course with equal suddenness, he bent every energy to attain his object and trampled every foe and every obstacle that came in his way. No expostulations of friends or threats of enemies could change his course. He had a Cabinet, it is true, but his decisions were usually his own. Some of his Cabinet members had ten times his experience as statesmen and, while he listened to their advice, they were not permitted to forget that he was master, nor could any one that crossed his will or refused to humor his foibles or to bend to his purpose remain long in his favor.² Jackson held his party in a grasp of iron, and his discipline was that of a general commanding an army. He was not a partisan in the ordinary sense; he was simply master. Every contest with him was a battle, and every battle brought him victory. It is a remarkable fact that, except in the case of the Eatons, Jackson gained every important object on which he set his heart during his entire administration. His few apparent defeats were more than victories in the end. He nominated Van Buren minister to England. The Senate rejected his

¹ He could be imposed on, however, by artful politicians. But with the exception of Swartout, who stole a million dollars as collector of the port of New York, and a few others, his appointments were generally commendable.

² Schouler, Vol. IV, p. 266.

nominee, and Jackson made him Vice President and then President of the United States. He then named former Speaker Stevenson for the place. The Senate again refused its consent, and Jackson left the office vacant for two years, and again sent the same name to the Senate, and it was confirmed. His appointment of Taney to the treasury was also rejected, and he made Taney Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The Senate at last seemed to gain a crowning victory over the President — by passing its resolutions of censure. This annoyed him exceedingly; but his friends, after laboring for three years, succeeded in expunging the hated censure — and Jackson was ahead again. Both Clay and Webster were so wearied at their successive defeats at the hands of this untutored President, that they determined to abandon public life,¹ and would doubtless have done so, but for the retirement of their unconquerable enemy.

Andrew Jackson had faults — glaring faults. One was his lawlessness or, more accurately, his belief that his interpretation of the law was the correct one. This was shown in his Seminole campaign, as we have noticed. When President he refused to be bound by the Supreme Court, on the ground that he would sustain the Constitution as he understood it, and not as it was interpreted by others. For example, when Georgia had trouble with the Creeks, she condemned a half-breed named Tassells to be hanged. Tassells appealed to the Supreme Court, and the decision was reversed, and the state was cited on a writ of error. But Georgia was defiant, and refused to be bound by this decision. It was now Jackson's plain duty to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court, but he refused to do so. "John Marshall has made his decision," he is reported to have said, "now let him enforce it" — and Tassells was hanged. Very similar was his action in the case of Georgia and the Cherokees, as noted on a preceding page.

Jackson was a man of quarrels. He couldn't be happy without one. He loved his friends and hated his enemies. He was not able to distinguish between a personal and a political enemy, nor was he broad enough to give an opponent credit for honestly differing from him in opinion; but he never grew weary of showering favors on his devoted followers.

Now a hurried glance at the other side of his nature. It has been truly said that Andrew Jackson, with his vast power, could have done his country irreparable harm, had he been a bad man; but this he was not. He was a true child of nature, more perhaps

¹ Sargent, p. 344.

the product of the age in which he lived than the molder of it. He was born with an unhappy temper, of which he never had the good fortune to become master; while the half-civilized society of the frontier had set its mark indelibly upon his life. But his heart was right. No trace in him of selfish ambition of the Aaron Burr type; no enemy could accuse him of dishonesty, or couple his name with political corruption. His devotion to his country was equal to that of Washington. His unjust dealing with Mexico arose from his excessive love of country — his longing to see Texas a part of the Union. When he disobeyed orders while a commander in the field, it was because he thought he knew best. When he quarreled with enemies, he doubtless thought he was right and they were wrong, and compromise was a meaningless word to him.

The story of Jackson's home life is scarcely credible to the reader who knows him only in the hurricane of battle and in the caldron of political strife. In the domestic circle Jackson was the gentlest and most lovable of men, and among his striking characteristics were his courtesy and chivalry towards women. His servants, white and black, revered him as a father. His devotion to his wife while she lived, and to her memory after she was gone, was of rare beauty, and late in life he fulfilled his promise to her that he would become a member of the church. In appearance he was tall and thin, with an erect military bearing, his iron-gray hair thrown back in ridges from his forehead, while in his eye was a "dangerous fixedness," and down his cheeks deep furrows ran. The prevailing expression of his face showed energy and will power. He would be singled out, even among extraordinary men, says an English writer, as a man of superior cast.

The political influence of Jackson upon the country, especially upon the northern Democrats, was very great. At the time of his power the murmurs of sectionalism and disunion were distinctly heard from the South; but Jackson, while a strong friend of state rights, was an unrelenting foe to sectionalism and disunion. He was national in the broadest and best sense, and this spirit he infused into the multitude. Above all men of his times Jackson was the idol, the oracle, the teacher of the great unformed democracy, the untutored masses, many of whom had but recently received the franchise. What they needed above all things was a lesson in nationality — and they received it from Jackson. Through him vast numbers of men came to love the nation above the state, and it was largely through the memory and influence of Jackson that the northern Democrats came forward in 1861 to

aid in saving the Union, which he, through their fathers, had taught them to love.¹

While we cannot sympathize with the spoils system of Jackson, nor with his harsh treatment of the Seminoles, nor his double dealing with Mexico, nor his belligerent propensities in general, it cannot be denied that he was a true patriot and an honest man. In ability he was almost a Cæsar; and while it is perhaps well that the American people are inclined to place few Cæsars in the presidential chair, may it be hoped that whenever they do they will choose as honest and unselfish a one as was Andrew Jackson.

MARTIN VAN BUREN

The administration of Van Buren properly belongs to the Jackson epoch; but the term "reign" can be used no longer, as the new President lacked the dictatorial power and the popularity of his predecessor. It was the intense desire of the outgoing President that his favorite from New York become his successor. His wishes were respected by the party, and Van Buren became President — but not without a contest. A new political party had been born. Henry Clay, who had served with the Democrats for twenty years, but who was now at variance with them at all points, determined after his defeat by Jackson in 1832 to break away entirely from the old party. And while casting about for a party name the old Revolutionary name Whig was decided on, and was first used in 1834. The Whig party absorbed the National Republican party, the name by which the opposition had been known for some years past. As the old Whig party in England and the colonies had opposed the high prerogative of the King, the new party now opposed the encroaching power of the Executive. The Whigs did not expect to win in 1836, nor was their party sufficiently united to concentrate on one man. Their aim was to throw the election into the House. Their votes in the electoral college were scattered among four men, William H. Harrison of Ohio, Judge White of Tennessee, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, and Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina. Their combined vote, however, reached but 124, while Van Buren received 167. The electoral college made no selection for Vice President, and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was chosen by the Senate.

As it was at the inauguration of 1797, so it was now — the eyes of the multitude were turned toward the setting rather than the rising sun. The quick-moving, smooth-shaven little man who

¹ A. D. Morse, in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 154.

read his inaugural on that bleak March day in 1837, and promised to tread "in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor," won little applause from the vast crowd compared with that given the aged specter by his side. Now for the last time this old warrior, who had been dictator of American policy for eight years, leaning heavily upon his staff under his burden of three-score and ten and the ravages of long disease, came forth and received the homage of the masses. A few days later he departed for his southern home, and the troubles of the new President began.

Martin Van Buren, the son of an innkeeper and small farmer of New York, had been initiated into politics by Aaron Burr, and he was a prominent lawyer before the War of 1812. He was a man of greater individuality and ability than is generally put to his credit by historians. In 1821 he entered the United States Senate and was the leader in that body during the administration of Adams. On the death of De Witt Clinton in 1828 Van Buren was easily the foremost man in the Empire State. Resigning the governorship of that state to take the chief place in the Cabinet of Jackson, he was by no means a figurehead even there; for it was largely due to his skill that Jackson made the two brilliant strokes in his foreign policy — opening of the West India trade and settling the French spoliation claims. But with all this, Van Buren could not have become President without the aid of his powerful friend; and while he inherited the office without the popularity of Jackson, he also inherited the evils of Jackson's administration.

Van Buren has been pronounced the cleverest political manager in American history, and no other man has held so many high national offices. He was small in stature, had a round, red face and quick, searching eyes. He was subtle, courteous, and smooth in conversation. His enemies charged him with being noncommittal on all subjects. At a great tariff meeting in Albany he was invited to make a speech; he did so, and at its close not a man, woman, or child in the audience could tell whether he was for or against a high tariff.¹ For two things the administration of Van Buren is prominent in history: the panic of 1837; and, the establishing of the independent treasury.

¹ One day Van Buren handed an official paper that he had written to a clerk to be criticised, and the latter declared that he couldn't tell what it was about. "Very well," answered Van Buren, "it will answer, then." A member of Congress, it was said, made a bet with another that if Van Buren were asked if the sun rose in the east or the west, he would not give a direct answer. The question was asked, and his answer was, "My friend, east and west are altogether relative terms." The reputation of being a wily politician rather than a statesman was very annoying to Van Buren throughout his public career.

THE PANIC AND THE INDEPENDENT TREASURY

This panic was probably the most disastrous that the American people have yet experienced. Every bank in the country suspended specie payments, thousands of leading merchants and manufacturers were forced to the wall, and the business of the country was utterly demoralized. As to the cause of the panic, there are various versions. The Whigs were prompt to put all the blame on the Democrats. It is not unusual in American politics for the party out of power to arraign the party in power, guilty or not guilty, for every disturbance in financial and business circles. Few statesmen have risen above this practice, especially when their own advancement depended on it — and in that degree a statesman becomes a demagogue.

This panic, like most of its kind, was the resultant of various causes, some of which elude the pen of the wisest political economist. A few of the causes, however, are not far to seek. Jackson's specie circular, by which payments for public lands were to be made in coin, when the people had but little coin, hastened the crisis. Another cause was the act of Congress distributing the surplus of the treasury to the various states. This made the states reckless in spending money, and when the payments were withheld, the states found themselves with many expensive projects in hand which they could not carry out. But the chief cause of the panic was the wild spirit of speculation that had seized the people. The national debt was paid, banks everywhere flooded the country with paper money far beyond their ability to redeem in coin; and, moreover, English capital poured into the country at this time and played its part in throwing the people off their guard.¹ The wildest schemes of speculation were set on foot. Prices rose and work was plentiful at high wages. Great manufactories were begun and never carried out. Scores of towns were laid out in the West, many of which are not built up to this day. The sale of public lands, which had often fallen below \$2,000,000 a year, ran up to \$24,000,000 in 1835. Banks sprung up on all sides, and they inflated the country with worthless paper money. Railroads, canals, and all manner of internal improvements were projected. Men were intoxicated with their dreams of growing

¹ Von Holst shows that English capital, which was at high tide at this time, also flooded other countries and produced a similar effect. This is conclusive proof that the panic in the United States was not wholly caused by the administration. The President's annual message of 1839 says that \$200,000,000 of foreign capital were then afloat in the United States. See *Jackson's Administration*, p. 173.

rich in a night ; and the crash came, as it always will under such conditions.

The panic reached its height soon after Van Buren became President, and he was besieged from every part of the country by delegations representing mass meetings, which had condemned the government for bringing about the hard times. The people raged and clamored, and begged the President to bring back their good times, of which they seemed to think he had robbed them. It is the custom in our time for the defeated party, after a presidential election, to lay politics aside for the moment and join in the welcoming plaudits of the incoming administration. It was not so in 1837. The Whigs had no kind word for the new President or his party. The great Whig leaders, Clay and Webster, both ardent aspirants for the presidency, did nothing to allay public excitement, but everything to obstruct and thwart the administration in its efforts to stem the tide and surmount the financial breakers. Both began, even before the inauguration, to lay plans for the nomination in 1840.¹

Van Buren's bearing was courteous and firm. His position was very difficult, but he faced the storm with great courage and for once evinced statesmanship of a high order. He assured the people that the object of government was not to manage the private affairs of the people, and that frugality and industry with careful management of business would alone bring prosperity. The President, however, yielded to popular clamor in so far as to call a special session of Congress to meet in September, 1837 ; and in his message to Congress at this session, a very able state paper, he urged with much force the one and only great measure of his administration — the establishing of the Independent Treasury, which, from its many subordinate branches in the various cities, has come to be known as the "Subtreasury." This is simply a special place or places for the funds of the government. Thus the government becomes the custodian of its own surplus and is divorced from all dependence on the banks.

The measure, as urged by the President, was ably discussed during this extra session, and again at the regular session. It was bitterly opposed by the Whigs and by many Democrats. It passed the Senate in June, 1838, but was defeated in the House. The administration, however, did not give the matter up, and in 1840 the bill for an independent treasury passed both houses, was signed by the President on the 4th of July, and became a law. A year later the Whigs had control of the government, and they

¹ Peck, *Jacksonian Epoch*, p. 352.

repealed the act. But the Democrats still clung to their favorite measure, and in 1846 the law was reënacted. From that time to the present, this law has been in force, and as all parties now favor it, it seems to be a fixture in our government.

THE CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL HARRISON

The most remarkable presidential contest in our history was that of 1840. In spite of anything that the Democrats could do, they steadily lost ground during the administration of Van Buren. This was largely because of the reiterated cry of the Whigs that the party in power had brought about the great industrial depression known as the Panic of 1837. Every sign seemed now to point to a Whig victory in 1840. That party held its convention at Harrisburg in a newly erected Lutheran church, almost a year before the election. Three prominent candidates were before the convention — Henry Clay, Willam Henry Harrison, and Winfield Scott — all born in Virginia, but now of different states.

Scott was widely known for his deeds at Queenstown Heights, at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane; but the greatest work of his life — his march upon Mexico — was still in the future, and he was not seriously considered by the convention. The real contest lay between Clay and Harrison. Against Clay many forces were at work. He had been in the forefront of public life for thirty years, and his outspoken manner had made him enemies; his views on the tariff were not popular in the South, and moreover he was a Freemason. This was his weakest point, for the Anti-Masonic party had dissolved, most of its members had joined the Whigs, and they would not have given Clay a hearty support. Harrison, on the other hand, had been out of public life for many years. His views on the great questions of the day were scarcely known, and this fact, according to our anomalous American politics, was considered a point in his favor as a vote getter. But Harrison had a record. He was the son of a "signer"; he was the hero of Tippecanoe; he had done valiant service in the Northwest during the war with England. He had also served in both houses of Congress, and had been sent by John Quincy Adams as minister to Colombia, South America. After a brief service he was recalled from this mission by Jackson, when he settled down to the quiet life of a farmer at North Bend, an Ohio village near Cincinnati.

The majority of the delegates to this convention preferred Clay; but the leaders, led by that master political manager of

New York, Thurlow Weed, and the rising young editor of the same state, Horace Greeley, determined to secure the nomination of Harrison if possible. They succeeded by skillfully manipulating the committees. Clay was disappointed. True, he had written his friends to withdraw his name, if in their eyes it seemed the right thing to do; he had also about this time given rise to the oft-quoted statement, "I would rather be right than be President." Nevertheless he was disappointed at the outcome, and so were his friends. One of these whose heart was set on Clay burst into tears, it was said, when his favorite was set aside. This was John Tyler of Virginia.

Harrison's friends now determined to conciliate the Clay people by offering to place one of their number second on the ticket. When looking about for a suitable choice — behold John Tyler in tears! and he was straightway nominated for the vice presidency.¹ But Tyler was not a cipher. He had attracted attention in Congress away back in the days of the Missouri Compromise. He had been governor of Virginia and a United States senator. For many years he had been a Democrat, but revolting against the iron rule of Jackson, he became an ardent supporter of Clay. His selection was a concession to southern Democrats who had broken with Jackson.

The Democrats met in Baltimore and renominated Van Buren. They put forth a platform of principles, pronouncing against a United States Bank, internal improvements at national expense, and a high tariff. The Whigs had no platform, and they made no avowal of principles; their sole cry during the campaign was, in substance, "Down with the administration."²

The wild enthusiasm of the Whigs increased in volume during the summer and autumn. Harrison was known by his popular military name of Tippecanoe, and the shouts for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were long and lusty. In the midst of the campaign a thoughtless Democrat, incapable of reading the future, suggested in a newspaper that Harrison was more in his element in his log cabin with a barrel of hard cider than he would be in the White House. The Whigs took up the cry of "Log Cabin and Hard Cider," and made these the emblems of the campaign. Horace Greeley started a newspaper in New York which he called the *Log Cabin*,

¹ This nomination, it should be stated, was declined by two or three others among Clay's friends before it was offered to Tyler.

² The cynical John Randolph once said that the principles of the Whig party were seven — five loaves and two fishes.

and it bounded into great popularity.¹ The Whig mass meetings were vast beyond any before known in the country. Men would come for many miles in farm wagons, bringing their families and remaining whole days and nights at these great meetings. At first the people were counted at these gatherings, but as the crowds grew larger counting became impossible, and they were measured by the acre by surveyors brought for the purpose. The most notable feature of the campaign were the songs,² written for the occasion, and learned and sung by the shouting multitudes. As Clay remarked, the country was "like an ocean convulsed by a terrible storm." The most potent charges of the Whigs against the Jackson-Van Buren administrations were waste and extravagance in public funds and speculations of public officials — and there was much truth in these charges.

The Democrats affected to treat the Whig enthusiasm with contempt, but in reality they were very angry, and very much alarmed. They, too, held meetings, but these fell far short of those of the Whigs in numbers and enthusiasm. They attempted to reason and argue; but the people preferred to sing and shout. And the result was a crushing defeat for Van Buren. He received but sixty electoral votes to 234 for Harrison.

The Caroline Affair. — In 1837 a portion of the people of Canada, led by William Lyon MacKenzie and Louis J. Papinau, rose in rebellion against British rule in the province with the view of setting up a republic. After a few sharp skirmishes the insurrection was put down, and many of the insurgents took refuge on Navy Island, in the Niagara River. The *Caroline*, a little steamer owned by a citizen of the United States, was employed in carrying supplies to the island, and the British determined to destroy her. On the night of December 20, 1837, a flotilla of five boats set out for this purpose, but not finding her here, they searched until they found her moored at Grand Island, which is part of the territory of New York. The British boarded the vessel, overpowered the crew, killing one man, set the boat on fire, and sent her burning over the falls. The American government then made a demand on the British government for reparation; but the matter was left unsettled for several years, and was at length dropped by the United States.

Meantime, one Alexander McLeod, a worthless resident of Ontario, made the boast that he was with the party that destroyed the *Caroline*, and had himself killed one of the Yankees. One day while in Buffalo he repeated his boast, and was instantly arrested and clapped into prison. The British government now made a demand that he be released, and the President would gladly have released McLeod, but he was in the hands of New York State, and she refused to give him up. Great Britain began to mobilize armies and prepare for war. New York, meantime, having no foreign relations, calmly held the prisoner and had him tried before a court at Lockport for murder and arson. It all turned out to be ludicrous in the extreme. It was proved that the blustering braggart, McLeod, had not been present at the destroying of the *Caroline*. His boast was an idle and a false one. He was acquitted, and all signs of war disappeared. Nothing in our history shows more clearly how a trifling matter may disturb the peace of two great nations, and how the defect in our dual system of government, state and national, may prove disastrous to the peace of the country. For a fuller account of the *Caroline* affair, see Elson, *Side Lights*, Series I, Chap. XI.

¹ The *Log Cabin* was merged into the *Tribune* in September, 1841.

² For samples, see Greeley's *Log Cabin* or Elson, *Side Lights*, II, p. 234.

Minor Events. — Imprisonment for debt by the United States courts was abolished in 1833, chiefly through the efforts of Richard M. Johnson, the slayer of Tecumseh. The states soon followed the example of the general government, and the barbarous practice became a thing of the past. — The death of some of the most prominent men occurred within this period. Ex-President Monroe died on July 4, 1831, in the city of New York. The last signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, died in 1832 at the great age of ninety-two years; and James Madison, the last of the framers of the Constitution, died in 1836. John Marshall, America's greatest jurist, and Lafayette, the most highly honored in America of all foreigners, both passed away in 1835. — In January, 1835, President Jackson narrowly escaped assassination. While attending the funeral of a member of Congress, a man from the crowd in the rotunda of the Capitol snapped two pistols at his breast. Both missed fire, and the President rushed upon the man with his cane. The man was arrested and was found to be a demented Englishman named Lawrence. He was sent to an insane asylum. The President's escape was very narrow, as both pistols were afterward fired at the first trial.

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For biographical material, the reader may very profitably continue to consult the works cited in the previous chapter, especially the biographies of Andrew Jackson.

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CHAPTER XX

RISE OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION

THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

TWENTY years had passed since the adoption of that famous compact known as the Missouri Compromise. That measure was expected to give peace to the land, and so it did for about ten years. Nevertheless the debates on it left a sting, a wound that could not altogether heal; and they also awakened here and there a moral consciousness that eluded the grasp of the lawmaker, that could not die; it could only slumber.

During this period there were a few, a rare few, who, like the ancient prophets of Israel, ceased not to cry out day and night against the evil of the land. First among these was Benjamin Lundy. A saddler by trade, he worked for many years at Wheeling, Virginia, until his interest in the black man became so overmastering that he determined to give his life to the cause of emancipation. Abandoning his occupation, leaving his wife and his children behind, he traveled over the country making speeches and organizing societies. He traveled in nearly all the states of the Union, in Canada, Mexico, and the West Indies, in the interest of the cause he had espoused. In 1821 he established *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. In one of his tours to New England, Lundy met at a boarding house a young man of ardent spirit, who became a convert and a co-worker with him in the cause — William Lloyd Garrison. Together the two men went to Baltimore and became joint editors of an antislavery journal. But they soon parted. Garrison now became the leading Abolitionist in the country, and after serving a time in prison for his violent utterances, went to Boston.¹ Here in 1831 he founded *The Liberator*, and in it he denounced all slaveholders with unsparing severity. He demanded the unconditional emancipation of all slaves, and pronounced the Constitution, for permitting slavery, "A covenant

¹ Burgess says if a name, a date, and a place must be given the new movement, the name is Garrison, the date is 1831, and the place is Boston. *Middle Period*, p. 246.

with death, an agreement with hell." *The Emancipator*, established in New York, was a rival of *The Liberator* and almost its equal in denouncing slavery. One of the noted agitators of the time was the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy of St. Louis, who, after publishing an antislavery paper for several years, was murdered in November, 1837, by a proslavery mob at Alton, Illinois. Antislavery societies were formed in various states; but they were composed chiefly of the poorer classes, and had little effect on public opinion. And besides, the violence of such men as Garrison produced among lovers of peace, even in the North, a proslavery reaction. This was intensified by a slave insurrection in Virginia, led by Nat Turner, a negro, in which sixty-one whites, mostly women and children, were killed. This incident sent a shiver of horror throughout the South. It showed what might occur, if great numbers of the bondsmen should rise against their masters. At this moment slaveholding Virginia, through her legislature, seriously considered the subject of emancipation in that state. And here the institution was denounced as it had seldom been denounced at the North. "Tax our lands," said one speaker, "vilify our country, carry the sword of extermination through our defenseless villages, but spare us, I implore you — spare us the curse of slavery, that bitterest drop from the chalice of the destroying angel." Most of the South, however, took strong ground against the Abolitionists of the North, denouncing Garrison and his kind as "the very demons of pandemonium." A grand jury in Alabama found a true bill against the editor of *The Emancipator* and the governor of that state demanded of the governor of New York that the obnoxious editor be arrested and delivered into the hands of the Alabamians — a demand to which no heed was paid. The legislature of Georgia offered a reward of \$5000 to any one who would arrest Garrison and bring him to that state to be tried under the law against inciting insurrection. Southerners declared that the slaves were better off than great numbers of wage earners in the North and in Europe.

Nat Turner,
1831

There was a rising sentiment against slavery in the North, but it was not yet strong nor widespread. Two or three incidents will readily show that the sympathies of the people were generally with the slaveholder, whose desire was to keep the black man in ignorance, that he might not become dangerous. In 1831 it was proposed to found a school for colored children in New Haven, Connecticut, but a town meeting declared against it as "destructive of the best

Violence at
the North

interests of the city." Two years later Prudence Crandall, a school-teacher of the same state, was cast into prison for admitting colored girls into her school, and the school was broken up by a mob. A similar occurrence took place at Canaan, New Hampshire, in 1835, and in New York the endeavors to suppress the Abolitionists caused serious riots.

The cloud that presaged the coming storm seemed as yet no larger than a man's hand, but its increase, though slow, was steady and irresistible. The antislavery societies numbered three hundred and fifty in 1835. Such men as Dr. Channing, the famous Boston divine, and Wendell Phillips began to defend the Abolitionists, and these were afterward joined by Emerson, John G. Whittier, Theodore Parker, and Henry Ward Beecher. And further, there was a little political party founded in the North, known as the Liberty party. In 1840 it cast but seven thousand votes, but in 1844 the number was increased to sixty-two thousand; still small, it is true, but the increase showed the direction of the political wind. The South now became alarmed. Before this most of the southern leaders had frankly confessed that slavery was an evil, and had deplored its existence; but this growing abolition feeling crystallized the South against abolition. The antislavery societies in that section soon dwindled away, and at length almost the whole South, led by Calhoun, took the ground that slavery is a good — a positive good.¹

But this new attitude of the South was not caused wholly by the opposition of the Abolitionists. It accepted Calhoun's views partially from economic grounds. The southern people had come to believe that slavery was indispensable to their social and economic welfare, and, believing this, they could not do otherwise than defend it. This new position taken by the South, that slavery is a positive good, together with the fear of insurrection, led that section, including non-slaveholders, to unify in the defense of slavery.

Not long could this great question be kept from the halls of Congress, and in two ways it came to be forced upon the government — through petitions to Congress and the use of the mails for distributing Abolition literature. For many years an occasional petition had come in, chiefly from Quakers, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. About the time Garrison began his agitation these petitions began to come rapidly. For some years after this the custom of both Senate and House was to receive all such petitions

Antislavery
petitions

¹ This new doctrine was first set forth by Calhoun in the Senate in 1836, but he was not the first to advocate it.

and refer them to a committee, in which they were quietly strangled. This refusal of Congress to consider the petitions did not discourage or quiet the Abolitionists. The petitions increased in numbers, and at length the southern members became irritated at this continuous goading. In 1834 sharp debates began to be heard in the House on the subject, and in March, 1836, a resolution was adopted to lay all such petitions on the table, and that no further notice be taken of them. This action only stirred up the Abolitionists to greater efforts, and during the two years following the adoption of this rule the number of petitions increased tenfold. In January, 1840, the House went still further. It adopted a standing rule that no petitions or memorials concerning the abolition of slavery or the slave trade in any part of the country "shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever." This was known as the "gag rule."

The Senate had arrived at a practice similar to that of the House, and the condition in both was brought about by the radical men of the South. These men felt that they had won a victory; but quite the opposite was true. The Constitution guarantees the right of petitioning the government, and refusing to receive a petition implied a denial of the right to make it. This attitude of Congress drew the attention of the whole country; it led the people to identify the denial of the constitutional right with the interests of slavery; it awakened sympathy with the Abolitionists and made many converts to their cause.

Most of the petitions that came to the House fell into the hands of the venerable John Quincy Adams, who now became the champion of the right of petition. With infinite moral courage he bore every insult, and waged Adams and
the gag rule unceasing war on the gag rule in the House, and after continuing his efforts for nearly ten years he won the victory of his life by securing its repeal. When the vote was counted, and Adams saw that he had won, he sank back into his chair and exclaimed, "Blessed be the name of God."

The southern resistance to the use of the mails for the distribution of Abolition literature in the South furnished another cause for national commotion. In July, 1835, a mob of respectable citizens broke into the post office at Charleston, South Carolina, seized a bag of Abolition pamphlets and burned it in the street. The matter was soon brought before the postmaster-general, Amos Kendall, but his decision was undecisive,¹ and in Decem-

¹ Mr. Kendall wrote the postmaster at New York City, who had asked his opinion after excluding Abolition matter from the mails, "The postmaster-general has no legal

ber President Jackson in his message recommended that Congress pass a law refusing the use of the mails to "incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection." This would probably have been done but for the fact that Calhoun took the extreme state rights ground that each state should decide the matter within its own bounds. Thus the South lost the aid of the government in its first battle with the Abolitionists.

These early contests concerning the right of petition and the use of the mails had a profound effect on the future of the country. They directed the eyes of the people to the Abolitionist party, raised it to national importance, and vastly increased its power. They awakened the South to a sense of the fact that an ever increasing party in the North existed for the purpose of attacking slavery at every point, and from this time forth the North and the South drifted steadily apart.

HARRISON'S BRIEF TENURE

The joy of the Whigs at their great victory over the Democrats was little short of delirium. The winter following the election was one long jollification, and little did they dream of the disasters that were before them. General Harrison reached Washington, after a week's toilsome journey, on the sixty-eighth anniversary of his birth. Inauguration day was dreary and cold; a chilling northeast wind blew all day, yet the new President rode on horseback in a procession for two hours without overcoat or gloves. He then stood for another hour in the open air to read his inaugural address. It was believed that the President in exposing himself thus without an overcoat sought to dispel the floating rumor that he was in poor health. He recovered, however, from this exposure, and the administration started out on a promising voyage, with Daniel Webster at the helm as secretary of state.

The President, used to the easy life of his rural home, now entertained visitors till long after midnight every night.¹ In the morning he rose at a very early hour and, against the advice of his friends, took long walks in the chilly air. Moreover, the office seekers clamored by the hundreds for positions; and the President was a man of such

authority to exclude from the mails any species of newspapers." And he adds, "If I were situated as you are, I would do as you have done." To the postmaster at Charleston he wrote, "We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live."

¹ Sargent, Vol. II, p. 114.

kindliness of heart that it pained him deeply that he could not gratify them all. His health bore this strain but three weeks when he fell ill; and half an hour after midnight, April 4, an exact month after the day of his inauguration, President Harrison was dead.

The nation was shocked at the sudden death of the President. He was not a great statesman, as compared with some of his contemporaries, nor a party leader in any sense; but he was a sincere, honest man, and he had won the esteem of all parties. Sadly and slowly moved the funeral pageant through the city to the beat of the muffled drums and the mournful wail of the trumpet. The casket in which the dead President lay was enwrapped with the American flag, and the funeral car with nodding plumes was drawn by six white horses, and followed by a vast multitude of sorrowing friends. The body was laid to rest in the Congressional burying ground, but in the summer it was taken to the West and was placed in its last resting place at the little town where the President had lived, on the bank of the River Ohio.

TYLER AND THE WHIGS

The Whigs were dismayed at the death of their President. Fifty years had passed since the inauguration of Washington, and no President had before died in office, and the Whigs had not taken such a possibility into account. Tyler at once became President, it is true, but the Whigs were not sure of Tyler. He had been placed on the ticket with Harrison to console the Clay men and to win, if possible, a floating vote from the South. Until recent years he had been a Democrat and, as events proved, he was still at heart a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school. Tyler had displayed genuine courage in the Senate; he had voted for the resolution censuring President Jackson, he had swung toward the Whigs when his own party was all powerful, and he even resigned from the Senate because his views did not accord with those of his constituents. Tyler was not a national figure before his nomination. During the campaign he had been simply known as "Tyler too," and now for the first time people began to inquire who he really was. One thing, however, was known of Tyler. He was a southern man to the core; he believed in state rights in the narrow sense and not in the broad Jeffersonian sense; he alone of all the senators cast his solitary vote against forcing South Carolina at the time of her nullification.

Congress had been called, by the late President, to meet in May for the purpose of dealing with the finances. In the campaign of the preceding year it was generally understood, though little had been said on the subject, that if the Whigs elected a President and gained control of Congress, they would establish a national bank similar to one that Jackson had killed, and to do this was the chief object in convening Congress in extra session. Accordingly Mr. Clay proceeded, soon after Congress met, to frame a bank bill. But rumors were soon going around that Tyler was not in favor of a national bank and also that a rupture between him and Clay was imminent. These rumors proved to be well founded. Tyler, it seems, had determined to rid himself of the influence of the great Whig leader. The bill creating a "Fiscal Bank" was passed by both houses, and was sent to the President early in August. He returned it in a few days with his veto. The Whigs were highly indignant and chagrined at this action of the President, whom they had elevated to power. But the Democrats were elated with the veto, and in the evening of the day of its reception many of the Democratic senators and representatives, headed by a future President, James Buchanan, marched to the White House to offer him their congratulations.

The Whigs were discouraged, but a gleam of hope returned to them when the President caused the word to go out, through his Cabinet, that he would sign a second bank bill, if purged of the features to which he had objected in the first. A second bill creating a "Fiscal Corporation" was therefore passed, and was sent to Mr. Tyler in September. Whig hopes now trembled in the balance, for they distrusted their President. Five days of suspense passed when the bill was returned to the House with a veto.

The Whigs now burst forth in an uncontrollable storm of wrath. The entire Cabinet, except Webster, resigned. Clay denounced Tyler and his "corporal's guard" of advisers in unsparing terms, while the friends of Tyler pronounced Clay the self-appointed dictator of the Whig party. Tyler claimed to have vetoed the bill on the pure ground of conscience and his ideas of the public good. This was doubtless true and it is also true that the chartering of the bank would have been a serious blunder. But the President's action could not be vindicated on that ground. Tyler knew that the cardinal principle of Whig doctrine was the establishing of a national bank and if he were not a Whig at heart, he should have come out in his true

colors before the election. He permitted himself to be elevated to the great office and then he turned against the party that had elected him.

The breach between President Tyler and the Whigs was now irreconcilable. The leaders of the party met in solemn conclave and deliberately read the President out of the party, putting forth at the same time a manifesto to the Whigs of the country. In this they set forth the hopes of the party and disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of the administration. In consideration of the fact that three and a half years of this presidential term yet remained, and of the vast patronage at the disposal of the President, this action of the party was a bold stroke, and admirable for its courage. There was now presented a spectacle, unknown before — a President without a party — and such a creature is almost as helpless in shaping legislation as the commonest laborer in the street.

The President had evidently hoped to win the Whig party from Clay and to become its head, but that matchless leader held the party in a grasp that could not be broken. Tyler then attempted to form a new party of the milder Whigs and Democrats. Not succeeding in this, he used his utmost efforts to win the Democratic party and to become its standard bearer. He called Democrats into his Cabinet and filled many of the best offices with them. But the Democrats, while they accepted these favors and rejoiced that Tyler had foiled the bank measure, refused to make a man the leader of their party who had not been true to his own; and Tyler was left without a party to the end of his term.

When the Cabinet resigned, Webster, as stated above, remained, his avowed object being to conclude a treaty with England which was then pending. This treaty, fixing the eastern boundary of Maine, was arranged with Lord Ashburton, and is known as the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. About 12,000 square miles were in dispute between Maine and New Brunswick. By this treaty, 1842, the territory was divided, 7000 square miles, the Aroostook Valley, being awarded to Maine and 5000 to Great Britain. Webster, however, continued in the Cabinet for nearly a year after this treaty was concluded, and he was severely criticised by his fellow Whigs. The fact is, Webster and Clay had not been on the most friendly terms for some years, and had Tyler succeeded in forming a new party, Webster would no doubt have gone with him. But the President, failing in this, at

Tyler without
a party

Webster-
Ashburton
Treaty

length came to desire the retirement of the great New Englander from his Cabinet; not on personal grounds, but because he had now set his heart on a great project, and Webster was not the man to carry it out. His project was the annexation of Texas.

THE STORY OF TEXAS

As before stated, when Mexico emancipated her slaves, in 1827, Texas refused to do so, and there was strife from this time forth between the mother country and her northern province. In 1836 Texas declared its independence, and it was afterward recognized by the United States and by several European powers as a separate nation. This same year, 1836, witnessed the massacre of the Alamo, in which the famous Davy Crockett was killed, and the battle of San Jacinto, in which Santa Anna was routed by General Sam Houston, former governor of Tennessee. Texas desired, however, not to lead a separate existence, but to join the Union as a state. Of the sixty men who signed the declaration of independence, fifty-three had been born in the United States, and this fact explains why Texas soon afterward knocked at the door of the Union for admission. But Texas lay in the slave belt, and, if admitted, would become a slave state; and on this ground its admission was sure to awaken strong opposition at the North. President Jackson, with all his courage, hesitated to risk a party rupture by coming out openly for annexation, though he greatly favored it. The matter then rested till the time of Tyler, who, having now alienated his party, had nothing to lose, and he boldly decided on annexation as the great measure of his administration.

But he must get rid of Webster, and this he did by simply freezing him out of the Cabinet. Webster was made to see that his counsels were not wanted, and that he was in uncongenial company, and in May, 1843, he resigned from the Cabinet. Mr. Upshur of Virginia became secretary of state. Upshur was a man of much ability and was fully in sympathy with the interests of the slave power. He would no doubt further the President's project with the utmost vigor; but suddenly the whole project was thrown out of balance for a time by a calamity such as no human eyes can foresee.

One bright day in February, 1844, a gay company of about a hundred persons made an excursion down the Potomac River in a war vessel. This distinguished company included the Presi-

dent, his Cabinet, and many members of Congress with their families, and also the aged Mrs. Madison. One object of the excursion was to witness the working of the great gun, the Peacemaker, which threw a 225-pound ball. Several times the gun was fired without incident, but on the return, as they neared the city, a heavy charge was put into it for a final salute, and it exploded. When the smoke cleared away a dozen persons lay dead or dying on the deck. Among the dead were Mr. Upshur, secretary of state; Mr. Gilmer, secretary of the navy; and Mr. Gardner, whose daughter was soon to become the wife of President Tyler. Senator Benton and others were knocked senseless, while the President had a narrow escape, having been called below a moment before the explosion took place.

Explosion of
the great gun

The President now chose John C. Calhoun secretary of state. The great South Carolinian was not desirous of the honor, but, seeing that he could do a real service for the South, he accepted. With remarkable energy he took hold of the business, and a secret treaty of annexation was arranged with the Texan government. This treaty, sent to the Senate by President Tyler on April 22, 1844, met with fatal opposition. Instead of receiving the two-thirds vote necessary to ratify, the treaty was rejected by a two-thirds vote. This was a shock to the administration. The Texan question was thus left over, and it became the most vital issue in the coming campaign.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1844

The Whigs were united in 1844. Clay was the all in all to the Whig conscience in this campaign. The vagaries of Tyler had cemented the party and it suffered with remorse that the noble "Harry of the West," the "Mill Boy of the Slashes," had not been chosen four years before. The Whig convention now nominated him by acclamation and without a dissenting voice, while Theodore Frelinghuysen was placed second on the ticket.

The Democratic convention met a few weeks later in the same city, Baltimore, and attracted far greater interest because of the uncertainty of the outcome. Van Buren was supposed to be the coming man. More than half the delegates had been instructed for him; but there were forces working against him. The chief of these was his attitude on the Texan question. His enemies, by a decoy letter, had obtained from Van Buren a statement that he was opposed to immediate annexation, and this

greatly injured him in the South. Other candidates were. James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who, however, withdrew his name; Calhoun, who followed the example of Buchanan; Lewis Cass of Michigan; and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky.

The two-thirds rule was adopted, and the balloting began. Van Buren led with a good majority over all others, but fell a little below the required two thirds. Again on the second and third ballots, and so on till seven ballots had been taken, Van Buren kept the lead; but he lost a little each time, and it became evident that his nomination was impossible. There was a man from Tennessee who had been timidly mentioned for the second place,—James K. Polk. George Bancroft the historian was the first to suggest the nomination of Polk for first place on the ticket. On the eighth ballot he received a few votes and then, by one of those strange stampedes that sometimes take possession of such a body, the convention nominated Polk on the ninth ballot by a unanimous vote. The news was flashed to Washington by telegraph. This was the first practical use of that marvelous invention by which time and space are reduced to nothing in the transmission of news, by which a man can converse with his brother man with a thousand leagues of rolling sea between them.

Polk was the first “dark horse” candidate, that is, an unexpected candidate, one not put forward by any party before his nomination.¹ Polk had been governor of Tennessee, and had served fourteen years in Congress, being four years Speaker of the House; but he was not a well-known statesman nor a national party leader, and the question arose on all sides, “Polk, — who is Polk?” The convention, after nominating George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania for the vice presidency, adopted a strong platform, pronouncing for the immediate occupation of Oregon and the annexation of Texas.

Meanwhile a third convention met in Baltimore. It was composed chiefly of office holders appointed by the President and it nominated him without division. Mr. Tyler had attempted to win over the Whig party and later the Democratic party, but had failed in both attempts. He then set about to formulate a new party with “Tyler and Texas” as a campaign slogan. It was not long, however, before he realized that his following could be expressed almost by zero and he withdrew from the field.

There was one man in America who was alarmed at the work of the Democratic convention at Baltimore, and that was Henry

¹ Later “dark horse” candidates were Pierce, Hayes, Garfield, and Bryan.

Clay. Clay had counted on Van Buren as his antagonist, and as he and Van Buren stood together in opposing the immediate annexation of Texas, that all-absorbing question would have been thrown out of the canvass. But Polk with his vigorous Texas-Oregon platform, was stunning to Clay, who well knew that the prospect of acquiring Texas would please the South and that the Oregon plank would please the North, while his own platform dealt with such tame subjects as a protective tariff and the distribution of the land sales. Clay and Polk were as unlike as two men could be. Clay was the brilliant leader who for many years had been the idol of a great party; Polk was plodding, sturdy, and straightforward. The Whigs ridiculed the idea that their fine thoroughbred could be beaten in the race by the unknown pack horse.

In the South the Democrats laid great stress on the acquisition of Texas; in the North it was Oregon, and the boundary must be $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude; and "Fifty-four Forty or fight" became a campaign cry. But the Democrats needed Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania cared less for Texas or Oregon than for a protective tariff. The Democrats therefore preached protection throughout that state. The Democratic orators brazenly pronounced Polk "a better tariff man than Clay." Clay felt himself on the defensive. He wrote letters and letters, defining his position. These did little good or harm until his "Alabama letter," written to a friend in that state, came out in July. In this letter Clay dealt with the Texan question, stating that he had no personal objection to annexation, that if it could be accomplished without dishonor, without war, on just and fair terms, *he would be glad to see it*. This sentiment was directly opposite to the well-known position of the Whig party on this great subject. It was intended to do good at the South, but in this it failed, and it did immeasurable harm at the North. Clay's friends were thunderstruck; they were chilled to the bone when this letter was published over the land. The Democrats rung every change on the phrase, "He would be glad to see it," repeating it over and over from every platform to show that Mr. Clay stood for no real principle, but would hedge on any issue to win the election. In vain did the Whig orators and editors attempt to explain; in vain did Clay write additional letters declaring that he still stood by his earlier statements. It was too late; the mischief was done; the cause of the Whigs slowly declined.

Clay's fatal letter

The little party of abolitionists, known as the Liberty party,

might have supported Clay but for this fatal letter. The party had no hope of success, and many of its members were inclined to vote for Clay, as the less of the two evils. But when his Alabama letter came out they turned fiercely against Clay and supported their own candidate, James G. Birney, who drew enough votes from the Whigs to throw New York and Michigan to Polk and to give him the election. The election was held on different days in the various states, and the excitement became intense as the long-drawn-out returns came in. Massachusetts, faithful old Whig state that she was, cast her vote for Clay after it was known that he was defeated.¹

This was the third time that the great Kentucky chieftain made a fruitless race to win the glittering prize of his life's ambition; and it was the last. He had passed the meridian of life, the youthful luster of his eye was fading, and never again could he hope to make so strong a race as he had now made, for the time was near when the destinies of the nation must pass into younger hands.

The Creole Affair. — The *Creole* was a slave ship. While on a voyage from Norfolk to New Orleans in November, 1841, with 135 slaves, a portion of them rose in mutiny, killed the masters of the vessel, and steered to a British port in the West Indies. Here, according to the laws of England, they were free. The slaveholders in Congress determined that a demand be made on England that the slaves be given up, and many from the North agreed with them. At this point a young representative from Ohio, Joshua R. Giddings, rose and made a strong speech in favor of the slaves, contending that they had a right to use any means in their power to gain their freedom, and that, being on the high seas, their masters had no longer the right to hold them in bondage. Giddings was at once censured by a vote of the House, whereupon he resigned his seat, bade his friends adieu, and repaired to his home in Ohio. His constituents held an election and reelected him by three thousand majority. He returned to Congress, and from that time to the Civil War he was a leading opponent of the slave power.

The Dorr Rebellion. — Rhode Island, after the Declaration of Independence, retained its charter government, and many of the people were dissatisfied at the limited suffrage. In 1842 a portion of the citizens rose in an effort to secure a new constitution, and they were led by Thomas W. Dorr, a young lawyer. A new government was set up, but the insurgents were dispersed by national aid, and Dorr was taken captive. He was tried for treason, and sentenced to prison for life, but was afterward pardoned. Dorr's principles prevailed in the end, and were embodied in the new constitution.

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¹ When Congress met a few weeks later it passed a law fixing a uniform day for the presidential election in all the states, and it has continued in force from that time.

CHAPTER XXI

THE MEXICAN WAR AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

JAMES KNOX POLK

JAMES K. POLK, born in North Carolina, was the son of a sturdy farmer and the eldest of ten children. Polk was a serious man, able, industrious, and religious. His defects lay in his narrow partisanship and his tendency for political intrigue. He could see no good in the creed of the Whig party and nothing but good in the creed of his own, nor was he scrupulous as to his methods in winning an election. His Cabinet was a strong one and included at least four men well known to fame. James Buchanan, the bachelor statesman of Pennsylvania, became secretary of state; William L. Marcy of the "Hunker"¹ faction in New York and author of the well-known phrase in our political parlance, "To the victors belong the spoils," secretary of war; Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, who was to find his political grave in "bleeding" Kansas in the following decade, secretary of the treasury; and George Bancroft, one of America's leading historians, secretary of the navy.²

The chief issue of the campaign of the preceding summer had already been settled. Arrangements had been made in the last days of Tyler's administration by which Texas in the following months became a member of the Union. The new state was annexed by a joint resolution of Congress. This raised a cry of "unconstitutional" among northern Whigs, and from the Massachusetts legislature. Little heed was paid to this protest, and a half century later, when Hawaii was annexed by a similar joint resolution, little

Texas
annexed

¹ The Democrats of New York were at this time divided into two factions, the "Hunker," or conservatives, or old-time Democrats, and the "Barnburners," the progressive, anti-slavery Democrats. The latter, it was said, were ready to destroy the Union in order to get rid of the evils such as slavery, and they were compared to the Dutchman who burned his barn to get rid of the rats — hence the name. The origin of the word "Hunker" is unknown.

² After a short service Bancroft resigned and became minister to England. Another literary appointment of Polk was Nathaniel Hawthorne as collector of the port at Salem, Massachusetts.

opposition to the method was awakened. A vast and fertile domain is Texas, an empire in extent, with unbounded resources for agriculture and grazing. Every American rejoices that this broad, fair land is part of our glorious Union, but no one takes pride in the political intrigues by which it was secured.¹

There was an abundance of business left for the Polk administration. "There are four great measures," said the new

**The Walker
Tariff, 1846**

President with great decision, "which are to be the measures of my administration"; and these were a reduction of the tariff, the reëstablishment of the independent treasury, the settlement of the Oregon boundary, and the acquisition of California. The first of these, the reënactment of the Independent Treasury bill, was accomplished in 1846. The second, the reduction of the tariff, dates from the same year. In spite of the plaintive protests from Pennsylvania, the state that had given its vote to Polk because he was "a better tariff man than Clay," the "Walker Tariff of 1846" was enacted. By it many of the higher duties of the "Whig Tariff of 1842" were lowered. This tariff was in force for eleven years, and it became popular with all classes. Again the tariff question ceased to be a party measure, and, owing to a surplus in the treasury, the duties of the Walker Tariff were reduced still further in 1857, with the consent of all parties; and there was no further tariff legislation before the opening of the Civil War.

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA

The remote, unpeopled region in the Northwest known as Oregon lay between 42° and 54° 40' north latitude, and extended from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the waves of the Pacific. The ten-year joint occupation between the United States and England had been extended indefinitely, either country to give a year's notice to have it discontinued. This notice was given by the United States in 1846. For some years before this time it was seen that Oregon was about to become the home of civilized man. In 1835 Marcus Whitman, with a few companions, crossed the mountains and entered the Columbia Valley as a missionary to the Indians. A few settlers arrived in the following years. In 1842 Whitman came east on business connected with his mission work, and on returning he was accompanied by

¹ The term "reannexation" was constantly used, because, it was claimed, Texas had been a part of the Louisiana Purchase, but had been ceded back to Spain in part payment for Florida.

a train of moving wagons leaving Missouri for the Columbia Valley. It was a long and weary journey, but others soon followed, and within three years some ten thousand Americans had settled in the Oregon country.

The whole of Oregon was claimed by each country. The American claim was based on the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Grey in 1792, on the explorations of Lewis and Clarke, and on the actual settlements. **Oregon compromise**

The English claim was based on the discoveries of Mackenzie and on the occupation of the country by the Hudson Bay Company. President Polk had said in his inaugural address

that our right to all of Oregon was indisputable, and this he reiterated in his first message to Congress. But England had no thought of giving up all her seacoast on the Pacific. Yet neither country wished to go to war, and it was decided to compromise, to split the Oregon country in the middle, each to take half. A few Democratic hotspurs in Congress still shouted for $54^{\circ} 40'$, but while this was a good campaign cry, it could not now be adhered to. England at length offered to

extend the boundary line of 49° to the Pacific, retaining for herself the whole of Vancouver Island. President Polk could not accept this without abandoning his former position, and that of the platform on which he was elected. But he could not do otherwise without risking a war far greater than that now brewing on the south, and to let himself down as gracefully as possible, he shifted the responsibility to the Senate by asking the advice of that body. The Senate advised that the British offer



OREGON TERRITORY AND THE DISPUTED BOUNDARY

be accepted, and 49° was made the boundary between the United States and British Columbia. Our portion of Oregon, some three hundred thousand square miles, includes the entire Columbia Valley, and is of far greater value than that retained by the British. The people of the North were especially pleased with this new acquisition, for it balanced the recent extension of slave territory through the admission of Texas.



MAP OF CONFLICTING CLAIMS AND MEXICAN WAR

This brings us to the last of the four great measures — the acquisition of California. Why should the American President put this in his program? California belonged to another nation, a sister republic. It was the boundless region in the Southwest out of which four or five states and territories have since been carved. Mexico had refused to sell it. By what means, then, could the acquisition be made?

By simply conjuring up a quarrel with Mexico, "conquering" the uninhabited territory, and then holding it by "right" of conquest. And a good *casus belli* was at hand. Texas claimed all the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande, which was also claimed by Mexico. But Congress had ignored the claim of Mexico, and had passed an act extending the revenue laws to the disputed territory. Mexico could not give this up without fighting. Moreover, the Mexicans were encouraged in the belief that the United States and England were about to go to war over Oregon.

President Polk did not want war. His honest desire was to avoid it. He professed to believe that Mexico would not fight on account of Texas, though all diplomatic relations had ceased at the time of annexation; or even on Santa Anna account of the disputed boundary line, and he congratulated Congress and the country on having acquired the new territory without bloodshed. He apparently expected to acquire California by negotiation or purchase, and he sent John Slidell to the Mexican capital with full power to settle all differences and to offer a good round sum for California; but Slidell was not received by the Mexicans. In his anxiety to avoid war the President made a serious blunder at the beginning. He restored Santa Anna, who was living in exile at Havana, to his Mexican home. Santa Anna was one of the noted characters of his time, imperious, deceitful, revengeful, yet not without bravery and military skill. He was a typical revolutionist of the Latin American states. As early as 1833 he became President of Mexico, and at various times thereafter; but usually after a brief service the people rose against him and sent him for a time into exile. His most recent banishment took place in 1845. President Polk now sent a war vessel to convey Santa Anna back to Mexico, in the hope, first, that he would overthrow the new President, Paredes, which he did; and second, that he would treat with the United States for peace out of gratitude for the favor — which he did not.¹ Polk mistook his man. Santa Anna was not a man of gratitude. On reaching Mexico, he discovered that he could best restore his popularity by making war against the United States, and he instantly set about doing so.

¹ It is believed that Santa Anna promised that if, on being restored, he again got control of Mexico, he would cede California to the United States for a sum of money, but his word was worthless.

ZACHARY TAYLOR IN MEXICO

President Polk, with all his avowals that there would be no war, had taken the precaution to send General Zachary Taylor to the disputed territory with an "Army of Occupation" and a fleet to the Gulf of Mexico. The ownership of this territory should have been settled by treaty, if possible, and its occupation in this high-handed way pointed clearly to the fact that, if California could not be had for gold, the feeble sister republic must be goaded into war. But Mexico had also invited hostilities by placing an army at Matamoras. The Army of Occupation moved on to the mouth of the Rio Grande, and the Mexican general, Arista, crossed the river to meet it. The two armies came together on two successive days, May 8 and 9, 1846, and the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma were fought. The Mexicans were worsted, but a few Americans were killed, and this was enough. President Polk at once sent a message to Congress declaring that "American blood had been spilt on American soil," that Mexico had struck the first blow,¹ and that a state of war existed, "notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it!"

But war, righteous or unrighteous, will always stir the people to action. Congress voted supplies and called for fifty thousand volunteers. Many of the northern Whigs opposed the war, but few of them were willing to go on record as voting against its prosecution.² The people quickly responded, and the war was vigorously prosecuted. Taylor's little army was augmented, and he crossed the Rio Grande, occupied Matamoras and relieved Fort Brown. During the summer he advanced up the river, taking one point after another, and in September captured Monterey after a bloody siege. Polk had assured his friends that the war would not continue longer than three months, but even with the capture of Monterey, the chief stronghold in northern Mexico, the Mexicans refused to give up, and Taylor was instructed to press the war to a finish.

There was one man in Washington all this time who was very impatient and restless. General Winfield Scott was the commander in chief of the armies, next to the President, and he felt that he ought to be sent to the front to take general command of the war. But the admin-

¹ This referred to the capture of a few American scouts before the battles above mentioned had taken place.

² *The Biglow Papers*, written by James Russell Lowell, humorously set forth the opposition of the Whigs.

istration held him back for no given reason. The true reason, however, is not far to seek. The President, as above stated, was a narrow partisan. Scott was a leading Whig and had been an aspirant to the presidency. If now he were sent to the front, he might win such laurels as would make him a dangerous candidate for President. Hence he was kept at home. But another horn to the dilemma appeared. Taylor was also a Whig, or was supposed to be, though he had never voted, and his victories in Mexico were now giving him a name among the greatest heroes of the age. He even began to be mentioned as the coming Whig candidate. Something must be done to head off Taylor, and at length the authorities decided to send Scott to share the laurels. Scott was now ordered to proceed to Vera Cruz by sea, to capture that port, and to march overland to the Mexican capital. Taylor was not only to have a rival in the field; he was ordered to send a large portion of his army to Scott. This he did like a true soldier, though it was a bitter medicine to take. Taylor was thus left in the midst of a hostile people with a fraction of his former army; but strange to say, his greatest victory was yet before him.

Santa Anna had landed at Vera Cruz from Cuba but a short time before the siege and fall of Monterey. Hearing, late in the autumn, of Taylor's weakened condition, he gathered an army of twenty thousand men and marched against him. Taylor was joined by General Wool, who had recently led an army into Mexico, and his force was thereby raised to five thousand men. He took a position in a mountain defile near the fine estate of Buena Vista, and awaited his foe. On the 22d of February, 1847, the enemy had almost surrounded the Americans, and the Mexican general sent word to Taylor that if he wished to save his little army from being cut to pieces and captured, he could do so by surrendering at discretion. "General Taylor never surrenders," was the laconic answer, and the battle of Buena Vista was fought. It began on the morning of the 23d and raged all day. Toward evening Taylor saw the Mexicans waver, and his order, "Give 'em a little more grape, Captain Bragg," was vigorously obeyed, and by nightfall the Mexicans were fleeing in confusion. The Mexican loss, including prisoners, reached nearly two thousand, while the American loss was about seven hundred and fifty. Among the slain was a son of Henry Clay. This battle closed the career of Taylor in the Mexican War; but his fame was now secure. General Taylor's capacity as a commander has been seriously

**Battle of
Buena Vista**

questioned. Certainly he was not an able strategist. But the fates were auspicious for Zachary Taylor. He won two victories on that notable day — the battle of Buena Vista and the presidency of the United States. General Scott was now to take the helm and to win even greater achievements than Taylor had done, though not an equal reward. But before recounting the deeds of Scott, let us take a brief note of the Southwest.

THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

The Mexican War was waged by the United States, not on account of a boundary dispute, as the world was made to believe, but because Ahab coveted Naboth's vineyard, **John C. Frémont** because the slaveholder cast his eyes over the vast, fertile Southwest and desired it for his own. More tempting by far than Oregon was this beautiful land of perpetual summer, where "the flowers ever blossom, and the beams ever shine." It was this garden of the West that must now be secured as the chief prize of a victorious war. General Stephen W. Kearny was sent with a competent force at the opening of hostilities to secure this golden fleece. He entered New Mexico and, capturing the ancient town of Santa Fé without firing a gun, he raised the American flag and took possession of the province in the name of the United States. Kearny was then ordered to proceed to California and to take possession of the country, as he had done in the case of New Mexico. Arriving at Los Angeles late in December, he met the explorer, John C. Frémont, who, with Commodore Stockton,¹ had already taken possession of California. Frémont, for whom there was much notoriety yet in store, had attracted attention by his daring exploits in this far western country, and by his romantic marriage with Jessie Benton, daughter of the famous Missouri senator. The Mexican general, De Castro, had moved against the settlers of the Sacramento Valley, who then rallied to the camp of Frémont. In several skirmishes Frémont beat De Castro, at length capturing Sanoma Pass and nine cannon. The Mexicans were driven out of the country and the American settlers chose Frémont governor of the province — all this before it was known that war existed between the United States and Mexico.²

¹ Stockton had succeeded Commodore Sloat, who had captured the Mexican towns on the California coast.

² H. H. Bancroft, Vol. XVII, p. 208. Frémont and Kearny had a quarrel over the governorship, and Frémont was court-martialed and dismissed from the service, but was pardoned by the President.

Thus the immense region from the Cordilleras to the sea, on which the President had looked with covetous eyes, fell into his hands like mellow fruit, and almost without bloodshed.

THE GREAT MARCH UPON MEXICO

From this moment to the end of the war the chief military glory centers about General Winfield Scott. It had been confidently believed at Washington that Mexico would yield after our first hostile demonstrations, but the
 Vera Cruz,
 1847
 Mexicans were defending their country with desperate valor; and now it was seen that nothing short of striking the heart of their republic and humbling them to the dust could subdue them. Accordingly General Scott with twelve thousand men was borne by sea to Vera Cruz, where he entered upon one of the most successful military campaigns of modern history. Arriving on March 9 at the entrance of the harbor, the Americans beheld the old town, nestled quietly between the mountains and the sea, and presenting anything but the aspect of war. On a little island at the entrance of the harbor stood the ancient castle of Ulloa, while in the background rose in lonely majesty the lofty peak of Orizaba, its snow-covered summit buried in the clouds.

Scott landed his army without incident or opposition. His demand that the town surrender was declined, and he opened a tremendous cannonade on the city and its defenses. Hundreds of shells fell and exploded in the streets and on the housetops. For five days and nights the siege continued when, on the 29th of March, the Mexicans surrendered the city and the garrison of 5000 marched out with the honors of war.

Scott soon began his great overland march to the interior of Mexico. Santa Anna, after his disastrous encounter with Taylor at Buena Vista, had collected an army of about ten thousand men, and he met the advancing Americans
 Battle of
 Cerro Gordo
 in a mountain pass near the village of Plan del Rio and under the shadow of a lofty hill called Cerro Gordo. The Mexican commander had chosen his position with admirable skill. The tops of the surrounding hills, save one, were planted with cannon, while the main army occupied a level place between a dashing mountain stream and a rocky wall a thousand feet high. But Santa Anna left one lofty eminence unoccupied, believing, as he said, a goat could not approach him from that point. Scott detected the omission, and while he engaged the enemy in front he sent a detachment to scale the unoccupied height and to com-

mand the Jalapa road above the Mexican army. This was done with no less energy and success than the Heights of Abraham at Quebec had been scaled by Wolfe nearly a hundred years before. Santa Anna saw his mistake when too late to correct it; yet the Mexicans yielded only when all hope of success had vanished. A thousand of them were killed or wounded and three thousand were taken prisoners. Santa Anna started to flee in his carriage, but it was overturned, and he escaped astride a mule, leaving with his carriage a large quantity of gold, his private papers, and his wooden leg.¹ The American loss slightly exceeded four hundred.

The American army swept on like a tidal wave, capturing everything before it. Jalapa, Perota with its impressive castle, and Puebla fell successively into the hands of the Americans. In midsummer they reached the summit of the Cordilleras, eight thousand feet above the sea, and here they opened their eyes upon one of the sublimest scenes in the world — the panorama of the Mexican Valley, hemmed in by mountain walls with here and there a snow-capped peak gleaming in the sun; the long slopes covered with luxuriance of a tropical summer; the sleeping valley with its glittering, sunlit lakes, and the ancient city of the Montezumas nestled in the midst.

The 20th of August, 1847, was a great day in the Mexican War. Scott had advanced slowly from Puebla toward the capital city. His four divisions were commanded respectively by Generals Worth, Twiggs, Pillow, and Quitman, and Franklin Pierce, who was soon to outdo his military chief in a presidential race, arrived early in August with twenty-five hundred fresh troops. The army now numbered eleven thousand, and Scott pressed on toward the doomed city as relentlessly determined on its fall as was the inexorable Cortez who had marched over the same route for the same purpose more than three hundred years before. The ever sanguine, irrepressible Santa Anna had gathered another army, much larger than before.² On this fateful August 20, Generals Twiggs and Pillow with forty-five hundred men made a wild, tumultuous dash at daybreak upon the strong Mexican camp at Contreras, held by General Valencia and seven thousand men. In less than half an hour the place was carried and three thousand Mexicans with most of their artillery were captured. A few hours later the strongly garrisoned village of

¹ He had lost a leg in battle in 1837.

² Scott estimated the number at 27,000. See *Memoirs*, II, p. 487.

San Antonio was taken. The Mexicans now rallied in great numbers at the village of Cherubusco with its great stone citadel, a fortified convent. This was within four miles of the city gates. After a fierce bombardment of some hours the outer field works were carried. But the convent — from its loopholes bristled many cannon, and numberless sharpshooters plied their deadly work from its walls. War knows no religion, and the American guns were trained on the sacred edifice. After a short, terrific bombardment, the white flag was seen waving above the somber walls of the convent. The Americans had lost a thousand men on this day, and the Mexicans four times that number in addition to the prisoners taken in the morning. The way was now open for the invading army to march upon the city of Mexico.

Cherubusco

President Polk had sent the chief clerk of the state department, Nicholas B. Trist, to arrange for peace, and two weeks were spent in negotiation. This came to naught, and hostilities were resumed. On September 8 General Worth made an assault on the near-by village of Molino del Rey to destroy a cannon foundry; but from a stone castle on the hill of Chapultepec near the town Worth was assaulted with great vigor, and the proportion of American loss was greater than in any other engagement during the war. Some days later the castle of Chapultepec was taken by storm, and on the 14th of September General Scott marched at the head of his victorious army into the city of Mexico.¹ A few hours later the stars and stripes were waving from the walls of the ancient palace of the Montezumas. The war was over; and it is notable from the fact that the Americans won every battle. The Mexicans had fought nobly, but they were wanting in scientific training, and moreover many of them were half-breeds — a cross between the Spaniards and the ancient Aztecs — and were no match for the more virile Anglo-Saxon; and now at the close of a brief war of a year and a half, not only their proud city, but their whole land lay prostrate at the feet of the conquerors from the North.

Scott enters Mexico

RESULTS OF THE WAR

A view of Congress during the progress of the war reveals a state of agitation unequaled since the debates on the Missouri Compromise in 1820. The chief result of the war, as every one

¹ Santa Anna had fled in the preceding night with a large part of his army, after setting free and arming about two thousand criminals from the prisons. These men attacked the invading army from the housetops, but were soon put to rout.

foresaw, would be the addition to our national domain of the immense region in the Southwest; and the question rose spontaneously in every mind, Will it be free soil, or slave soil? Aside from the moral aspects of the question, the South had the right of priority of claim, for it was the South that had brought about the war, and its chief object was to extend slave territory. In another sense the North had the first right, for this land had already been dedicated to freedom by Mexico. The Louisiana Purchase was wedge-shaped, the larger end lying north of $36^{\circ} 30'$. The South had used up its smaller end beginning with the admission of Louisiana in 1812, and ending with the admission of Arkansas in 1836. There remained to the South Florida and the Indian Territory, and now came Texas; but these were no match for the vast territory in the Northwest to be carved into free states. Almost from the beginning of the government the states had been admitted in pairs, one in the North and one in the South, so as to preserve equal power in the Senate between the free and the slave states. The South now began to view with alarm the exhaustion of its territory, while that of the North seemed inexhaustible. Hence came the Mexican War.

But the South had not clear sailing; there were breakers ahead. A great majority of the people of the North opposed the further extension of slave territory, and this feeling found expression in the national legislature. The storm broke forth when, in August, 1846, a young Democrat in the House, from Pennsylvania, having been chosen for the purpose, made the motion that slavery be forever excluded from the territory about to be acquired from Mexico. His motion, known as the Wilmot Proviso, was an amendment to a bill for the appropriation of \$2,000,000 for settling the difficulties with Mexico. The whole South flared up in a moment in fierce opposition. The proviso did not become a law, but the principle it involved became the apple of discord between the two sections for years, and even threatened the foundations of the Union.

The treaty of peace, signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, conveyed to the United States the territory which has since become the states of California, Nevada, and Utah, part of Colorado, and the largest parts of New Mexico and Arizona.¹ It recognized the Rio Grande the south-

David
Wilmot

Treaty of
peace, Feb-
ruary 2, 1848

¹ Five years later the United States purchased from Mexico the Mesilla Valley, about forty-five thousand square miles of southern Arizona, for \$10,000,000. The purchase was arranged by Captain Gadsden, and is known as the Gadsden Purchase.

ern boundary of Texas and the forty-second parallel the northern boundary of California. There was a widespread feeling that the United States should retain the whole of Mexico. This movement was gaining in momentum North and South when the treaty reached Washington. Its acceptance by Polk and the Senate ended the proposal. Mexico gave up the territory with reluctance, but she was prostrate and powerless. She feebly requested, however, that slavery be not established in the ceded territory; but Mr. Trist, who acted for the United States, refused even to mention the subject to his government.

What an astounding advance in continental expansion had been made within three years — Texas, a great part of Oregon, and this immense tract from Mexico. The acquisition exceeded 1,200,000 square miles, more than a third of our present domain, more than the Louisiana Purchase, or the entire United States at the close of the Revolution.

The average American of to-day is not very proud of the Mexican War; he feels that our method of acquiring California was out of harmony with our general policy and rejoices that the innovation did not intrench itself in the national mind and become a settled policy of the country. He rejoices also that we paid Mexico fifteen million dollars for the ceded lands, though Mexico was prostrated and could demand nothing.

We must look, however, at the other side of this question. Did Mexico really own California, and if so, how did she acquire the title? She had inherited Spain's claim to that great country and neither had paid anything for it. Our right to California The claim was a mere paper claim and was no more valid than Spain's claim to the entire Western Hemisphere on account of the discoveries of Columbus, or of the English claim to all North America through the discoveries of the Cabots. The claims of Mexico to California were as shadowy as those of Spain and neither should have a standing in international law. California was an uninhabited region and Mexico was not able to develop it. From the standpoint of justice and equity any unoccupied territory should belong to the country that can occupy and develop it. Our right to the California country was quite as good as the rights of the early English colonists to Virginia and New England to lands claimed by the Indians.

Little did Mexico dream of the hidden wealth that lay beneath the surface of the lands she ceded to her great rival. Nine days before the treaty was signed the discovery of gold was made in California. Some years before this the enterprising Swiss,

John A. Sutter, had settled in the beautiful valley of the Sacramento, had possessed himself of several thousand acres of land, and had built a fort, which he called after his own name. He owned many thousand head of sheep and cattle, had several hundred men in his employ, and was truly a prince in the western wilds. In the employ of Sutter was a carpenter from New Jersey named James W. Marshall, and it was he who first made the discovery. Marshall was superintending the building of a mill on a branch of the American River near the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, when he observed little shining particles in the mill race that proved to be gold. The news soon spread to the surrounding settlements, but the people were slow to believe.

At length, however, with the opening of spring, the conversion of the coast was complete. The village of San Francisco went wild over the great discovery. Many sold all their possessions and hastened to the gold fields. All other business came to a standstill. The judge abandoned the bench, and the physician his patients; the town council was broken up for want of a quorum; farms were left tenantless, and waving fields of grain were allowed to run to waste.¹

The news that gold had been discovered in California spread slowly at first, as the railroad and the telegraph had not reached the remote regions west of the Rocky Mountains; but at length it reached the East, spread across the Atlantic to Europe, and was published in all the leading newspapers of the world. Great was the excitement in every land, and ships from every clime were diverted from the channels of trade and headed for the Pacific Coast. Many gold seekers came by way of Cape Horn; others braved the deadly climate of Panama, while thousands from every part of the Union crossed the western plains in moving wagons. Long trains of wagons wound their way across the plains and over the mountains toward the setting sun. Many were the perils of this long and weary journey — the wild animal and the wild Indian, exposure to the mountain snows, and, above all, the cholera. The cholera attacked these west-bound trains, and many a weary traveler never reached his El Dorado, but found a nameless grave, far from home and kindred, in the vast and trackless regions of the West. It was in the summer of 1849 that this tide of humanity from afar began to pour into the Sacramento Valley — a few to realize the dream of wealth, more to

¹ H. H. Bancroft, Vol. XXIII, p. 62.

gain a modest competence, but the majority to meet disappointment, to return broken in health and spirits, or to fill an unknown grave in the wilderness.

California was peopled as no other colony or territory in the Western World had been, and in less than two years after the golden discovery, the number of inhabitants exceeded a hundred thousand; and it was this discovery that came to the rescue of Congress in deciding the great question involved in the Wilmot Proviso. But before disposing of the subject we must stop and note the election of a new President.

Strange as it may seem, the Democrats slowly lost in power during the Polk administration. A great movement usually wins friends as it proves its ability to succeed, but not so with the Mexican War. The reason of this change of heart was that many of the people lost interest in the war and in the party that had waged it, when they saw that the chief object was to humble a weak sister republic for the purpose of acquiring part of her territory. Moreover, the slavery question played its part. The North feared that the newly acquired lands would, and the South feared that they would not, become slave territory; and for these opposite reasons the interest waned on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line. Much would depend on the next President. Who would he be? This was the absorbing question of the moment.

The Whigs were hopeful; their star was rising. From three prominent candidates they were to make their nomination — Henry Clay, "the same old coon," as the Democrats put it, and the two successful generals of the war. But Clay was rapidly growing old, the great questions with which he had been identified were now settled, and more than once he had led the party to defeat. His star was visibly waning, and no longer could the magic name of Clay awaken the enthusiasm of bygone years. Of the two military commanders, Taylor had a clear advantage over Scott. He had won his laurels while the war was still popular and the eyes of the country were riveted upon it. Scott's victories came later, when the people had begun to compare the war with a fight between unequal contestants. Scott therefore never received the honor accorded Taylor. But the respective personalities of the two men had something to do with deciding the contest. Taylor was wanting in education and social polish; he refused to wear the uniform, and cared little for his personal appearance. He received the sobriquet of "Rough and Ready." These

Taylor and
Scott

qualities appealed to the masses. Scott, on the other hand, was highly cultured, urbane, self-conscious, and dignified. He was exceedingly exact in his dress, speech, and actions. He was nicknamed "Fuss and Feathers." Taylor had the further advantage of being new to fame, while Scott had been in the public eye for nearly forty years, and he was almost as much a politician as a soldier.

When Taylor was first informed that he was spoken of for the presidency he was astonished; then he laughed at the ridiculous idea. But as the months passed and the newspapers were full of the subject, he began to take it seriously. Clay wrote him suggesting that he withdraw his name, but this the old hero refused to do, and he entered the lists, determined to win if he could.

Taylor received the nomination at the Whig convention in Philadelphia. Clay was disappointed and refused to support him. Webster pronounced the nomination one "not fit to be made." Horace Greeley and Thurlow Weed held aloof till late in the fall, when they came into line. But Taylor had won the great popular heart. As Taylor was a resident of the South and a slaveholder, it was necessary to give the second place to a northern man, and Millard Fillmore of New York was nominated.

The Democrats met in Baltimore and nominated General Lewis Cass of Michigan for President, and William O. Butler of Kentucky for Vice President. Cass was a man with an interesting record. We first meet him in the War of 1812. He was a young officer under Hull at the surrender of Detroit, and rather than surrender his sword to the British officer, he broke it across a stone. After the war he became governor of Michigan Territory and held the post for eighteen years. Seeing that Detroit would grow into a city, he purchased a large farm just outside the village, and as the town expanded the farm grew in value until its owner became a millionaire.¹ Next we find Cass in the Cabinet of Jackson, then minister to France, and finally in the United States Senate. But Cass lacked one of the most essential qualities of the modern politician — he

¹ **Anecdote of Cass.** — Had Cass been elected, he would be, thus far, our only millionaire President. It is a significant fact, in this age of colossal fortunes, that we have never had a very rich President. General Lewis Cass was, as stated in the text, a dignified, urbane man, who could brook no familiarity from his inferiors. The following incident, given by Forney, will illustrate the point: One of the leading hotels in Washington at this period was Guy's Hotel, and here many of the leading government officials, including General Cass, stayed while at the Capital. It happened that General Cass and Mr. Guy, the hotel keeper, both large, corpulent men, looked very much alike, and each was often mistaken for the other. One day a western man came to the hotel and met General Cass on the porch and, taking him for Guy, slapped him on the shoulder and began, "Here I am again, old fellow; last time I

was, like General Scott, self-conscious, urbane, and he held himself aloof from the vulgar crowd. Nevertheless Cass would probably have been elected but for the defection of his old enemy and rival, Martin Van Buren. The Democrats of New York were divided into two factions, the Van Buren Hunkers and the Barnburners. The latter were not in sympathy with the slave propagandists; they refused to support Cass, joined the Free-soilers, and nominated a third ticket with Van Buren at its head. Van Buren did not love Cass, nor had he forgiven the party for choosing Polk instead of himself four years before. But at that time his great benefactor of Tennessee was still living, and this fact probably held the New Yorker in line with his party. But now Jackson was dead, and Van Buren took the opportunity to take vengeance on the party. He was quite successful. His personal following in his own state was sufficient to split the party almost in the middle and to give the electors to Taylor; and New York was again the pivotal state and decided the election.

ZACHARY TAYLOR

Zachary Taylor was a soldier and only a soldier. Of the wiles of the politician, of the complicated wonderful machinery of party organization, he was as ignorant as a child. Of the vast responsibility of the presidency he knew almost nothing. But withal he was a rugged, powerful, honest personality. He loved his country above all things, and his motives were without a flaw. The son of a patriot who had fought in the Revolution, he was born in Virginia the year after General Clinton had evacuated New York. At an early age he entered the army and saw service through the War of 1812 and the Black Hawk and Seminole wars. Humbly he served his country for forty years, wholly unknown to fame until his sudden bound into prominence in the war with Mexico.

Scarcely was Taylor installed in the great office when the whole country turned to him for a solution of the momentous issue on which neither party had dared give expression in the

hung my hat in your shanty, they put me up on the fourth floor. Want a better room this time. How about it, old man?" Cass braced himself up with great dignity and answered: "Sir, you've committed a blunder, I'm General Cass of Michigan," turned about, and walked off. The man stood and looked after him, dazed at his mistake. Presently Cass walked around that way again and the man again took him for Guy and exclaimed: "Here you are at last; I've just made a devil of a blunder. I met old Cass and took him for you, and I'm afraid the old Michigander has gone off mad." Just then Guy appeared on the scene.

campaign of the preceding year — that involved in the Wilmot Proviso. California was now knocking for admission into the Union — as a free state. As stated above, the discovery of gold had aided in settling the slavery question for the Southwest. The men who went to the mines were not slaveholders, though many were from the South. The slave owner must remain with his plantation and his family. The men who flocked to the coast were, for the most part, laborers, nor could they endure the thought of inviting the black bondsmen into their midst to become their comrades in the field of toil. When, therefore, the Californians, in the autumn of 1849, framed a state constitution, they excluded slavery from the soil by a unanimous vote. The South was deeply stirred. The war had been pressed to a finish by a southern President and by a Congress dominated by the South; the chief object had been to extend slave territory; and now to have the fairest portion of the newly acquired land snatched forever from their grasp was more than the slaveholders could bear. They turned with hopeful eyes to the new President. What would he do? He was a southern man, and he owned a large plantation and several hundred slaves in Louisiana. On this the hopes of the South were based, though Taylor had said that he would not be a sectional nor a partisan President. At length all doubts were set at rest when the President proved that his patriotism towered above his sectional or partisan feeling by recommending that California be admitted as a free state.

The slave power now became enraged; it demanded that California be divided in the middle and that the southern half be made a slave state, or that the Missouri Compromise line be extended beyond its original limits, the Louisiana Purchase, to the Pacific Ocean. Threats of destroying the Union began to spread through the South. Alexander H. Stephens wrote in December, 1849, that the feeling among the southern members for a dissolution of the Union was becoming far more general. Robert Toombs declared in the House that he did not hesitate “to avow before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico . . . I am for disunion.” Calhoun, the greatest of southern leaders, had made artful efforts to unite all slaveholders in Congress to demand concessions from the North and to foster the spirit of disunion, if their demand was refused. Such was the condition of the country — California

Unrest of the
South

knocking for admission as a free state, the South demanding that it be divided in the middle, the North in equal turmoil, many of the people ready to yield to southern demands for the sake of peace, but a greater number declaring frantically that slavery should encroach no farther on free soil — such was the condition at the opening of that memorable year in American history.

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY

From the time of the launching of the government under the new Constitution to the Civil War the darkest year of all was 1850. There could be no doubt that the threat of wholesale secession was serious. A convention of leading southern statesmen met at Nashville in June, 1850, and solemnly declared that a state had the abstract right to secede from the Union. Not one lone state, as in 1832, but most of the slave states seemed to contemplate taking the fatal step.¹ Had secession now been accomplished, our glorious Union would probably have perished. Jackson was in his grave and Lincoln was unknown; nor was there any great political party, as ten years later, pledged to the maintenance of its integrity.

While the country was in this state of unrest the Thirty-first Congress met. The House chose Howell Cobb of Georgia speaker, after a wrangle of three weeks. The Senate was the ablest that ever sat in Washington. Here **The Senate** for the last time was the great triumvirate, — Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, — all of whom had figured in every great governmental movement for forty years. Here, too, were Benton, serving his thirtieth year in the Senate, the stentorian Hale of New Hampshire, Stephen A. Douglas from Illinois, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi; Seward of the Empire State, and the powerful pair from Ohio, Salmon P. Chase and Thomas Corwin. Early in the session Clay assumed the leadership, as always, and he brought forward a series of compromise measures which he hoped would restore harmony between the warring sections. These are known as the Compromise Measures of 1850, which was later called the Omnibus Bill. In this famous bill were eight items, the most important being the first, which called for the admission of California as a free state; the sixth, which prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and the seventh, which called for a new fugi-

**Clay's
compromise**

¹ Benton took the ground, however, and with some show of reason, that the bluster would subside, and that there was no serious danger to the Union.

tive-slave law. These measures absorbed the attention of Congress for more than eight months. The bill was eventually torn to pieces and passed in sections. Clay was the champion and leader throughout. He had passed his seventy-second year, and his health was broken; but the fire of his eloquence still glowed with the luster of former days. Clay was the most national, the broadest in his sympathies, of all men in Congress at this time. Though a resident of a border state and the owner of slaves, he was as truly a northern as a southern man. When Jefferson Davis declared in the Senate that the Missouri line must be extended to the Pacific, Clay's instant retort was that he could never agree to it, that the Southwest was free territory and must remain so, that we justly reproached our British ancestors for introducing slavery on this continent, and he was unwilling that the future inhabitants of California and New Mexico should reproach us for the same offense. Clay announced that on a certain day in February he would speak on his bill, and thousands of people, many from distant cities, came to hear this last great speech of this most magnetic of American orators.

In March three speeches of historic importance were delivered in the Senate, by Calhoun, Webster, and Seward. Calhoun was slowly dying; but his unconquerable will fought down disease until he had prepared an elaborate speech on the compromise measures. Supported by two friends, he tottered into the Senate chamber; but he was unable to read his speech, and this was done by another. The utmost attention was paid to this final word from the greatest of the living sons of the South. In front of the reader sat, with half-closed eyes, in rigid silence, the ghostlike form of the author. Calhoun was an honest man, and in this speech he gave expression to the honest convictions of his soul. He showed how the North, in his belief, had encroached on the rights of the South until the Union was in danger, — how the great Protestant churches had separated into northern and southern branches, — how one cord after another that bound the two sections of the country together had snapped, and soon there would be none remaining. He appealed to the North to consent to amend the Constitution so as to give the South the power to protect herself.¹ Thus ended the public career of the great South Carolinian. He died on the last day of March.

¹ It was not then known to what Calhoun referred in this suggestion; but his posthumous papers explained that he would have the Constitution so amended as to elect two presidents, one from the slave states, and one from the free states, each to have a veto on all national legislation.

Calhoun's
last speech

It is not true that Calhoun sought a dissolution of the Union. He probably loved his state and section more than the Union; and, believing that slavery was necessary to the welfare of his section, he espoused the cause of slavery. But as well say that Chatham, in defending the rights of the colonies, ceased to be a loyal Englishman, as that Calhoun no longer loved his country. And nothing in his life showed more conclusively that he still loved the flag than did this last great speech of his life, in which he pleads from the depths of his honest soul for the removal of the evils that in his judgment menaced the perpetuity of the Union.

Many and able were the other champions of the slave power during the generation preceding the Civil War; but Calhoun towers above them all. His prophetic vision exceeded that of any of his contemporaries. He saw the gathering storm, the implacable strife between the slave states and the free, long before it assumed threatening proportions. He saw, too, that the little, despised Abolition societies of the North would, by their unceasing cry against slavery, eventually mold the conscience of millions, and he called for their suppression by legislation. Calhoun was right in believing that if the moral consciousness of the nation opposed slavery, slavery must fall. But he was wrong in believing that human legislation can govern the conscience of the people; wrong in predicting that the Union could not survive a bloody war; and strangest of all, he and all his brethren were wrong in their belief that social conditions in the South would be unendurable, if the black man were given his freedom.

The next great speech of the month was made by Daniel Webster, but three days after that of Calhoun, and it is known as his "Seventh of March Speech." A voice from this Webster

great son of New England had been eagerly awaited. Since his reply to Hayne in 1830 Webster had easily held the palm as the greatest orator in America. As an intellectual giant Webster surpassed all men of his generation. As he stood before an audience the sweep of his eloquence, like a rushing river, bore everything before it. His mind grasped underlying principles, and these he made so clear that the unlearned man could readily comprehend them. Webster has often been compared to Edmund Burke; and the speeches of both have the rare distinction of holding a permanent place in the literature of their common language.

Twenty years had now passed since the mighty voice of Web-

ster had spoken for nationality in tones that stirred the world. Old age was now creeping upon his frame and his powers were beginning to wane; but he roused himself like a Hercules for this one powerful final effort. The country was in deep agitation. The North had shown even greater inclination to rebel against the proposed Fugitive Slave Law than the South had done against free California. But all waited eagerly to hear from Webster, the greatest representative of the North. There was a feeling of uncertainty among his friends, and not without reason. At various times Webster had shown his independence of party or sectional adherence. He had acted with the Democratic President in 1833; he had sided with the South in the *Creole* affair of 1841; and above all he had abandoned his party while a member of the Tyler Cabinet. But these episodes had only temporarily broken the magic spell in which he held the northern heart. It was left for this Seventh of March Speech to shatter the idol that the people had worshiped so long. His views on the Wilmot Proviso and the Fugitive Slave Law caused great offense. It was needless, he claimed, it was a "taunt and reproach" to the slaveholders to exclude slavery by law from California and New Mexico, as the laws of nature had already done this. "I would not take pains, uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature, nor to reenact the will of God." He also declared that the North had lacked in its duty to the South in the matter of runaway slaves, that the South had just grounds of complaint; and he went out of his way to denounce the Abolition societies of his own section.

This oration of Webster created consternation throughout the North and brought the severest denunciations upon the head of its author. He was condemned on every side as a traitor to the cause of liberty. Giddings declared that the speech had struck a blow at freedom such as no southern arm could have given. Horace Mann said that Webster had played false to the North, that he was a fallen star, a Lucifer descending from heaven. Whittier, in the little poem "Ichabod," mourned the fall of one in whom honor and faith were dead. At a great meeting in Faneuil Hall Theodore Parker compared the action of Webster to that of Benedict Arnold, and declared that Webster was only seeking southern support for the presidency. In the course of a few months, this wave of indignation spent itself to some extent; but never did Webster regain the popularity that he lost on this fatal day. It is difficult for us to understand at this day how

^{tw}_{on 31} Webster's apparently moderate statements could have raised

such a storm, but it must be remembered that the country was greatly excited over this all-absorbing slavery question.

On the 11th of March Seward delivered in the Senate the third of the great speeches of the month. Seward had been twice governor of New York; his fame was national, and he was looked on as one of the leaders in political Seward thought. His effort on this day fell far below that of Webster in rhetorical finish, but it made a profound impression upon the country; and from that moment Seward became the leader of northern thought on the great subject that disturbed the harmony between the two sections. This leadership continued to the opening of the Civil War, when a greater than Seward laid his hand upon the helm.

In this discourse of March 11 Seward took strong ground against the pending Fugitive Slave Law, declaring that public sentiment at the North would not support it, and that no government could change the moral convictions of the people by force. He also stated that there was a "higher law than the Constitution," and this maxim became the ground on which the people of the North resisted the law, afterward enacted, for the capture of fugitive slaves. He further advanced the opinion that the fall of slavery in the United States was inevitable, evidently by peaceful means, as he disclaimed all belief in secession or disunion. By this speech Seward assumed the leadership that would have remained with Webster had the latter not taken a position at variance with the prevailing sentiment at the North.

The debates on these great measures continued for many months, sometimes reaching a state of extreme acrimony. In April Senator Benton almost came to blows with Senator Foote of Mississippi. Benton came from a Benton and
Foote slave state, but his views for the most part coincided with those of the North, and the southern members considered him a renegade and lost no opportunity to taunt him. Foote was making some caustic and insulting remarks about Benton, when the latter rose from his seat and advanced toward the speaker in a hostile attitude; whereupon Foote drew a loaded revolver. At this Benton became greatly excited and cried to his friends, who were attempting to restrain him: "I am not armed; I disdain to carry arms. Stand aside and let the assassin fire." A committee of investigation afterward reported that no similar scene had ever before been witnessed in the Senate. But the matter was dropped, and nothing further was done.

The measures under discussion were at length referred to a

grand Senate committee of thirteen, with Clay as its chairman. This committee soon made its report, which differed little from Clay's compromise measures offered in January. President Taylor openly opposed the measures as a whole, and especially the Fugitive Slave Law and the offer to pay Texas a large sum of money for her claims on New Mexico. His sympathies were evidently with the northern Whigs. But his course was run. The hero of many battles at last met a foe that he could not conquer.

On July 4 the President attended a mass meeting at the Washington Monument, and he sat for several hours in the broiling sun. Partially overcome by heat, he returned to the White House, drank large draughts of iced milk and ate iced fruits. That evening he became ill and on July 9 President Taylor was dead. Sadly the funeral procession moved through the streets of the capital city, and not the least impressive feature was "Old Whitey," the faithful steed that General Taylor had ridden through the Mexican War, now led behind the casket, bearing an empty saddle. Thus for a second time the unfortunate Whig party had lost its President by death. The ultra-southerners received the news of the President's death with complacency; in the North the mourning was sincere and widespread. Strange, too, for the dead President was a southern man and the incoming President a northern man. But the former was broad and national in his views; the latter was "a northern man with southern principles."

Millard Fillmore, born in the wilderness of northern New York in 1800, was a self-made man in the fullest sense of the term. He picked up a meager education as best he could, became a leading lawyer of Buffalo and a member of his state legislature, and served for several years in the Lower House of Congress. As a member of the House he was noted for his conservatism and for painstaking industry. For several years he labored shoulder to shoulder with John Quincy Adams for the right of petition, and it was not until the higher honors of the presidency came to him that he became known as "a northern man with southern principles." Even then he was not a radical, and his favoring the compromise measures, contrary to the Whig sentiment of his own section, was doubtless based on an honest desire to do the best in his power for his country. The President tendered the position of secretary of state to Webster, who accepted it; and this fact, since it was known that Webster favored the compromise, and the further fact that four of the six other members of the Cabinet were from

the South, revealed to the country that the new President held different views on the great questions of the day from those held by his predecessor. The advice of Seward, who had been the chief counselor of President Taylor, was now no longer sought. Seward men were removed from office and their places were filled with conservative Whigs, and it was plain that the administration intended to use the patronage wherever possible to unify the party on the compromise.

The great debates went on, and soon the fruit of the long toil began to appear. Before the end of August the Senate had passed the bill settling the boundary of Texas and giving that state \$10,000,000 for the relinquishment of her claims on New Mexico,¹ also the bill admitting California, another organizing New Mexico as a territory without the Wilmot Proviso,² and, most important of all, the Fugitive Slave Law. The bill abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia passed the Senate in September. All these measures passed the House in September with little debate, and all were signed by the President.

Passage of
the compro-
mise bill

From the foundation of the government there had seldom been a measure enacted into law of more far-reaching consequence than were some of the enactments of this Compromise of 1850. The measures were non-partisan; they were sectional. The Democrats and Whigs of the North joined in opposing the Fugitive Slave Act, while both parties at the South joined in opposing free California and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. For some years the two great parties had grown nearer together, and now their chief cause of rivalry was based on a desire for supremacy.³ The great questions of the times were sectional and not partisan, and the fact that the two great parties now stood on common ground and no longer represented opposing schools of thought explains in great part the dissolution of the one in the near future, for in the world of politics the coexistence of two of a kind is impossible. But this must be noticed later.

The compromise measures were on the whole favorable to the North rather than to the South.⁴ Two items in this famous mid-

¹ This act brought forth grave accusations of jobbery. Texas scrip, which had fallen to one sixth of its face value, now rose to par, and it was believed that many speculators in this scrip made fortunes by this act of Congress.

² A similar act concerning Utah had passed on the last day of July.

³ Von Holst, Vol. III, p. 102.

⁴ If we include the admission of California as part of the compromise; but more strictly speaking it was not, as this item had previously been decided by the people of California.

century legislation were of momentous interest to the nation. One, the admission of California as a free state, was deeply offensive to the South, but there it stood on the statutes, a permanent fact that could never be undone. The other, the Fugitive Slave Law, was equally offensive to the North; but it was not an abiding fact; it was a temporary measure, and its enforcement depended largely upon its individual reception by the people of the North. Moreover, it worked irretrievable injury to the slave power by awakening an antislavery sentiment in the North as nothing else could have done. The vicious law for the rendition of runaway slaves had been forced upon the North for other reasons than the desire to recover lost property.¹ It was not the border states, but the cotton states of the far South, from which few of their bondsmen escaped, that were most instrumental in exacting this law. Their motive was to humble the North for having forced upon them the bitter medicine of free California. Neither section was pleased with the compromise. The great mass of conservatives was desirous that the agitation be stopped, but the radicals of both sections were again ready to throw down the gage of battle.² In Mississippi and South Carolina many of the leaders threatened secession. The Southern Rights Association held a convention at Charleston in May, 1851, and declared that South Carolina could no longer submit to the wrongs and aggressions of the Federal government. But in an election to a secession Congress the following autumn the secession party was defeated. In Mississippi a similar result was reached when Foote, who represented the Union sentiment, was elected governor over Jefferson Davis, who represented the radical party. In the North we find great discontent in the ultra-antislavery districts.³ Massachusetts rebuked Webster by placing Charles Sumner in his seat in the Senate, elected by Democrats and Free-soilers wholly on account of his antislavery position. On the same ground Ohio sent the rugged, heroic Benjamin Wade to the Senate. In Congress the southern radicals gave notice that all was not settled, that they must have Cuba and more territory from Mexico when needed, while the northern radicals, led by Seward, Sumner, and Giddings, declared that the Fugitive Slave Act could not be enforced. Meantime the great body of conservatives fondly hoped that the compromise would be accepted as a finality and that the hated slavery question would trouble them no more for many years to come. At

¹ See Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. I, p. 187.

² *Seward's Works*, Vol. III, p. 446.

³ *New York Tribune*, May 13, 1851.

length the southern leaders, with rare exceptions, came to this view: they agreed to accept the compromise as a finality, on the one condition that the North would honestly enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. The northern politicians would doubtless have agreed to this; but the enforcement of that law rested with the conscience of the people, not with the politicians.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IN OPERATION

It has been said, and truly said, that Millard Fillmore, when he signed the Fugitive Slave Law on September 18, 1850, signed his own death warrant as a national statesman. By this little act he covered his name with dishonor, declared his critics, and no subsequent show of patriotism could redeem it; by this he offended the great section of the country to which he belonged, and for this he is remembered in American history. Yet it is difficult to see how Fillmore could have done otherwise than he did, as the South had been so deeply offended over free California that a rejection of the Fugitive Slave Law would probably have brought immediate secession.

The Fugitive Slave Law was a vicious and inhuman measure, to say the least. When captured by the owner, the pretended owner or his agent, the alleged runaway was carried before a magistrate or commissioner who should hear and determine the case. The law was so framed as to work against the prisoner at every point. The oath of the owner or agent (and the agents were often coarse, brutal men whose better instincts were smothered by years of slave driving) was usually sufficient to decide the matter. The black man could not testify in his own behalf. The benefit of a jury was denied him. Even the commissioner was bribed by the law, for if he awarded the captive to his captor, he received ten dollars as his fee; if he set him free, he received but five. The worst feature of the law was that it compelled any bystander to assist in making a capture, if summoned to do so by the slave catcher. This was revolting to the average citizen of the free states, for the impulse was to aid the fleeing man in making his escape rather than to aid his pursuer.

Could such a law be enforced? Thousands of people throughout the North believed that a man held in bondage for no crime — simply on account of the accident of his birth and the color of his skin — had a right to escape if he could. Conscience demanded that they aid him in his flight; the law demanded that they aid his pursuer; and

Great oppo-
sition to the
law

many decided to obey the "higher law" of conscience rather than this law of their land. It is easy to see with what difficulty a law could be enforced when opposed by the moral consciousness of the people in the midst of whom it is expected to operate. From thousands of pulpits, from a large portion of the northern press, and from mass meetings held for the purpose, the Fugitive Slave Act was denounced as an unjust and wicked measure.¹ This feeling of the people was reflected in the state legislatures. Michigan, Wisconsin, and all the New England states passed personal liberty laws, for the protection of free blacks; and most of them made laws to regulate the business of the slave catcher, such as denying him the use of the jails and other public buildings, while a few states demanded a jury trial for the alleged fugitive.² These items show the general reception of the Fugitive Slave Law at the North, but this may be shown still more vividly by citing a few examples of its practical operation.

There were probably twenty thousand negroes in the free states who had at some past time escaped from slavery. Many of these were quiet, industrious people, earning an honest living for their families; all were liable to be dragged back to slavery by this law.³ Scarcely had the law gone into effect, when many parts of the North were overrun by man hunters. Many of the fugitives residing in the free states now hurried off to Canada, where the laws of England made them free; others remained in the hope of escaping detection. Sometimes the fugitive was caught and taken back to his former master; sometimes he was killed in the chase; but usually he made good his escape, owing to the aid and sympathy he received from the people of the North.

One of the first instances to attract attention was that of William Smith of Columbia, Pennsylvania. Many years before this law was passed Smith had escaped from slavery, had settled in this quiet town on the Susquehanna, and was now an industrious laborer, supporting a wife and family. He knew that he might be taken back to slavery at any moment under this law of 1850, but he hoped to

Instances of
slave capture

¹ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. II, p. 305. The conservatives also held meetings in the large cities of the North, and demanded that the compromise be accepted in good faith and that the Fugitive Slave Law be enforced.

² Vermont, Michigan, and Massachusetts demanded a jury trial. This was a practical nullification of the national law. Most of these laws were enacted after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Law in 1854.

³ The law was retroactive, and it was denounced as unconstitutional by its enemies, who declared that it was *ex post facto*.

remain undiscovered. One day while working on the streets he saw some slave hunters approaching him. He threw down his tools and started to run, but he was shot dead by his pursuers. Another instance in this same county (Lancaster) attracted far wider attention, and turned out very differently. Near the village of Christiana lived a colored man named William Parker, himself a fugitive, and his house became a place of refuge for other fleeing negroes. It was learned that he was harboring two men of his race who had escaped from their master, a Baltimore physician named Gorsuch. In September, 1851, Gorsuch, with a party of armed men, including his son, entered the town and demanded his property. The party surrounded the Parker house; the colored people of the neighborhood were summoned by the sound of a horn, and in the fusillade that ensued Gorsuch was killed, and his son severely wounded. This affair attracted the attention of the country. President Fillmore sent a body of marines from Philadelphia to the scene of the riot. Thirty-five persons were arrested,¹ but no jury could be found to convict them, and all were released. The two fugitives were never captured.

Another incident, known as the "Jerry rescue," that took place at Syracuse, New York, attracted much attention. Jerry McHenry, an industrious mechanic, who had worked at his trade for some years at Syracuse, was claimed, under the Fugitive Slave Law, by a man from Missouri. Jerry was found and captured by the slave hunters. He was imprisoned to await trial the next day. Before morning a large party of men, led by Gerrit Smith, a wealthy member of Congress, and the Rev. Samuel J. May, went to the prison, battered down the door, rescued the prisoner, and, after concealing him for a few days, sent him off to Canada. The leaders of this rescue openly proclaimed their part in it, but none of them was punished.

Many of the runaway negroes did not go to Canada, but settled in the Northern states, as far as convenient from Mason and Dixon's line. At Young's Prairie, in Cass County, Michigan, a considerable colony had located, and here they lived in contentment in the little houses they had built. But their location was discovered by their various masters, and a party of thirty armed men rode from Kentucky to capture the fugitives at Young's Prairie. The party separated, and made several simultaneous attacks on the negro village at dead of night. Awakened suddenly from sleep, the blacks fought bravely for their liberty, but in a short time most

Young's
Prairie

¹ Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, p. 280.

of them were overpowered, fettered, and thrown into large wagons brought for the purpose. But one woman, while her husband was fighting in the only door of their cabin, escaped through a back window and gave the alarm to some white neighbors. In a few minutes a white man was galloping about the country on a fleet horse, giving a general alarm. By daylight the whole neighborhood was aroused, and a band of two hundred men, led by Bill Jones, a brawny-armed blacksmith, were dashing to the rescue of the blacks. They fell upon the Kentuckians, arrested them for kidnaping, and lodged them in the county jail to await trial. At the trial they were acquitted; but they returned to their homes empty-handed, after all their trouble and expense, for while the trial was pending, the colored colony was transferred to Canadian soil.¹

Usually the slave hunter failed to secure his runaway; and, even when he succeeded, the expense was often so great as to render the undertaking unprofitable. The most famous case that came under this law was that of **Anthony Burns, 1854** Anthony Burns, a colored waiter in a Boston hotel.

He had escaped from his Virginia master, and he was now arrested as a fugitive. When the people of the city heard of the arrest, they were soon wrought up to a wild state of excitement. A great meeting held at Faneuil Hall was addressed by Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, and late at night it practically resolved itself into a mob and proceeded to the courthouse where Burns was confined, to attempt his rescue. Here was found another band of infuriated men, led by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, battering at the doors. The mob was driven back by troops called out by the mayor, one man was killed, several were arrested, and Burns was not rescued. A few days later he was remanded to slavery. The people made no further attempt to effect his rescue; but fifty thousand of them lined the streets hissing and jeering as the negro was led to the revenue cutter in the harbor, guarded by the police force of the city and several thousand soldiers armed with muskets and artillery. The South had won its victory, but it was an expensive one, for public feeling against the Fugitive Slave Law was roused throughout the North as never before, and the *Richmond Enquirer* was led to say, "A few more such victories and the South is undone."²

¹ Coffin, *Reminiscences*, p. 366.

² Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, p. 331; Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. II, pp. 435-441. Burns was afterward purchased by friends in the North and sent to Oberlin College, in Ohio, but he died a few years later. The judge who awarded him to his captors was removed from the bench through a petition of the people.

Scarcely less than the excitement over Burns was that over the "Glover rescue" in Wisconsin in the spring of the same year. Joshua Glover was a black man who lived near Racine, Wisconsin. He was claimed by a man from St. Louis, and was captured, knocked down, bound, carried in a wagon to Milwaukee, and lodged in jail. The people of Racine soon heard of the proceedings, and held a mass meeting which declared the Fugitive Slave Law "disgraceful and repealed." About a hundred men then proceeded to Milwaukee and on arriving found the city in a wild tumult. The excitement gained in volume, and the authorities called on the militia to quell the riot, but the militia refused to respond. At length the crowd became dangerous, and when it surged upon the jail and demanded the prisoner, there was nothing to do but to give him up. Glover was soon landed in Canada, and the people returned quietly to their homes. Nearly every newspaper in the state applauded the Glover rescue, and the leaders of the riot, afterward arrested, were acquitted by a decision of the supreme court of the state on the ground that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional. The examples above mentioned are but a few of the most conspicuous out of hundreds. A half-witted person could have seen that the Fugitive Slave Law could not be enforced in most sections of the North; and any slaveholder could have seen, and most of them did see, that the law was doing irreparable harm to the institution of slavery by unifying the North against it.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

For more than half a century before the Civil War there was an ever increasing stream of slaves fleeing from their masters into the free states. In the years immediately preceding the war the number was estimated at about a thousand a year. It is true that many of the slaves were so well treated by their owners, or so grossly ignorant, that they had little or no desire to escape. But there were others, and their name was legion, in whose bosom burned a longing for liberty, so natural to the human heart. Especially was this true of those who had picked up the rudiments of an education. Many in the far South knew only that freedom lay in the direction of the North Star, that the distance was great, and that the way was fraught with unknown perils. The fugitives usually traveled by night and secreted themselves in the mountains or thickets during the day. Most of them came from the border states, and they comprised the most intelligent

of their race. Some fled because of cruel treatment, but with the great majority it was the fear of the dreaded auction block that drove them to seek the land of liberty. However kind the master might be, however reluctant to part with his servants, his death or business reverses might at any time send them to the great cotton plantations or to the rice swamps of the far South, the most dreadful calamity that could come to a border-state slave. When once a slave was carried by a trader to the southern market, it was seldom that he was again seen or heard of by his friends and kindred.

The fleeing black man was often recaptured before reaching the free states, after which his condition was made worse than before. But thousands succeeded in crossing the border line and in breathing the air of freedom. But even then, after the Compromise of 1850, their chances of evading capture would have been very meager but for the aid rendered them by persons living along their route. There were hundreds of people in the free states, some colored, but most of them white, who were systematically engaged in giving aid, comfort, and advice to the fleeing slave. These lawbreakers were for the most part respectable and, in other respects, law-abiding citizens. They acted on principle: they believed in a higher law than any framed by human legislators; they believed that a man held in bondage by no fault of his own had a right to his freedom, if he desired it, and they felt it a duty to aid him in gaining it, if in their power. But, in addition to the pleasure of relieving the sufferings of the fleeing slave, there was in the business of aiding the runaway "the excitement of piracy, the secrecy of burglary, the daring of insurrection."¹ The work was carried on with the utmost secrecy and in the most systematic manner. The system was known as the Underground Railroad.

It consisted of many different routes across the free states. The "stations," twenty miles or more apart, were usually private homes, in the garrets or cellars of which, or in nearby caves or haymows, the fugitives were kept and fed during the day, and from which they were sent on their way at nightfall. Many of those who engaged in the work did so at their own peril and often at great self-sacrifice, for the law was persistently against them. Mr. Rush Sloane of Sandusky, Ohio, paid \$3000 in fines for assisting runaways to Canada; Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware, assisted twenty-seven hundred fugitives and paid \$8000 in fines for vio-

Great
sacrifices

¹ Hart's Introduction to Siebert, *Underground Railroad*.

lating the slave laws. Calvin Fairbank spent seventeen years in the penitentiary for similar offenses.¹

One of the most active workers in connection with the Underground Railroad, and the reputed president of the system, was Levi Coffin, a prosperous merchant who managed the station at Newport, Indiana, for twenty years. During this period he and his faithful wife, who were Quakers, harbored at least one hundred fugitives each year. The story in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the slave woman crossing the Ohio River on the floating ice with her child was a true story, and after this woman reached the home of the Coffins, Mrs. Coffin gave her the name "Eliza Harris," and Mrs. Stowe used this name in her novel.² The largest number ever harbored by Levi Coffin in one night was seventeen. For this he was arraigned before the grand jury. He was known to be a man of great probity, and nothing could lead him to speak falsely. When arraigned and asked under oath if he had harbored fugitive slaves, he answered that he had no legal knowledge that he had done so; he admitted having received and ministered unto certain persons who had come to his house destitute and homeless. He had done this in obedience to the injunctions of the Bible. These persons, it is true, had said they were fugitive slaves; but he had nothing but their word for it, and as the testimony of a slave could not be received in court there was no proof of his guilt.³ Mr. Coffin was released.

One of the most active of the underground workers was William Still, a free colored man of Philadelphia, who served for many years as chairman of the Vigilance Committee of that city, and who after the war published a large volume giving the experiences of the fugitives as related by themselves. No career in the underground work was more picturesque and romantic than that of Harriet Tubman, herself a fugitive from Maryland. She was almost white, was very religious and intelligent, and she earned the name of "The Moses of her People." With Philadelphia as her headquarters she would collect money from sympathizers and make a journey to slave land. After collecting a company of her people, she piloted them across the border and sometimes accompanied them to Canada. She would quiet babies with drugs and have them carried in baskets. She is said to have made nineteen excursions into the slave states and

¹ Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, pp. 110, 159, 254, 277.

² Coffin, *Reminiscences*, p. 113.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

to have abducted three hundred slaves without detection.¹ Josiah Henson, also a fugitive, founded a colony and a school in Canada, and made various journeys to the South, abducting in all 118 slaves.²

One of the most powerful agencies in shaping the political conscience at the North during the decade preceding the war was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

This novel cannot be named among the greatest works of genius. The narrative shows much bias

*Uncle
Tom's
Cabin*

in the writer, and she is often unfair to the South; but as a series of pictures of slave life, colored with a profound human sympathy, the book attracted and held the attention of readers of every class. It sprung into immediate popularity; three hundred thousand copies were sold within the first year after publication; the sales soon exceeded a million; the book spread over England and her colonies, and was translated into twenty languages. The political effect of this novel did not appear at first, but it eventually became an important agent in the world of politics.³ The story appealed particularly to the young, and thousands of the boys who in the fifties laughed at Topsy, loved little Eva, wept over the fate of Uncle Tom, and became enraged at the brutal Legree, were voters in 1860; and their votes, as determined by that book, which led them to believe that slavery was wrong, became a powerful element in effecting the political revolution of that year.⁴

¹ This woman was employed as a scout and spy in the Civil War. She died in 1913 near Auburn, New York, at the age of 100 years.

² It has been estimated that as many as sixty thousand or even seventy thousand colored people, a large majority of whom were fugitives, resided in Canada in 1860. Many of them purchased small farms and built houses; others hired out as farm laborers, lumbermen, etc. Family life soon became far more regular than in slavery and the moral condition was greatly improved.

³ Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 284.

⁴ There was a Canadian of Toronto, a young doctor named Ross, who, on reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, became deeply interested in the slaves and determined to give his life to helping them to freedom. He made many trips to the South, even into the gulf states. His plan was to go as a land agent, or as a student of bird life. He would stay for some weeks in a place and on the quiet get acquainted with some of the more intelligent slaves. Then he would tell them about Canada and how to get there.

Here is one of the narratives taken from Dr. Ross's book, published after the war:

On a large plantation in Mississippi he became interested in a young slave named Joe and gave him full directions how to get to Canada. Joe's owner was one of those brutal Legrees who even burned his initials into the flesh of his slaves to make them more secure. Joe made his escape on a Saturday night. On Monday Dr. Ross, being suspected, was put under arrest. After spending a day or two in jail the doctor was brought up for trial. It seemed that nothing but a miracle could save his life — and the miracle happened. A voice from outside cried, "Here's Joe, here's Joe." The doctor was released and soon left town. Joe made up a fine story — that he had gone to visit a brother ten miles away, that he expected to be back by Monday morning, but sprained his ankle, and his story was accepted. The

SLAVE LIFE IN THE SOUTH

A hundred years ago the universal verdict of the American people was that slavery was an evil. Such leaders as Washington and Jefferson, themselves slaveholders, deplored the existence of the institution as long as they lived. In later years, when slavery became the chief political issue, almost the entire South, following the lead of Calhoun, pronounced slavery in the United States a positive good. This change was partially due to conviction; but undoubtedly it arose in part from the fact that the slaveholder grew weary of defending what he confessed to be an evil, and, in answer to the cry of the Abolitionist, he veered around, took the offensive, and pronounced slavery a good thing. The question was also, as we have seen, an economic one. If slavery was an economic good, as the people of the South believed, it must also be a moral good; and if both, it ought to be defended and extended. In these latter days, since the institution is a thing of the past, the universal verdict is that which antedated the career of Calhoun — that slavery was an evil, an unmitigated evil.¹

Nevertheless there were pleasant features in connection with slavery, especially in the border states, where it existed in a mild form. Many a slave was better kept by a humane master than he could have kept himself had he been free. In many a home the attachment between the owner and his slave was a sincere one; the slave was educated and taught religion, and was practically a member of the family. Many of this class had little desire for freedom. But the great majority of slaves were not of this class. Except the house servants, coachmen, and the like, the slaves of the cotton states were toilers in the field. They spent their lives in unrequited toil; and to one who had a spark of the consciousness of manhood or womanhood, what a dreary, cheerless, hopeless life it must have been!

On the great plantations the negroes lived in filth and wretchedness in villages of huts. Their clothing was made of "negro cloth," the cheapest and coarsest material that could be had; their food was almost exclusively corn meal, which they prepared in addition to the day's toil, often exceeding fifteen hours, in

fact was that after Joe had escaped he heard that his benefactor was in the toils and decided to go back to his rescue. A few weeks later Joe did escape and found his way to Canada.

¹ That slavery was a great drawback to the South, from an economic standpoint, is shown very forcibly, with many statistics, in the first chapter of Helper's *Impending Crisis*. This book, written by a southerner and published in 1857, was an unanswerable arraignment of slavery.

the field. Meat was occasionally allowed to those engaged in the most exhausting labor. And yet, where the conditions were at all favorable, the slave was a happy creature. This was due to the inherent quality of the race, and to the fact that he had no care of his own, no anxiety for the morrow. The chief punishment of the negro was flogging, and this was often administered with great severity, not only for insubordination, but for failure to perform the allotted task of labor. If a slave turned against his master, or attempted to escape, he was shot, or he received other punishment that often resulted in his death. There was no law against killing a slave for such provocation; but the willful murder of a negro was a crime in all the Southern states. If, however, a negro was killed by a white man, it often happened that there were no witnesses, or none but slaves, whose testimony was not good in law, and for this reason punishment seldom followed.

The slave lived in gross ignorance. Nearly all the cotton states forbade the teaching of slaves to read or write. In Virginia the owner alone was permitted to do this; in North Carolina the slaves might be taught arithmetic.¹ The Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, Leonidas Polk, who afterward became prominent in the Civil War, owned four hundred slaves, and he had them carefully trained in religion. But he was an exception to the rule. On many of the great plantations the slaves were managed by hired overseers, the owner often living in a distant city. The overseers had little interest in the moral training of the blacks, and the average slave was wholly wanting in morals; the men were almost universally dishonest and the women were without a vestige of womanly chastity. This may have been partially due to the natural tendencies of the race; but it was doubtless in part due to the system. A woman who felt herself owned absolutely by a master could hardly be expected to take an interest in herself or to cherish a feeling of womanhood. A man who did not and could not own property, not even himself or his children, could not have much idea of the rights of property.

A great many of the slaves, however, especially in the border states, were not of the grossly ignorant and immoral class. On the smaller plantations the owner and his sons worked side by side with his slaves, and the relations between them were most cordial. Many a planter abhorred the thought of selling any of his servants and looked with contempt on the professional trader; but, as before stated, the death of the master or busi-

¹ Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 327.

ness reverses might at any time send the blacks to the auction block.

Many of the best men of the South were, like Washington and Jefferson, opposed to the whole system of slavery, and it was not unusual for an owner to make provision, in his will or otherwise, for the emancipation of his slaves. Some planters made arrangements with their slaves by which the latter were enabled to purchase their own freedom. There were various ways of doing this. Mrs. Jefferson Davis, in her memoir of her husband, relates how a slave in one of the Davis families was permitted to keep a variety store. He sold goods, even to his master, from whom also he often borrowed money and had regular business dealings. One Mississippi planter devised a plan by which his slaves were enabled to purchase their freedom by installments. After a slave had saved up a certain amount by working extra time, he was permitted to purchase his freedom for one day each week, and later for two days, and so on. A humane Kentucky planter gave two of his slaves, man and wife, an opportunity to earn money for themselves. This they did until they had saved \$300, when they made their escape and used their money in reaching Canada and setting up a home. Here and there a freed negro accumulated considerable wealth and in some instances himself became a slaveholder.

At the opening of the Civil War there were above 260,000 free negroes in the slave states, the numbers being greatest in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. But with all this, the status of free negroes in the South was rather precarious. Many of them were reënslaved after gaining their freedom. Not infrequently they were sold to pay taxes or fines. But far greater was the danger of being enslaved by kidnapping. In every Southern state there were severe laws against kidnapping; but in spite of this fact the practice was carried on to a large extent. One writer has estimated that the number of kidnapped negroes was probably as great as the number that escaped from their masters.

But with all the good features of slavery, we have the testimony of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and of many leading men and women of the South that the system as a whole was demoralizing to both races. One feature of the institution that brought it general condemnation was the miscegenation of the two races. The northern Abolitionists doubtless had an exaggerated notion of the prevalence of this evil, nor did they take account of the fact that it was not wholly due to slavery. It

is a racial evil not confined to America nor to modern times. By the better class of slaveholders it was never considered respectable.

Another feature of slavery that disturbed the northern conscience was the interstate slave trade, with the evils that grew out of it. This did not exist in colonial days, when the African trade was open; it belonged wholly to a later period. The great cotton belt of the South and the rice swamps were always in want of more slaves, while the border states had more than they needed; and hence was established the interstate slave trade. This brought on two evils condemned by every unbiased observer: the separation of families and the raising of slaves for the market. It is no doubt true that the negro, especially while in bondage, did not experience in the same degree those intense family ties which are characteristic of our own race. But that the black race was not devoid of these finer feelings was shown by many heartrending scenes at the auction block.¹ To sell a man and his wife and children to different masters, living hundreds of miles apart, when there was no hope of their meeting again, was legalized cruelty that finds few parallels in history.

From this brief glance at slave life as it existed before the war any one can see why the national conscience was disturbed, why the voice of the Abolitionist arose from the North and increased more and more, and why that voice could not be stifled until the system itself was swept away. But, withal, it was the misfortune rather than the crime of the South that this baneful system had taken such a relentless hold upon its life. While the conditions at the North were unfavorable to slavery and the institution in that section slowly loosened its hold and disappeared, it was otherwise with the South. Here its roots had struck deeply into the soil; its branches had spread like the arms of an octopus until they embraced everything southern in their fatal grasp. From far back in colonial times the monster had been tightening its coils from year to year and from generation to generation. And now at last this blighting institution had become so interwoven with the political and social fabric of the South that the South no longer had power to deliver itself from the cruel bonds. While the leaders of the slave power cannot be held guiltless at the bar of history, it is certain that the South as a whole was the victim of this curse of slavery, bequeathed to it by former generations.

¹ John Randolph, once asked to name the most eloquent speech he ever heard, answered that it was made by a slave woman, and her rostrum was the auction block. She was pleading for her children.

Louis Kossuth. — In that great year for revolutions in Europe, 1848, Hungary made a brave effort to cast off the Austrian yoke, and might have succeeded but for the interference of Russia. Louis Kossuth, the governor of Hungary, and one of the most remarkable men of his time, took refuge in Turkey, on the failure of the Hungarians to win their freedom. From Turkey he was conveyed in a United States war vessel to New York in 1851, and was received with demonstrations accorded to no other foreigner that ever visited America, except Lafayette. His reception by the administration and by both houses of Congress was extremely cordial. He traveled through the country and spoke in many cities, having an excellent command of the English language, and being possessed of extraordinary powers of eloquence. But on the whole his visit was a failure. His object was to secure the intervention of the United States in behalf of his downtrodden country. But the government could not see its way clear to suspend its traditional attitude of neutrality in European affairs. Kossuth then sought private contributions for the cause of his people, but even in this he was not very successful. He returned to Europe in July, 1852.

Items of Interest. — The coming of Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale," in 1851, served, like the visit of Kossuth, to divert public attention from the all-absorbing slavery question. Her tour of the United States, Canada, and Mexico, managed by Mr. P. T. Barnum, was a brilliant success, the receipts exceeding \$600,000.

The reduction of postal rates in 1851 was an event of historic interest. There had been two reductions before this, and at this time the rate for a letter weighing a half ounce or less was five cents for three hundred miles or less; over three hundred miles, ten cents, and to the Pacific Coast by way of Panama, forty cents. The rate was now made three cents for three thousand miles or less, and six cents for more than that distance. This act continued in force until 1883, when two cents was made the letter rate.

In 1849, and again in 1851, Narciso Lopez led a filibustering expedition to Cuba for the purpose of rescuing the island from Spanish control. The expedition was supposed to be in the interests of the slave states with the annexation of Cuba to the United States for its ultimate object. But the Cubans did not join Lopez as the latter expected. His company was routed by the Spanish soldiers in 1851, and he himself was taken captive and was garroted in the public square in Havana.

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CHAPTER XXII

A DECADE OF POLITICAL CONFLICT

THE excitement over the compromise measures had scarcely subsided when the quadrennial election of a President claimed the country's attention. Seldom had the political sky been less clear. The advantage seemed to lie with the Democrats, not that their party had been wiser than the opposite party, nor that it had done more to deserve the support of the country, but because it had been out of power and was less responsible than its rival for the agitation over the Omnibus Bill.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1852

The Democratic convention met in Baltimore on June 1. There were four notable aspirants for the honor: General Cass, the stalwart and dignified leader, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Stephen A. Douglas, "The Little Giant," and ex-Governor Marcy of New York.

Democratic
aspirants

But each had his element of weakness, and after many ballots it was seen that none of these four could command the necessary two thirds of the vote. The convention cast its eyes about for a dark horse and found Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. Pierce was the son of a soldier of the Revolution, and he learned his first lessons of patriotism while sitting at his father's hearthstone listening to the stories of that long and dreary war, told over and over again by his father and the comrades who often gathered at his fireside to talk of the olden days. The son grew to manhood, became a leading member of the bar, and served in both houses of Congress. He declined an invitation to enter the Cabinet of President Polk, but he volunteered his services to the Mexican War, and, though he knew little of military affairs, the favor of the President soon made him a brigadier general. In no sense was Franklin Pierce a great man. He had won little distinction as a lawyer, or as a statesman, and still less as a soldier.

Nomination
of Pierce

But Pierce possessed some of the needful qualities of a successful candidate. He was hale and jovial; he won friends on

every side. Being a secondary man in public life, he had awakened few antagonisms. Moreover, he accepted unreservedly the Democratic platform, the chief plank of which was that indorsing the compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law. A wave of disappointment spread over the party at the nomination of Pierce. Why should the great party leaders, who had spent their lives in the forefront of battle, be set aside for this mediocre man? But this feeling subsided and the party was soon united as one man for its candidate.

The Whig convention met ten days after the adjournment of the Democratic convention, in the same hall of the same city.

**Whig
convention**

The party was hopelessly divided; it was little more than a disorganized mass, and the herculean efforts of the leaders to bring harmony proved fruitless. The chief candidates for the nomination were three: Winfield Scott, Millard Fillmore, and Daniel Webster. But the rock that threatened to wreck the party was the platform, rather than the choice of candidates. The southern wing of the party demanded that the convention indorse the compromise measures as a finality. Such an act would be equivalent to a promise to agitate the subject no more, and to aid in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. How could the Seward Whigs do this? How could the men who had fought that measure in Congress, or those who had been enraged at the seizure of Anthony Burns, had exulted at the rescue of Joshua Glover — how could they now pronounce that hated law a final settlement of the great question?

Yet the southern Whigs were inflexible in their demand that the convention indorse this measure, as the Democratic convention had done. Many Democrats had also opposed the passage of this law; but most of these had reëntered the party fold; a few had swung away into the ranks of the Free-soilers. The defection in that party was not serious. It was like a tiny satellite cast off from the major planet. But it was different with the Whigs. Under the powerful leadership of Seward nearly half the party was ready to resist the demands of the South. At length, however, the Seward people, after coming to a tacit understanding with some of the southern delegates that the northern wing should name the candidate, yielded the point, and the Fugitive Slave Act was indorsed as a finality by the convention. Yet it was with exceeding difficulty that Scott was nominated. The South objected to Scott because he stood too near to Seward, the originator of the higher-law doctrine, because he refused to express himself on the com-

**Winfield
Scott**

promise, and because he had written a letter some years before which seemed to indicate that he desired the ultimate extinction of slavery.¹ The South wanted Fillmore, a northern man, it is true, but he had signed the Fugitive Slave Law and had shown great vigor in enforcing it.²

Then there was Webster, who fondly hoped that the prize would fall to him. But Webster was not the idol of any great section. He had a few faithful friends, but he had lost the allegiance of the North by his Seventh of March Speech. Whatever may have been his motives in making that speech, whatever may be the judgment of history in regard to it, it is certain that his contemporaries could not dismiss the belief that he was bidding for southern support in the presidential race, and thenceforth he was classed with the northern men of southern principles.³ But the South would not support Webster. He was too new a convert to win their confidence. They remembered him as the author of the mighty speech against Hayne, as the reviver of the doctrine of nationality; and if now he would barter the convictions of a lifetime to win the favor of the South, what might he do, if he became President, to regain the favor of his own section? No, the South could not trust the great New Englander with the interests of that section, and in all the fifty-three ballots of the convention he received not one vote from that section.⁴

Scott was chosen on the fifty-third ballot; but the nomination did not bring harmony to the party. His name awakened little enthusiasm in the North and still less in the South. Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, and other leading southern Whigs put forth a manifesto declaring that they would not support Scott. Such was the condition of the Whig party when it went before the people asking their suffrages in 1852. Twice had the Whigs won by choosing a soldier to head their ticket, and now they had chosen a third, greater than either; but the times had changed. Scott lost ground throughout the campaign, and carried only four states in the election.⁵ The victory of Pierce was more sweeping than any since the second election of Monroe,

¹ Von Holst, Vol. IV, p. 160.

² The Fillmore followers were called "Silver Grays."

³ Horace Mann declared that "Mr. Webster espouses doctrines more southern than South Carolina, and becomes Calhouner than Mr. Calhoun." — *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session 32d Cong., App., p. 1079.

⁴ It is said, however, that the southern delegates promised Webster their votes if he could come down to Mason and Dixon's line with forty. But this, as they probably knew, he could not do.

⁵ Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee. See Stanwood, *Presidential Elections*, p. 191.

though the campaign was notable for the extreme apathy of the people. William R. King of Alabama, who had served many years in the Senate, was elected Vice President.

The cause of the great Democratic victory was the fact that the party was unanimous and doubtless sincere in its promise to leave the slavery question undisturbed, a matter on which the Whigs, notwithstanding their forced platform, were yet divided. The people, especially the business men of the country, were utterly weary of the agitation, and they gave their suffrages to the party that promised them rest.¹

PASSING OF CLAY AND WEBSTER

While the Whig convention sat in Baltimore, the founder of the party lay on his deathbed in Washington. But once since the opening of Congress had Clay been able to go to the Senate. He died before the close of the month that had witnessed the last national convention of the party in which he had so long been the leading figure. Few men have been so deeply mourned by the whole nation as was Henry Clay. The solemn funeral procession passed through various cities of the North before crossing the Alleghanies, and the evidence of sorrow, shown by the vast crowds that gathered, betokened the love in which the deceased was held.

Henry Clay possessed some great qualities. As a parliamentary leader he has few equals in American history. As a party leader, as an idol of the people, he stood in the highest rank. Clay was a man of definite party principles and aims, but at a time of imminent peril he would waver and stoop a little below his ordinary level to carry his ends. This is shown by his Alabama letter, and by his hedging on the tariff in the campaign of 1844. As a statesman Clay cannot be placed in the very first rank. He lacked the broad analytic mind of Jefferson, the deep foresight of Hamilton, and the prophetic intuition of Jackson. His judgment was too often at fault. Some of the greatest achievements of his life proved to be political blunders, notably his forcing the bank charter through Congress in 1832.

Clay has been called the great compromiser, though he was the author of but two compromises in his long career: first, that of

¹ The Free Soil party had also its ticket in the field, headed by Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire; but it carried no state, and its popular vote was much lighter than in 1848, when Van Buren headed the ticket.

1833 on the tariff, and second, the Compromise of 1850.¹ But the wisdom of both of these is open to question. The compromise measures of 1850 may have been necessary to avert greater dangers; but its author did not foresee that he was sacrificing his own beloved party upon the altar, and that the evils he sought to avert were only postponed for a very few years. But Nature kindly spared him from seeing those evils, and Henry Clay, after a long public career, strangely mingled with light and shadow, laid aside his staff "like one that is weary," and his ashes were laid to rest in his own beloved Kentucky.²

Daniel Webster, a few years younger than Clay, was associated with him in public life for nearly forty years, and their names are frequently linked together in history. They were leaders in the same great party; usually, but not always, they were personal as well as political friends. But the two men were so unlike that it is difficult to find a point of resemblance. As a party leader Clay stood far above Webster; as a giant in intellect Webster overshadowed Clay. Clay won the love of the people; Webster won their admiration and praise. Clay made many warm friends, and had bitter enemies. Webster had fewer friends, and almost no personal enemies. Both were intensely American, and the passionate desire of each was to become President of the United States.

Clay and
Webster
compared

¹ Clay has often been called the author of the Missouri Compromise; but aside from the second compromise concerning the admission of free blacks into Missouri, he had no more to do with it than some of his colleagues.

² **Anecdotes of Clay.** — No man ever in public life in America had greater power in winning personal friends than Henry Clay. When John Randolph, who had been Clay's political enemy for many years, and with whom he had fought a duel, visited Washington in the last year of his life, he called on Clay. Clay received him very kindly, and asked about his health. Randolph replied, "I'm dying, Clay, I'm dying." — "Why, then," asked Clay, "do you venture so far from home? Why did you come here?" — "To see you," answered Randolph, "to see you and have one more talk with you."

When Clay made his famous farewell address to the Senate in 1846, he brought tears to every eye. At the close of the speech, as he was passing out of the chamber, he came face to face with Calhoun. They had been enemies, and had not spoken for five years, but at heart each really loved the other. Now, at this meeting, all animosity was forgotten, and without a word they fell into each other's arms and wept silently. On one occasion when Clay was making a tour through the South, there was on the same train a farmer, an old-school Democrat, who was invited to step into the next car and meet Clay. "No," he answered, "I would not be seen shaking hands with Henry Clay, the old Whig." He was informed that his idol, Van Buren, had often done so. The farmer declared that he did not believe it, that Van Buren would never do such a mean thing. He offered to make a bet that he was right and agreed to let Clay himself decide the bet. They came to Clay's seat and stated the case. "Yes," answered Clay, "Van Buren is a good friend of mine, and he made me a visit at my home in Lexington. Setting aside his bad politics, he is an agreeable gentleman and a right clever little fellow." The man paid his bet, and went away muttering that if that is the way the great men acted they might fight their own battles hereafter, he didn't believe they were in earnest anyhow, only pretended to be so as to set others by the ears. See Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, Vol. II, p. 221.

With Clay this longing covered most of his political life; with Webster, only a few of his latter years. Both failed, but each made a permanent name in American history far above that of the average President.

As an orator Webster holds the first place in our history; as a constitutional lawyer he stands without a peer, and he was singularly powerful in developing a constitutional principle. But he was not painstaking; he disliked the routine work of Congress, and one of his lifelong drawbacks was indolence. Webster was not without faults, the most notable of which was a want of thrift. His income from his profession was large, but he had no power to keep out of debt, and his life work would have been thereby weakened but for the aid of some of his rich friends, who now and then came to the rescue. The last years of Webster's life were weakened by his inordinate desire to be President. He was more popular with the masses than with the politicians, but not even among the people was there any great desire for his candidacy. He had never been a party leader, nor had he proved himself a safe party man; and, as above stated, he appealed to the intellect rather than to the heart. The last great effort of his friends to secure his nomination at Baltimore in 1852 proved a disastrous failure.

Webster's grief and disappointment at this crushing defeat furnish the saddest incident in his great life. The account of his interview with his friend, Rufus Choate, the great Boston lawyer, after the convention had adjourned, is inexpressibly sad, and Choate afterward referred to it as the most mournful experience of his life.¹ A few months later the great New England statesman sank down into the grave, denouncing the pursuit of politics as vanity of vanities, and advising his friends to vote for the Democratic candidates. Thus the most brilliant star in the political firmament, after waning from the passing of its zenith, was obscured at its setting by a dark cloud.²

But Webster's final days were days of peace. As he lay at his Marshfield home waiting for the final call, he seemed to have forgotten the turmoils of political strife, and his mind soared through the realms of the unknown. He spoke of the wondrous works of God; he requested that on his tombstone be inscribed a statement of his profound belief that the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be a divine reality; he discussed the gradual steps of dissolution with his physician, and said that no man who is not a brute can

¹ Harvey, quoted by Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 260.

² See Von Holst, Vol. IV, p. 204.

say that he is not afraid of death. "I shall die to-night,"¹ said he to his physician, as the sun rose on the last day of his life. It was on one of those dreamy October days, known as Indian summer, when Nature invites everything that hath breath to love her and to praise the Lord, that he cast his eyes for the last time on her changing forms, that he heard for the last time the murmuring waves of the Atlantic through his open window, that he called his family one by one and bade them farewell. In the early morning his life went out with the ebbing of the tide.²

The mourning for Webster was widespread and sincere. The attitude of the South at the Whig convention had caused a reaction throughout the North. Boston had given him a grand reception in July, and now Massachusetts was heartbroken at the death of her great son.

All human talents and virtues have their limitations. Nature is not uniform in distributing her gifts. When she makes a man great in this or in that line, she often leaves him in other respects, like Samson with the shorn locks, as weak as other men. Webster was weak in some points. Strange that such a man should pine for an office that so many smaller men had filled. Strange, too, that he could not see that the presidency, had he attained it, would not probably have added a jot to his illustrious name in American history. We must remember Webster, not by the weaknesses of his later years, but for his whole life, especially for the principle of nationality of which he was our greatest exponent, a principle epitomized in his own undying words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

FALL OF THE WHIG PARTY

We have taken leave of the two great leaders of the Whig party; we must now give a parting word to the party itself. But a few weeks after the death of Webster the party to which he belonged received a blow at the polls from which it could not recover. This was the last national campaign of the Whig party. The structure was tottering to its fall, and ere the return of the next quadrennial election the story of its existence was history. Of the many political organizations in our history the Whig party was one of only four that became so powerful as to secure control of the government; and it differs from the other three in that it has left us no legislation of permanent value, by which to enrich

¹ Curtis, *Life of Webster*, Vol. II, p. 696.

² *Ibid.*, 697-701.

our national life and to distinguish its name in history.¹ During the twenty years of its existence it had but one rival, the Democratic party, and by that party it was beaten in all its great measures. It will be remembered that the compromise measures of 1850 were sectional and not partisan in their nature, and while most of the country seemed disposed to accept them as a finality, they awakened the lasting opposition of many, and the odium had to be borne by the Whig party. Many Democrats had supported the measures, but they were fathered by the great Whig leader and signed by a Whig President, and the resentment they awakened north and south was visited upon that party. On this rock the party became hopelessly divided, and these measures are usually regarded as the cause of its downfall. But there were other causes.

The old Federal party had been overthrown because it was too aristocratic and centralizing in its tendencies, because it differed too widely from its Democratic rival. The Whig party's downfall was due in part to the opposite reason — it had become too democratic. It had yielded to the Democrats on all the great issues between them: the bank, the independent treasury, the tariff, and at length the issues of the Mexican War. Not one of these did the Whigs attempt to disturb when they regained power in 1848; and the only other great question before the country, slavery, was sectional and not partisan. After 1850, therefore, the two great parties stood on common ground. No longer were there principles to fight for — only spoils. And since, as before stated, in the world of politics two of a kind cannot exist together, one of these two parties must disappear.

Why then did the Democratic party survive while its rival perished? Because, first, its traditions and history, almost coexistent with the government, appealed to the sentiment of its adherents; second, it had held a steady course while the Whigs had yielded every important issue between them; and third, it escaped the odium of the compromise. Thus, from various causes, the Whig party passed into history, and by so doing it made way for another that was soon to be born, one destined to do a mighty work for the nation which the old party could not have done.

Millard Fillmore, the last of the Whig Presidents, was a man of sincere and honest motives. The odium of signing the Fugitive Slave Law he could not outlive; but, as before stated, there is little doubt that he meant it for the best, and it is difficult to see

¹ See Schouler, Vol. IV, p. 261.

how he could have done otherwise without bringing disaster on the country. He was the victim of conditions that he could not control.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

Franklin Pierce was the youngest man ever made President up to that time.¹ His inaugural address was generally well received; but the statement that new territory should be acquired (and this meant Cuba) confirmed the belief that in the great controversy that had convulsed the country the sympathies of the new President were with the South. And so it proved; whenever it became the duty of this northern President to show his hand on the slavery question, he invariably decided with the slaveholder.

In his Cabinet we find three men of national fame. Marcy of New York, who had served in Polk's Cabinet, became secretary of state; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, secretary of war; and Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, attorney-general. The Cabinet Marcy had for many years been a leader in New York, had been governor of the state and senator in Congress. His famous phrase, "To the victors belong the spoils," has been quoted by unnumbered millions — at first as a happy statement of a policy accepted by all; now, only to be condemned. Davis had risen rapidly in public life after the Mexican War, in which he had proved himself a brave and skillful officer. But his strange career was only begun, and we leave a further account of him to a later page. Cushing was one of the most learned men ever in public life in America. He had been a Whig in ante-Tyler days, had performed a most useful service as commissioner to China, and on his return had joined the little Tyler party; but on its collapse he refused to return to the Whig fold, and joined the Democrats. It was said that Cushing's linguistic knowledge was so extensive that he could converse with every foreign minister at Washington in the latter's own language. The other members of the Cabinet were inconspicuous, and even their names would not interest the reader. This Cabinet is the only one, even to this day, that remained unbroken during an entire presidential term.

Not long had Pierce been President when his popularity began to wane, and so it continued steadily to the end of his term. It was evident that he lacked executive ability and firm-

¹ Mr. King, who had gone to Cuba for his health, was there sworn into office as Vice President. He returned to his Alabama home a few weeks later, and died on April 18.

ness. He received every office seeker with suavity of manner, and led him to believe that he would receive the desired appointment. Many had to be disappointed, and this failing gave the President much trouble and made him many enemies. But with all his vacillating he was constant in one thing — his desire to please the South and to crush the Abolitionists.¹ To annex Cuba was the first great aim of the administration.² To further this end James Buchanan was selected as minister to England, John Y. Mason to France, and Pierre Soulé to Spain; all of whom were determined advocates of the project. These three ministers, directed by the President to meet at a convenient place to consider the subject, met at Ostend, a little town in Belgium, and issued an address, known as the Ostend Manifesto. In this they urged the transfer of Cuba to the United States, by purchase if possible, by force if necessary. This report was not acted on by the administration.

In his inaugural address President Pierce had promised the country a rest from the distracting slavery question, and this promise he renewed in more emphatic words in his first annual message to Congress. And the people were pleased; the compromise as a final settlement was taking a firmer hold upon the public mind. The North had even become more quiescent on the Fugitive Slave Law.³ The country was prosperous; railroad systems were extending in every direction; manufacturing and commerce were at high tide; the national treasury was full to overflowing. Moreover, the Democratic party had a powerful hold upon the country. Not only the President and both houses of Congress, but also the governor and legislature of nearly every state, were Democratic. Surely the party had every promise of another long lease of power. Such was the condition of the country and the party at the opening of the year 1854, when suddenly there broke forth from the political sky a storm more terrific than any that had preceded it in the history of the government. It came in the form of a legislative act, and its author was Stephen A. Douglas.

The northern part of the Louisiana Purchase, a vast uninhabited region of nearly half a million square miles, lay north-

¹ Cushing, who was, in an extreme sense, a northern man with southern principles, stated in a letter that the administration was determined to crush out abolition in every form. Cushing, as well as Pierce, came to sympathize with secession in the sixties.

² Our filibusters had awakened apprehension in Europe, and in 1852 England and France had proposed a tripartite agreement with the United States to disclaim all intention to get possession of Cuba; but the United States declined to enter the agreement.

³ Sumner had made a powerful speech in the Senate in July, 1852, calling for the repeal of the law; but the effect of this had largely subsided.

westward from Missouri and extended to the boundary of British America. The territory was known as Nebraska. Douglas now brought a report before the Senate to give this region territorial organization. In this report were two statements of far-reaching importance: first, that the provision in the Compromise of 1850 — that Utah and New Mexico be organized with no decision for or against slavery — was designed to establish certain great principles, namely, that all other territories be organized in the same way — that is, the subject of slavery in each must be decided by its future inhabitants; second, that in the opinion of eminent statesmen Congress had no authority to legislate on the subject of slavery in the territories, and, therefore, the eighth section of the Missouri Bill of 1820 is null and void. Now the eighth section of the Missouri Bill is that which established the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$.

The first bill,
January 4,
1854

In few words the above meant this: first, that Congress, in deciding in 1850 to keep its hands off the slavery subject in Utah and New Mexico, meant that this decision should apply to all future territories — which every intelligent man in and out of Congress knew to be false; and second, that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.

Douglas professed to believe that he had found a way by which to secure eternal rest for the country on the subject of slavery in the territories, by relegating the matter to the territories themselves. But Douglas must have known that his bill, if it became a law, setting aside the Missouri Compromise, though not actually repealing it, would be sternly resisted at the North. The Congress of 1820 had no power to bind its successors; but that solemn agreement between the North and the South that slavery be forever prohibited north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ in the Louisiana Purchase, made when Douglas was a toddling child of seven years, had received the sanction of the greatest statesmen of the time, and had stood like a wall for thirty-four years. It was more than an act of Congress. It was an agreement, almost as binding as a treaty, between two great sections of the country. What Mason and Dixon's line was to the East, the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ was to the West. Could Douglas now suppose that he could set aside this compact, and enable the slaveholders to fill the heart of the continent, even to the Canadian border, with their human property, without raising a storm of indignation? But the end had not yet come. Scarcely had the country caught its breath when a senator from Kentucky offered to the Nebraska Bill an amendment actually repealing the Missouri Compromise.

This was startling to the Senate and especially so to Douglas. He had not intended to go to such lengths; but seeing that, if he rejected the amendment, he would displease the South, he embodied the amendment in his report.

The storm of indignation at the North was now swelling in volume, and it threatened to become a resistless hurricane. Douglas saw that to escape being overwhelmed he must secure the support of the administration. He had a long conference with President Pierce and Jefferson Davis, the secretary of war. The three agreed that the Missouri Compromise ought to be repealed. Douglas thereupon offered a second bill in the Senate embodying the substance of the first and a declaration that the Missouri Compromise was "inoperative and void" — it was a virtual repeal of that measure. It also divided the territory into two parts to be known as Kansas and Nebraska.

Douglas defended his bill with great power; but he did not have smooth sailing. There were strong men in his own party whom he could not control. Before the close of January a protest known as an "Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States," written by Chase and signed by the Free-soil Democrats, was published and sent broadcast through the North. This was a powerful arraignment of the proposed law, pronouncing it a "gross violation of a sacred pledge, a criminal betrayal of precious rights, . . . an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World and free laborers from our own states." The Appeal was published in all parts of the free states, and the response of the people was astonishing for its suddenness and its vehemence.

Chase led the opposition, and his speech, on February 3, revealed his powers and stamped him as one of the strong men of his time. Chase was followed by Seward, Wade, Sumner, and Edward Everett, all of whom took strong ground against the proposed legislation.

Douglas's management of his bill in the Senate showed him a master parliamentarian. At length the time came that the final vote was to be taken. It was near midnight on the 3d of March when the Little Giant rose to close the debate. Small of stature, Douglas was nevertheless impressive in appearance, and as he rose on this occasion his face shone with animation and conscious power. Never before had he spoken with such force as he did that night. The Senate chamber and the galleries were crowded, and, though Douglas spoke all night, the audience remained to hear the last word. Douglas knew that the bill

Douglas's
great speech

would easily pass the Senate, but he also knew that the North had condemned him, and this was his great opportunity to vindicate himself before the people. The burden of his speech was an endeavor to show that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, of which his critics had made so much, was only an incident of the bill before the Senate; that the main object was to establish the "fundamental principle of popular sovereignty," to relieve Congress and the country in future of all trouble about slavery in the territories, and to remove the vexed question from politics by leaving the whole matter to the inhabitants of the respective territories.

The sleeping city was roused that morning by the boom of cannon that announced the passage of the measure. As Chase walked down the Capitol steps, he exclaimed to Sumner, "They celebrate a present victory, but the echoes they awake will never rest until slavery itself shall die."

The bill then went to the House. Here the opposition was formidable, and the bill passed only after a fierce debate, amid some of the wildest scenes ever known in the House of Representatives. Among the negative votes was that of the sturdy old Missourian, Thomas H. Benton, who, having lost his seat in the Senate because of his independence on the slavery question, had become a member of the House.

The motives of Douglas in pushing this bill through Congress have been a subject of dispute and, as a noted writer has said, "we can ill afford to judge motives." It cannot be doubted that one object Douglas had was to clear the way for a northern Pacific railway in which he was greatly interested. It is possible also that he believed in popular sovereignty, believed slavery could be localized and that each territory could take care of the matter for itself. But it is impossible to ignore the accusation of his opponents that he was bidding for southern support for the presidency. He was one of the most brilliant and ambitious men in public life. Though not yet forty years old, he had vied with the old leaders for the nomination in 1852 and had received many votes, chiefly from the North. In those days no candidate could hope to win the nomination of either great party without southern support. Cass, Marcy, Cushing, Buchanan, Fillmore, Pierce, and even Webster had shown themselves ready to aid the slave power in its contest with rising abolitionism. Douglas had done nothing to win the favor of that section. Here was his opportunity; he sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Naturally this act was pleasing to the South, but its reception

at the North was such as to make the politicians stand aghast. The voice of the people came through the press and the pulpit, and through great mass meetings in the large cities.

**Opposition
at the North**

A majority of the northern state legislatures recorded their disapproval.¹ Douglas was denounced on every hand as the betrayer of his country, the Judas Iscariot, and a society of women in Ohio sent him thirty pieces of silver. His middle name, "Arnold," was emphasized to connect him with the arch traitor of the Revolution. Attempting to speak in his own city of Chicago, he was hooted off the stage. By his own statement he "could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own effigies."

Douglas had made a frightful blunder. He and his followers had enacted into law a measure of vast moment, without having made it an issue in any campaign, without consulting their masters, the people. However popular, however powerful a political leader may be, if he presume too far on the rights and the patience of the multitude, he will find himself crushed by the ponderous weight of public opinion. Douglas was no doubt an honest man at heart. But in this daring play in the presidential game he had failed to count the cost. Brilliant, popular young leader that he was, he had won the American heart as few had ever done; but now he overstepped the bounds of public forbearance, and he soon found himself dashed to the ground like a broken toy, his presidential prospects forever blasted.²

The promoters and friends of the Kansas-Nebraska Act could hardly have been sincere in their claim that it would take the slavery question out of national politics. Any one might have foreseen that if the people of a territory had this matter to decide, and the friends of slavery and of freedom would meet on the ground, each aiming to gain the mastery, there would be a clash. And yet by this law Congress had bound itself not to interfere. The one and only instance in which this law was put into operation was in Kansas, and a sorry exhibition it was, as will be shown hereafter. Again, the seeds of endless strife were sown with the very inception of this bill. The South chose to understand it to mean that a territory has no right to prohibit slavery from its bounds, that it can do so only on becoming a state. On the other hand, the people of the North, including Douglas, took the ground that the

¹ A few of them took no action. Illinois alone of all the Northern states approved the measure by a small majority of the legislature.

² Douglas now enjoyed popularity at the South; but this, as will appear later, he had to sacrifice in order to win back the North.

people of a territory had the power to vote on the subject of slavery among them at any time during the territorial state. This point of contention alone proved that the Kansas-Nebraska bill had settled nothing.

This act had never been equaled in results by any legislation since the foundation of the government. It gave the finishing blow to the dying Whig party by a final alienation of its northern



FREE AND SLAVE SOIL BY THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

and southern wings. It brought disruption to the Democratic party, alienated the German vote, hitherto almost solidly Democratic, sacrificed the prestige of the party in New England, in Pennsylvania, and in the Northwest, and it marked the beginning of the end of the long lease of Democratic rule, which had begun with the century under Jefferson. It opened the way for the founding of another great political party with antislavery extension as its corner stone.¹

FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The powerful revulsion in Democratic ranks, occasioned by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, would not subside. Thousands of men who had adhered to the party of Jefferson for a lifetime, men who had stood by Jackson on the bank issue, by Van Buren on the subtreasury, who had adhered to the policy of Polk on the

¹ Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 490.

cariff and the results of the Mexican War, men who frowned on abolitionism and made no quarrel with the Fugitive Slave Law — thousands of such men found the Kansas-Nebraska Law unendurable, and they broke away from the party of their fathers and wandered homeless, seeking a political fold. Then there were the northern Whigs. Their party was shattered to fragments, and its future was hopeless. Some of them joined the Democrats, but the great majority were deterred by prejudice, by conviction, or by the Kansas-Nebraska Law. The old Free-soilers were also ready for some new movement.

A third element of homeless wanderers came a little later from the American or Know-nothing party, to which it is now time to give a moment's notice.

From far back in the thirties a strong feeling of nativism, aimed against foreigners, and especially against Roman Catholic foreigners, showed itself in different parts of the country, and it often resulted in riots. In 1841 a state convention in Louisiana founded the American Republican party, afterward called the Native-American party. This movement, whose chief principles were to put only native born Americans into office and to extend the naturalization period to twenty-one years, soon spread to the North. It elected a mayor in New York City in 1844, and had half a dozen members of Congress the following year. But as the Mexican War and slavery came to absorb public attention, the movement subsided, and not a member did the party send to the Congress that met in 1849. But the upheavals in Europe in 1848 and discovery of gold in California caused a rush of emigrants from Europe greater than ever before to the shores of America.¹ This reawakened the old anti-foreigner feeling, and in 1852 the Know-nothing party, based on the principles of the old Native-American party, was founded. At first it was a secret, oath-bound organization, and when its members were asked on what the order was based and what it stood for, they answered, as their oath required, "I don't know"; hence the name Know-nothing. The movement spread like a conflagration. Many joined it, not because they were in sympathy with it, but because as Von Holst says, they were ready to grasp, "with impatient and uncritical zeal, the first new thing" that pleased their fancy.² After the Compromise of 1850, and the crushing defeat of Scott in 1852, a great number of Whigs, no longer interested in their own party, joined the Know-nothings. The secret vote of the

¹ McMaster, *With the Fathers*, p. 97.

² Vol. V, p. 82.

party determined many local elections and upset all calculations of the politicians.

As the Know-nothings grew to national dimensions, they threw aside their secrecy, and nominated their own candidates for office. In 1854 they carried the elections in Massachusetts and Delaware. The following year when the revulsion against the Kansas-Nebraska Democrats was at its height, the Know-nothings carried a majority in the North and a few in the South. But the party could not endure as a permanent political factor. It lacked the moral background, the broad, fundamental principles necessary to the governing of the nation. Moreover, it refused to express an opinion on the greatest issue of the times, the extension of slavery into the territories. Most men had positive convictions on this question, and they would remain with a party that refused to take one side or the other only so long as there was no better one to join. The party began crumbling before the close of the year 1855, and in consequence a vast number of voters was free to join the new political party that was about to be formed.

**Decline of
the Know-
nothings**

With all this material at hand — the anti-Nebraska Democrats, the old line Whigs, the Free-soilers, and the fragments of the dissolving Know-nothing party — the time was ripe for the formation of a new political party. In the early spring of 1854 the rumor was rife at Washington that a new national party would be formed on the basis of non-extension of slavery; but some of the northern leaders, including Seward, were not favorable to the new movement. Seward took the ground that the Whig party should be reorganized on the slavery subject, and continued under the old name. There were several objections to this, the chief of which was that the Democrats who wished to join the movement were loath to unite with their old political rival. Meantime, while the politicians were undecided, there was a movement of the people. As early as March 20, 1854, in the little town of Ripon, Wisconsin, several hundred citizens met in the town hall, and passed resolutions declaring that a new national party should be formed, and they suggested the name Republican. A similar movement in Vermont followed a few days later. On the 6th of July a great mass meeting was held at Jackson, Michigan, and in the resolutions adopted amid the greatest enthusiasm it demanded the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska and the Fugitive Slave laws, pronounced slavery a "moral, social, and political evil," and agreed, under the name Republican, to oppose the extension of slavery.

**Beginnings
of the Re-
publican
party**

On the 13th of July anti-Nebraska state conventions were held in Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, and Vermont. Nothing was easier to see than that the North was on the eve of an unusual uprising of the people.

The temperance question also received much attention at this period. In 1851 Maine passed her anti-liquor law. The movement spread through the North, and resulted in the enactment of prohibition laws in Michigan and in most of the New England states. The temperance movement was therefore a powerful political factor at the moment when the new party was coming into existence, and the leading temperance men were, for the most part, among the leaders against the extension of slavery.

Soon came the autumn elections, and the anti-Nebraska people were successful in almost every northern state. They won their victories under different names, such as Fusion, Whig, anti-Nebraska, and the like, the name Republican not having come into general use, but the slavery question was the chief issue in every case. The House of Representatives that passed Douglas's famous bill was Democratic by a majority of eighty-four; in the next House the Democrats were in the minority by seventy-five. The party had lost in the North above three hundred and forty thousand in the popular vote. Such was the preliminary answer of the North to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; but it was only a beginning.

The Thirty-fourth Congress met in December, 1855. In the House the Democratic majority had been swept away, but the opposition was a motley crowd. There were Whigs, anti-Nebraskas, Know-nothings, and Republicans, all commingled, and while they were easily able to prevent the election of a Democratic speaker, they found it very difficult to concentrate on a choice of their own. At length their attention was turned toward Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts. Banks was a man of commanding presence and of fluent rhetoric. He had been elected to the preceding Congress as a Democrat, but, having now joined the Republican movement, he stood for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. After a most exciting contest of two months, the House having decided that a plurality should elect, the prize fell to Banks. This election was pronounced by Greeley the first national victory of freedom over slavery in the memory of living men.

We return to our subject, the formation of the Republican party. During the speakership contest, the opposition was often spoken of as "Republican." This the Democrats did not like, as

it was the old name used by Jefferson to designate their own party in its youth. They suggested, therefore, that the new organization be termed "Black Republican," as it persistently favored the black man. The Republican party, however, had as yet no real existence. The movement had been spontaneous, and had spread over the entire North, and it was left for Pittsburg to become the birthplace of the new party. But three weeks after the election of Banks, a national convention met in that city, and all the free states except California were represented. Francis P. Blair, the former friend and confidant of President Jackson, was made chairman, and the address was drawn up by Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*. Here the Republican party was formally founded, with the non-extension of slavery as its chief corner stone. Meeting on Washington's birthday, the convention called for another national convention of the newly founded party, to be held in Philadelphia on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856

On the same day of the meeting of the Pittsburg convention the American or Know-nothing party held its national convention in Philadelphia. The keynote of its platform was that Americans must rule America. It nominated former President Fillmore for President, and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee for Vice President. Before adjourning, however, this convention suffered a serious disruption. The northern delegates demanded an expression on the slavery question, and, on being refused, they, to the number of seventy-one, seceded from the convention. They afterward met and nominated Speaker Banks; but he declined, and they joined the Republicans. The scattered remaining fragments of the Whig party ratified the nominations of the Know-nothings, in a convention held in Baltimore in September.

The Democratic convention which met at Cincinnati on June 2 drew all eyes to itself. Three prominent candidates had been freely talked of for several months — Douglas, Pierce, and James Buchanan. The support of Douglas and Pierce came chiefly from the South. But there were grave fears that neither could carry a single northern state. The call for Buchanan came from the North, and for two reasons he was a far stronger candidate than either of the others: first, he had spent the pre-

ceding three years in England and was the only leading man in the party who was not touched with Kansas-Nebraskaism; second, he was probably the only Democrat who could secure the vote of Pennsylvania, which was considered essential to success. Buchanan, though not the choice of the South, was not unacceptable to that section, for in his long congressional career he had never given a vote contrary to southern interests. He was expected, however, to give an expression on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and this he did by stating that it met his approval.¹ For this the northern Democrats forgave him, as well as for the part he had taken in the Ostend Manifesto; and the convention nominated him on the seventeenth ballot.

John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was nominated for Vice President. The platform adopted declared the satisfaction of the party with the Kansas-Nebraska Law, and pronounced against all attempts to agitate the slavery question, "under whatever shape or color" the attempt should be made.

The Republican convention met in Philadelphia at the appointed time. No party was ever founded on purer motives than was this new-born party. No convention was ever composed of more unselfish, true-hearted, patriotic men than was this convention; and yet, strange to say, no great convention ever made a greater blunder in the selection of a candidate than did this one.² The serious defect in the party was its want of a national leader. Seward was the leader of Republican thought, and was the logical candidate, but he had not identified himself with the party at its founding; and although he had now done so, he refused to come forward, or to have his friends put him forward, as an aspirant for the nomination. Chase was second in importance. He had been elected governor of Ohio the preceding year by a majority of more than 15,000. But he had long been known as a Free-soil Democrat, and for this and other reasons he failed to secure a large following. Lincoln of Illinois had met the arguments of Douglas the year before with unanswerable logic on the great question before the country; but he was little known out of his own state, and his name was not proposed for the first place on the ticket. The aged Justice McLean, a man of spotless integrity, was seriously considered by many. He had served in the cabinets of Monroe and John Quincy Adams, and had been

**Republican
convention**

¹ Buchanan expressed this sentiment in a letter some months previously. This letter was now published.

SP.² See Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 182.

appointed to the supreme bench by Jackson. But all this was against him. The party was newly born. It was filled with young blood; it stepped forth in the consciousness of the strength of youth. To bury the past, to grapple with the things of to-day and of the future, became its unwritten motto. And this feeling led to a desire for a candidate without a political past, one who would inspire the youth; and the party found its man in John C. Frémont of California.

We have noticed on a preceding page how Frémont had won public attention by his romantic love affair and marriage with Jessie Benton, by his daring explorations in the wild regions of the Rocky Mountains, and by his driving the Mexicans out of California. These things had cast a glamour of romance about the name of Frémont — and that was all. If he were more than an adventurer, the world had not discovered the fact. Of a knowledge of statesmanship he had developed no symptoms. If he were a man of character, and were capable of assuming responsibility, the public had not yet found it out. And yet this great convention, composed of wise, educated, experienced men, at a moment when a great crisis in the government was seen to be approaching, nominated Frémont for President on the first ballot by an almost unanimous vote. Nor was he a dark horse; his candidacy had been deliberately discussed for months. But perhaps this was all the work of a Providential Hand. Seward, or Chase, or McLean, if nominated, might have been elected, and the Civil War might have come too soon. The new party needed four years more to solidify, and it needed a mighty man at the helm, who was to develop within the four years.

Nomination
of Frémont

The convention chose William L. Dayton of New Jersey for second place on the ticket. It adopted a platform whose keynote was a demand that Congress prohibit in the territories those "twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."

The campaign was almost as remarkable as that of 1840. There was a deep and irreconcilable difference between the northern and the southern Democrats concerning their different interpretations of the Kansas-Nebraska Law. This it was tacitly decided to suppress, though four years hence, when this difference could be smothered no longer, it tore the party to pieces.

The Democrats mercilessly probed the character of Frémont, accusing him of corrupt dealings in California; nor were these charges ever successfully answered. Buchanan, on the other hand, was a man of unassailable character, and the conservative

men of the country felt that the nation would be safe in his hands. In many of the Republican meetings they shouted lustily for "free speech, free soil, and Frémont"; but in the main the great issue of slavery was discussed, rather than the candidate.

Before the close of the campaign many thoughtful Republicans began to feel that their convention had made a mistake. The South was free in threats to secede, if Frémont were elected.¹ These threats the Republicans refused to take seriously, but the events of four years later proved the depths of their foundation. The calamity was averted. Buchanan was elected, and the dragon was left to slumber four years more.

Buchanan secured the votes of all the Southern states, save one, of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California, while Frémont carried all the rest of the North, and Fillmore the solitary state of Maryland.² The charge against the Republican party, that it was sectional and not national, was shown by the returns to be true. In eleven Southern states not a vote was cast for Frémont, and in none of the remaining four did his vote reach four hundred.³ The subsequent career of Frémont showed the wisdom of the country in not electing him President in 1856. All parties now turned to the President elect. Would he lean toward the North or the South? A neutral ground was hardly possible. He professed to believe, as was shown by his inaugural address, that slavery agitation was approaching its end, whereas it was only approaching its worst stage. Four of the new Cabinet were from the slave states, the ablest of whom was Howell Cobb of Georgia, secretary of the treasury; and three, with Cass as secretary of state, were from the free states. There was one subject, which we must now consider, the most exciting question of the times, to which the new administration must give immediate attention.

THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

We must now go back a few years and take up the tragic story of Kansas. No other state in the Union, not even those bathed in the blood of the Indian wars of colonial days, can surpass this state in the fierce contests of its early years. While this book makes no pretense of giving

Importance
of Kansas

¹ Ex-President Tyler wrote that "the success of the Black Republicans would be the knell of the Union." Governor Wise of Virginia wrote that if Frémont were elected, the Union could not last a year.

² The electoral vote was Buchanan, 174; Frémont, 114; and Fillmore, 8.

³ See Stanwood, p. 210.

state history, the early history of Kansas must be narrated, as the subject belongs to national history. The territory of Kansas comprised the vast undulating prairie, covered with Indian reservations, extending westward from Missouri to the base of the Rocky Mountains.¹ Scarcely had the Kansas-Nebraska Bill become a law, in 1854, when the people of western Missouri began pouring into the territory and taking up claims with the avowed purpose of making it a slave state. Kansas was a prize of unmeasured value to the South. The balance in the Senate had been broken by the admission of California. If now the balance could be thus restored, never again would a free state be suffered to enter the Union without its being offset by the admission of a slave state. So reasoned the slaveholders. They believed further that Kansas was the key to the whole Southwest. "If Kansas is abolitionized," wrote Senator Atchison, "Missouri ceases to be a slave state, New Mexico becomes a free state, California remains a free state; but if we secure Kansas as a slave state, Missouri is secure; New Mexico and southern California, if not all of it, becomes a slave state; in a word, the prosperity or ruin of the whole South depends on the Kansas struggle."² Hence we see the vital importance to the South of securing Kansas to slavery, whatever the cost. This explains the early rush of the Missourians into the territory.

Meantime the people of New England, hearing of this action of the Missouri people, determined to make a bold, extensive movement toward claiming Kansas for freedom. Eli Thayer of Massachusetts, a shrewd, practical Yankee, had in the early spring organized the Emigrant Aid Company for the purpose of planting free labor in Kansas. He soon enlisted the interest and aid of such public-spirited men as Charles Francis Adams, Amos A. Lawrence, Edward Everett Hale, and Horace Greeley, raised a large sum of money, and by July he had a company of emigrants moving toward Kansas. This company, led by Charles Robinson, who had become inured to frontier life in California, was augmented along the way, and by December, 1854, several thousand settlers from the free states had pitched their tents on the rich bottom lands of the Kansas River. They founded Lawrence, Topeka, and other towns, and gave every indication that they had come to stay. The Missourians, who had founded Atchison, Lecompton, and Leavenworth along the Missouri, determined to drive the free-soilers from the territory.

¹ Since cut down to 81,700 square miles. It then comprised 126,000.

² *New York Tribune*, November 7, 1855.

President Pierce had appointed Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania governor of Kansas. Reeder was a positive Democrat, in full sympathy with the Kansas-Nebraska Law, and a strong friend of the South. The interests of slavery were thought to be safe in his hands. But Reeder was honest, and when he reached Kansas and witnessed the violence of the Missouri people and their determination to make Kansas a slave state by fair means or foul, his soul revolted against such proceedings, and he resolved to see fair play. The election of a territorial legislature brought matters to a crisis. On election day five thousand Missourians, led by United States Senator Atchison, came across the border armed with muskets, pistols, and bowie-knives.¹ This invading force carried the election in the most high-handed manner. A recent census had shown that there were but 2905 voters in the territory, but over six thousand votes were cast.

When this legislature met it proceeded to enact a code of laws that may be classed among the curiosities of modern literature.

Kansas laws A few specimens are as follows: "Any person . . . convicted of raising a rebellion . . . of slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes in this territory shall suffer death." "If any person shall, by speaking, writing, or printing, advise, persuade, or induce, any slaves to rebel, etc., . . . such person shall suffer death." It also provided the death penalty, or ten years' imprisonment, for any one who should aid in the escape of a slave, and that no person opposed to slavery should sit on a jury in the prosecution for the violations of the above mentioned laws. An imprisonment of two years was imposed for any one who denied the legal existence of slavery in the territory! All these acts were vetoed by Governor Reeder and passed over his veto. The laws, it will be noticed, took no account of the popular sovereignty, advocated by Douglas, but assumed that slavery already existed in the territory;² and this without putting the subject to a vote of the people. At this moment there were less than fifty actual settlers in the territory who owned slaves; more than nine tenths of the people were devoted to freedom. The bias of Governor Reeder was wholly with the proslavery party when he went to Kansas; but he had an honest desire to be fair to the other side. This was wholly displeasing to the proslavery party, and they besought the President to recall him. Mr.

¹ Atchison had been chosen president of the Senate on the death of Vice President King, and for several years there was but one life between him and the presidency of the United States.

² Von Holst, Vol. V, p. 159.

Pierce, who was now notoriously subservient to the slave power, heeded their wishes, dismissed Reeder, and appointed Wilson Shannon, a former member of Congress from Ohio, to fill the place. But Reeder did not return to the East; he became a resident of Kansas and joined the free-state party. The ostensible reason for dismissing Reeder was for speculating in land; the real reason was that he did not please the proslavery party.

The free-state settlers were not disposed to sit idle in the face of the usurpation of the Missourians. Led by Robinson, they called a convention to meet at Big Springs; they repudiated the spurious legislature and its infamous laws, nominated Reeder for Congress, and fixed October 9, 1855, as election day. The proslavery party set October 1, as election day, and nominated Whitfield, one of their number, for Congress. Thus the two parties voted on different days; each elected its man, to be sure; both men went to Washington, and both were refused admission to the House. But the free-state settlers did not stop at this. At the election of October 9 they chose delegates to a constitutional convention. This convention met at Topeka the same month, framed a constitution making Kansas a free state, and, after its ratification by the people at an election in December, at which the proslavery party refused to vote, applied for admission into the Union.¹ Under this constitution Robinson was chosen governor. But in January President Pierce, in a special message, denounced the whole Topeka movement as rebellion, and declared his intention to put down all such proceedings with national troops. The Topeka legislature again met, and was dispersed by United States troops, and Robinson, Reeder, and others were indicted for high treason.

Rival gov-
ernments

Attitude of
President
Pierce

Such was the condition in Kansas at the opening of the presidential year of 1856, and it became one of the leading issues of the campaign. The whole country was aroused over reports from Kansas, and it was impossible that such a question remain long out of the halls of Congress, notwithstanding the claim of Douglas that his famous bill would remove the slavery question from national politics. In May, 1856, Senator Sumner made a powerful speech on "The Crime against Kansas." The speech was a fearful arraignment

Speech of
Sumner

¹ The impression that the free-state people were Abolitionists was erroneous. This free-state constitution forbade free negroes, as well as slaves, from entering the state. The Abolitionists of the Garrison type would have nothing to do with the Kansas movement from the beginning.

of the slave power. But the speaker went out of his way to abuse certain senators whom he did not like, especially Senator Butler of South Carolina, who was then absent from the city, and who had made no special personal attack on Sumner.

Charles Sumner, with all his learning, was opinionated, egotistical, and incapable of giving credit to another for an honest difference of opinion. However, he was sincere, honest, and courageous.¹ Sumner suffered severely for his extravagance. Two days after making this speech, as he sat at his desk writing, after the Senate had adjourned, he was assaulted with a cane by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House and a relative of Senator Butler. Brooks rained blows on Sumner's head with great ferocity. Sumner sat so near his desk that he had no chance to defend himself; but at length he rose, wrenching the desk from its fastenings. Brooks then grappled with him and continued his blows until Sumner fell bleeding and unconscious to the floor.

So great were the injuries of the Massachusetts senator that he did not fully recover for four years; and indeed, never after this assault was he so powerful or robust as he had been before. No incident in many years revealed more vividly the vast gulf between the North and the South than did the different manner of their receiving the news of this assault on Sumner.² Throughout the North the deed was denounced as a cowardly outrage, unworthy of any but a bully and a thug. At the South, where Sumner was hated above all men, the verdict was that he received only the punishment he deserved. Brooks was hailed as a champion and a hero, and was presented with many canes. He resigned his seat in the House because of a majority vote — not the necessary two thirds — for his expulsion; but he was immediately reelected by his district.³

Meantime matters were growing worse on the plains of Kansas. One day in May the town of Lawrence was sacked by a mob. With the attack on Lawrence the civil war in Kansas may be said to have begun. Soon afterward occurred the massacre of Pottawatomie, the leader of which was John Brown. Brown had come from the East to join his sons, who had been among the early settlers of Kansas. He was a fanatic and had come to Kansas to make it a

¹ While he was uttering this speech, in which he attacked Senator Douglas also without mercy, the latter said to a friend: "Do you hear that man? He may be a fool, but I tell you that he has pluck." Poore, *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, p. 461.

² Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 143.

³ Brooks died the following January, and Butler in May of the same year.

free state at any hazard. He regarded slavery with a mortal hatred, and while his courage was unlimited and his intentions upright, his soul was too distraught to see a thing in its true light. He believed that the only way to free the slaves was to kill the slaveholders. "Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission of sins," said John Brown.

A few free-state men, one of whom was a neighbor of Brown, had been killed by the opposite party, and Brown determined that an equal number of them should suffer death to expiate the crime. He organized a night raid — his sons and a few others — and perpetrated the tragedy known as the Pottawatomie Massacre. When the news reached the free-state people in Kansas, they repudiated it as wholly unwarranted.

The war went on in Kansas. Armed guerrilla bands traversed the country, and fought when they met opponents. About two hundred people were killed in one year. But it is needless to give further details. **Governor Shannon, Geary, 1856** on coming to Kansas, was even more favorable to the South than Reeder had been; but even he grew weary of the demands and the methods of the slavery party, and resigned the office. John W. Geary of Pennsylvania was appointed the next governor. Geary had been in the Mexican War, and was the first commander of the City of Mexico after its surrender. He was afterward the first mayor of San Francisco, but had returned to the East. He accepted the governorship of Kansas, arrived in the territory in September, and soon had a semblance of order among the people. Geary was a strong executive, and, like Reeder, he honestly desired to do justice to both sides. The emigration from the North and the South still continued; but the North had a great advantage over the South. In the North there was a large floating population who found it easy to pack their goods and go to the West; but the slaveholder was also a land owner. He found it unprofitable, almost impossible, to migrate to the new territory; and if he induced the poor whites of his section to go, they were apt to espouse the cause of the free-soilers. It was now believed throughout the country that Kansas would become a free state. But the Missourians had not given up. They soon came to dislike Governor Geary. They made his duties so uncomfortable that he resigned the position on the 4th of March, the day on which James Buchanan became President of the United States. Behold, the third of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill Democrats who had gone west to put that popular-sovereignty law into operation — and all had turned free state

or had resigned because they could not endure the methods of the slavery party.

James Buchanan, during the campaign of the preceding summer, had promised that Kansas should have justice if he were elected. Many supported him on this promise. We shall see if he kept his word. He chose for governor Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, his life-long friend, his fellow-member of the Polk Cabinet, and the author of the Walker Tariff. Walker accepted with much reluctance, only after the President had promised to sustain him in dealing justice to both sides. Walker was a slaveholder and a Democrat of the old school; and he had hoped to see Kansas a slave state. But he was honest to the core; and when he looked over the field and saw that three fourths of the people were of the free-state party, and that Kansas could not be made a slave state by fair means, he determined not to undertake the task. Furthermore, he determined to resist the Missourians if they attempted to use fraud. An election was called for June 15, to choose delegates to a constitutional convention. The free-state people were suspicious, and they refused to vote; the other side elected the delegates. The governor had promised that any constitution framed should be submitted to a vote of the people. The convention met at Lecompton in September, and it soon brought forth the notorious Lecompton constitution.

The people of Kansas were clamorous in demanding a vote on their constitution. Governor Walker had promised them this right. James Buchanan had written him, as late as August 12, that he would sustain him. "I am willing to stand or fall, on this question of submitting the constitution to the *bona fide* settlers of the territory," wrote the President. This promise was doubtless honestly given; but in the following months the President experienced a change of heart. He fell under the spell of the southern leaders as completely as Pierce had done, and he determined to force the admission of Kansas under the slavery constitution framed at Lecompton.

Meantime the proslavery leaders in Kansas, to make a show of fairness, decided to submit their constitution in part to a vote of the people, and by an ingenious method they would save the constitution. The vote was to be for the Lecompton constitution *with* slavery, or for the constitution *without* slavery. No opportunity was given to vote *against* the constitution. But the whole arrange-

ment was a farce and a snare; for if the constitution without slavery was adopted, it still contained the clause, "the right of property in slaves now in the territory shall in no measure be interfered with," and Kansas would practically become a slave state. The free-state settlers therefore refused to vote at all. This scheme did not originate in Kansas; it was hatched in Washington, in the brain of the southern politicians. But this fact is less strange than the fact that this President from Pennsylvania espoused the cause and sacrificed himself and his party in attempting to carry it out. Governor Walker stood aghast at these proceedings, which he could not prevent. A minion of the slave power approached him and declared that if he would espouse the cause of the Lecompton constitution, the presidency of the United States lay open to him.¹ But Walker spurned the offer, pronounced the scheme a "vile fraud, a base counterfeit," and declared that he would break with the administration rather than take a hand in the dastardly business. So much for Robert J. Walker; but James Buchanan —

On the 2d of February, 1858, President Buchanan did the chief historic act of his long, public life. Fillmore had signed the Fugitive Slave Law because he could scarcely help doing so — the country was in danger. Pierce had agreed to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill because he hoped thereby to make his reelection sure. Both are unforgiven by the American people. But Buchanan did worse than either. There was no danger of secession at this moment. Buchanan had declared that he would not be a candidate for reelection. He had nothing to lose. Now was his opportunity to make a stand for the right, to cover his name with honor and to make himself a hero in the eyes of future America. But he lacked the requisite backbone; his subserviency to the hypnotic influence of his environment was complete, he threw away the opportunity of a lifetime.

On the 2d of February he sent to Congress a copy of the Lecompton constitution, which he knew to have been conceived in iniquity and born in sin, and urged that Kansas be admitted under it, declaring that Kansas is "at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina." The most astonishing thing about this was the striking example it gave of the power of the South over its devotees from the North. Buchanan was not at heart an unjust man, and yet no living man to-day can believe that in this case he acted on principle. He was the victim of hypnotism.

¹ Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 279.

Now for a second time another great figure takes the center of the stage — Stephen A. Douglas. Four years ago Douglas, standing in the same place, had pleaded for a bad cause — the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. **Douglas** Now he stands for a principle, for justice; and the millions that execrated him then now admire and applaud him to the echo. He had shown himself a giant then; now he becomes a hero. There is no love stronger than the love for an old enemy who has become a friend. What were the feelings of Douglas when he saw the miserable failure of his boasted popular sovereignty, we know not. He owed the country much for his, possibly unintentional, deception; and he partially paid the debt. Buchanan might truckle to the slave power without a visible reason. Not so with Douglas. Buchanan was a follower; Douglas was a leader. He had sacrificed much to win the South in the hope of gaining the presidency. That hope gone, he was ready to be himself, to break with the South for the sake of justice.

Douglas saw that the Lecompton constitution was the product of fraud, and determined to oppose it. Calling on the President some time before the sending of the message of February 2, he declared his intention to oppose the Lecompton constitution in the Senate, unless it were honestly submitted to the voters of Kansas. The President became enraged; he warned Douglas that no leading Democrat ever broke with the administration without being crushed. Douglas answered defiantly and went his way. Soon after this the subject came before the Senate, and Douglas took the floor against the Lecompton constitution. His speech was great. Never before had he displayed his powers to greater advantage. "The administration and the slave power are broken," wrote Seward to his wife, "the triumph of freedom is not only assured, but near." Douglas won, and the Lecompton constitution was defeated, not in the Senate, but in the House. And Douglas won more; he re-won the laurels he had lost in the North, and became again the Democratic idol in that section, so to remain to the last moment of his life. But Douglas had not espoused the cause of the slave, nor even that of free Kansas. He had no apparent convictions on slavery, and professed not to care if it was "voted down or voted up." He simply stood for justice in Kansas.

Our story of "Bleeding Kansas" is near its end. The people of the territory eventually did vote on the Lecompton constitution and defeated it by more than ten thousand majority. The South abandoned all hope of making Kansas a slave state and it

entered the Union, on the opening of the great war, as a free state. Buchanan's policy cost his party dear. It swept New York, New Jersey, and even Pennsylvania into the Republican column.¹ And it cost *him* dear. This act concerning Kansas did more than all else to place the name of Buchanan among the least honored names of American Presidents.

DRED SCOTT DECISION

Two days after Mr. Buchanan became President the most famous Supreme Court decision in the annals of the United States was announced to the country.

Dred Scott was a negro slave owned by Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon in the employ of the government. For some years the doctor was stationed in Illinois, then at Fort Snelling in the territory that afterward became Minnesota. Here he held his slave for two years, when he returned to his home in Missouri. Meantime Dred Scott had married a woman of his own race, owned by the same master, and they had two children. After their return to Missouri, and after they had been sold to another master, Dred Scott brought suit for his freedom and that of his family, on the ground that they had been illegally held in bondage in a territory dedicated to freedom by the Missouri Compromise. He won in a St. Louis court, but the decision was reversed by the Supreme Court of Missouri, after which the case was carried to the United States Circuit Court, and then to the Supreme Court of the United States. The case in itself was of little importance, but for the deep constitutional questions it involved. At first the Supreme Court intended to confine itself to the simple case in hand; but here was an opportunity to make a decision on the constitutionality of the Missouri restriction of 1820, and the opportunity was not thrown away. As five of the nine justices were from slave states, it was believed that the court would pronounce in favor of the doctrine of Calhoun, which had taken a powerful hold on the southern heart; namely, that Congress has no power to prohibit slavery in any United States territory.

The opinion rendered by Chief Justice Taney was the one that attracted general attention, though six of his fellow-justices pronounced similar decisions, while two, Justices Curtis and McLean, dissented. In this decision the chief justice not only remanded Dred Scott to slavery;² he went out of his way to solemnly pro-

¹ Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men*, Vol. I, p. 120.

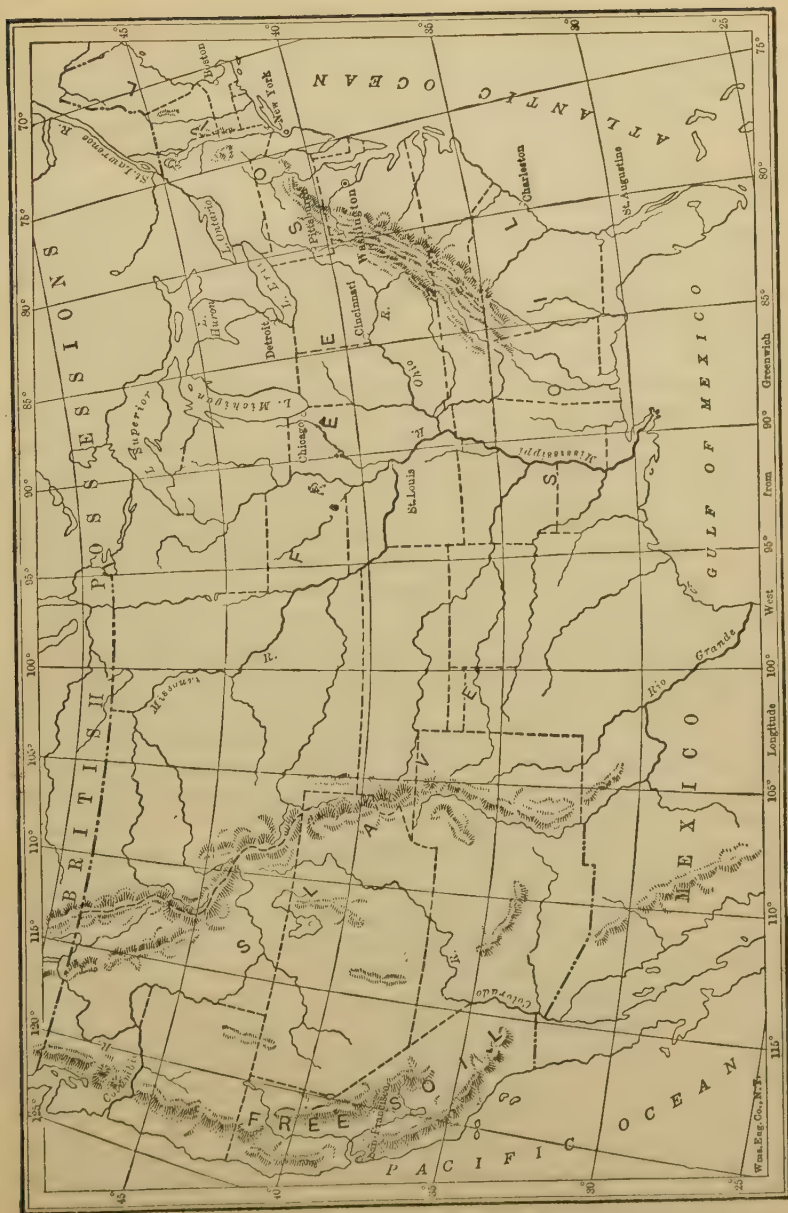
² Dred Scott and his family were afterward set free by their owner.

nounce the Missouri Compromise law null and void (though this point had not been considered by the lower courts), and he denied the right of Congress or of a territorial legislature to make any restrictions concerning slavery in any territory. He also affirmed that no slave or descendant of slaves had the right to sue in the courts. He declared that no negroes born of slave parents were citizens of the United States at the time of forming the Constitution, nor had Congress or any state the right to make them or their descendants citizens. He quoted with apparent approval the prevalent feeling, as he claimed, of earlier times, that the negro had no rights that a white man was bound to respect, and asserted further that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution "the unhappy black race was never thought of or spoken of except as property."

In this last statement the chief justice was woefully in error. Even before the Revolution Lord Mansfield had rendered his famous decision which forbade slavery on English soil and lifted the black man to the level of other men before the law; in our own country most of the leading men of the early period — Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and others — strongly favored the ultimate emancipation of all slaves. Jefferson, when President, demanded the return of the three black men who had been seized on the deck of the *Chesapeake*; and even the Constitution itself speaks of *persons* bound to service, referring to the negroes, and provides that three fifths of them be counted in making up the census.¹ How can Taney's statement that the black man was considered only as property stand before such facts as these? The assertion that a slave or a descendant of slaves had no standing before the law must fall before the patent facts of history, for, as Justice Curtis pointed out, in five of the thirteen states at the formation of the Union colored men had the right to vote. The decision that the Missouri restriction was invalid rendered the repeal of that measure in the Kansas-Nebraska Law superfluous, and annihilated Douglas's theory of popular sovereignty. The Republican party, which had carried eleven states in the recent election, had been founded on the principle of congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories which the court now pronounced forever beyond the power of Congress.

This extraordinary decision pleased the ultra-slaveholders of the South, and it stunned the North. But it had defenders at the North, led by Stephen A. Douglas, who took much pride

¹ See the opinion rendered by Justice Curtis.



FREE AND SLAVE SOIL BY THE DRED SCOTT DECISION

in the fact that the Missouri Compromise, which his bill had repealed, had now been pronounced null and void by the highest tribunal of the land; but he failed to comprehend that this same decision had rendered his boasted popular sovereignty a dead letter. The great body of the people of the North, however, condemned this decision of the court as unjust.

Roger B. Taney had succeeded the great jurist, John Marshall, having been appointed by President Jackson as a reward for faithfulness in removing the deposits from the United States Bank. Taney was a man of singularly pure and upright life; he was also a great lawyer and jurist; he served his country long and faithfully; but the great public of to-day remembers him only for the odious Dred Scott decision, and with this his name is and must ever be inseparably linked. Yet he probably did what he believed to be right; he simply voiced the sentiment of the slaveholding interests to which he belonged.

Could the people continue to revere that august tribunal which had never before ceased to command their profound respect? Must they accept this decision as the final word on this great question on which the country was divided? If so, the Republican party must disband or at least abandon the fundamental principle on which it was founded, and millions of men and women must give up their political conscience of a life time. But no such result followed. The fact is that Taney had descended from giving a judicial decision to a discussion of a political question from a partisan standpoint. He had grappled with constitutional questions on which he had not been called to make a decision. If, then, the esteem in which the court had hitherto been held was lessened by this decision, the fault lay wholly with the court. It must not be forgotten that, though the Supreme Court passes judgment on matters of the people, the people as a whole sit in judgment on the court, and the latter exists for their good and is their servant.

The Dred Scott decision brought forth severe criticisms from the North. Many were fierce with anger. The slave power was aggressive as never before. It had full control of the government. Would it become national and overspread the whole land? The Kansas-Nebraska Law was audacious; it threw the country into a state of exceeding disquiet. Now came the Dred Scott decision, and this was followed by the attempt of the administration to force the Lecompton constitution on Kansas. These powerful blows were dealt, not by the people, but by the politicians. The great public writhed like a wounded giant,

conscious of superior strength, but undecided what to do. But every blow dealt by the slave power contributed to its downfall in the end, — merely awakened the greater fury and hastened the final appeal to the sword.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

The second senatorial term of Stephen A. Douglas was drawing to a close. The legislature to be chosen in Illinois in 1858 must name his successor. He was again popular throughout the North. When it was seen that his popular sovereignty would make Kansas, and of course all territories north of it, free states;¹ when it was seen that Douglas, by his admirable courage in the face of an angry administration, had saved Kansas from the Lecompton abomination, his star again rose to the zenith. Many Republicans now joined in applauding him, and the leading eastern members of that party favored his return to the Senate, in the hope that his fight with the administration would redound to Republican advantage.

Douglas was one of the most striking figures of his generation. Born among the New England hills two months before the death of his father, he migrated to the prairie West in early manhood. Settling in Illinois without money and without friends, he taught school and read law. He soon found the field for which above all else he was fitted — the field of politics. After serving in various official stations in his adopted state, he entered the lower House of Congress in 1843. At first he was uncouth in manners, but he quickly adapted himself to the ways of polite society and soon became a central figure in the highest social circles. "To see him threading the glittering crowd with a pleasant smile or a kind word for everybody, one would take him for a trained courtier."² But he was in his real element among men. He would stand in the midst of an adoring throng and entertain them with a western story or with his flashing wit, or he would stand on the rostrum in the presence of thousands and hold their unbroken attention for hours with his melodious eloquence. He was hale and winning, cordial and full of good cheer. Forgiving and generous, he never sought revenge on an enemy. In 1847 Douglas was promoted to the Senate, and in a few years he was an acknowledged leader and the readiest debater on its floor. His wonderful

Early life of
Douglas

¹ This was before the Dred Scott decision was rendered.

² Forney, *Anecdotes*, Vol. I, p. 147.

power over men was shown by his putting the Kansas-Nebraska Bill through Congress in the face of the mighty hurricane of criticism that was rising against him; and he showed equal power in regaining his lost laurels in the North. His sway in the West was undisputed until the rise of a rival who was soon to outstrip him.

The Republicans of Illinois were unwilling to follow the advice of the eastern leaders and help reëlect Douglas to the Senate. Douglas had been their political foe from far back in old Whig days, and they could not be persuaded to make him their champion. They produced their own candidate for the Senate in the person of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln was a still more striking figure than Douglas. Born in the slave state of Kentucky, among the lowliest of the lowly, his early life was spent in poverty and want. His mother was a woman of excellent good sense and strong intellect. His father, who belonged to the class of poor whites, was a carpenter by trade, but was usually out of employment. He was shiftless and ignorant, and failed to provide his family with the necessities of life. While he was yet a child his mother died. The father moved with his family to southern Indiana; he married a widow with several children, and the double family spent ten years in a miserable hut in the wilderness. Meantime Lincoln, being intensely anxious to educate himself, though he attended school only a few months during his boyhood, studied diligently the few books that came within his reach. He became a deep student of the Bible and of Shakespeare, and he mastered the books of Euclid. Removing to Illinois at the age of twenty-one, he became in turn farmer, rail splitter, storekeeper, postmaster, surveyor, and river boatman, and he served a few months in the Black Hawk War in 1832, though he was not under fire.

Lincoln felt that he was destined to do something in the great world of which he yet knew so little. He was unsettled and discontented; he flitted from one thing to another. The years passed, and at the age of twenty-five he had not settled in a permanent vocation. He loved to mingle with men; he was exceedingly popular among his fellows, and had many droll stories; but his face was set with a seriousness that nothing could remove. This may have been caused in part by his long years spent in physical toil in the frowning forest, while his soul was longing for light, for knowledge, for opportunity.¹ His marriage was an unhappy one, and the want of domestic happiness threw him

¹ See Burgess, *Civil War and the Constitution*, Vol. I, p. 6.

the more among men, and fitted him the better for his great life work. He served in the Illinois legislature, read law, and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-eight. In 1846 he was elected to Congress, and after serving one term in the House, in which he always cast his vote with the Whigs or the Wilmot Democrats, he returned to his law practice at Springfield. He had almost lost interest in politics, as he said, until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Law. This roused him as nothing had done before, and within a few years he was the acknowledged leader of his party in Illinois. Few outside of his state knew of the latent power of Lincoln, but Douglas knew him well, and when he heard that Lincoln was to be his opponent in the senatorial race, he said: "I shall have my hands full. He is the strong man of his party — full of wit, facts, dates, and . . . the best stump speaker in the West; he is as honest as he is shrewd." ¹

The principals who were about to engage in this intellectual duel had much in common. Each had been born in poverty in another state; each had made the broad-prairied West his permanent home, and had begun his career without money, friends, or influence. They had served together in the Illinois legislature, had sat at the same table, and had loved the same maiden. For many years they had been personal, but never political friends. Both were courteous, honest, fearless, jovial, and companionable. Both were sanguine and keenly ambitious to rise in public life, and each had the rare quality of winning a large circle of followers. But the contrast was still more notable.

Douglas was below the average stature of men; Lincoln was above it. Douglas was compactly built, graceful, and polished in manners; Lincoln was tall and loose-jointed and he never acquired the graces of polite society. Douglas had a deep, musical voice, and could hold an audience unwearied for hours; but his logic was faulty, and his conclusions often superficial. Lincoln's voice was high-pitched and rather unpleasant, but his form of speech was so terse, epigrammatic, and logical, that even his great opponent, with all his powers of casuistry, could not escape its force. Douglas had reached the zenith of his power, and for four years past had held his lofty position amid adverse political winds only by his marvelous courage and audacity; Lincoln was just emerging from obscurity, and was soon to become the leading American of his time.

¹ Forney, Vol. III, p. 179.

These two giants were to stand together on the same platform in seven different Illinois towns and address the same audiences on the great questions of the day. And it is a curious fact that Lincoln then attracted national attention only because of his connection with the world-famous Douglas, while in our own day Douglas is remembered in history more for his connection with Lincoln than for any other event of his life.

The campaign opened in June, when the Republican convention nominated Lincoln at Springfield. The address to the delegates by their candidate was masterful; but it was radical. In it he used the famous expression, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other." No prominent Republican had advanced such radical doctrine before. Seward's famous "irrepressible conflict" was not uttered for some months after this. Lincoln's friends urged that he omit this part of the speech, but he declared that he would rather be defeated with that statement in his speech than win the election without it. He further stated in answer to the eastern Republicans who desired to see Douglas returned to the Senate: "They remind us that he is a great man and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. . . . How can he oppose the advance of slavery? He does not care anything about it. . . . Our cause must be intrusted to its own undoubted friends . . . who do care for the results. . . . Clearly he [Douglas] is not with us — he does not pretend to be — he does not promise ever to be."

Soon after the campaign had opened, Lincoln, through his managers, challenged Douglas to a series of joint debates. It was a daring thing to do. Douglas was reputed to be the ablest orator in the nation. He had no rival in the United States Senate. He had measured skill with Seward, Chase, Corwin, and Sumner, and had surpassed them all. The eyes of the country were now turned toward the prairie state. The two rivals met in various towns.¹ The crowds, composed of both parties, were too great for the public halls, and they met in open groves. There was but one great, vital subject to be discussed, — slavery in the territories. The speakers were courteous to each other, but merciless in their political arguments. Lincoln's disadvantage, especially at first, was in the opposition of the leaders of his party; but Douglas's disadvantage was still greater in the opposition of the Buchanan

¹ These debates began August 21 at Ottawa and ended October 15 at Alton.

administration, for after the Lecompton struggle he and the President had never become reconciled.

The chief feature of this remarkable debate was the public questioning by each speaker of the other. Douglas began this, and by so doing he set a trap for himself from which it was impossible to escape. Lincoln's fatal question, asked at the debate at Freeport, was this: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way . . . exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution?" The deep significance of this question is seen only by remembering that it involved the irreconcilable difference between the Democrats of the North and those of the South in their interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska Law. (See p. 564.) This question placed Douglas in the most trying position of his life. He was an aspirant for the presidency; he knew that his audience in these debates included the whole United States, and to answer this question on which his party was divided would, as he well knew, offend one section or the other; and yet to refuse to answer would be childish and cowardly. It is said that Lincoln's friends begged him not to press this question as they believed Douglas was sure to answer in accordance with the feeling at the North, and, if so, he would win the senatorship. "I am after larger game," answered Lincoln; "if Douglas answers as you say he will, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."¹

Douglas answered in accordance with the northern view. This opinion became known as the "Freeport doctrine." It was discussed by all the leading newspapers of the United States. By many the author was scored without mercy, and most of all by Lincoln, who showed, with unanswerable logic, how inconsistent with this view was the Dred Scott decision, which Douglas professed to accept as sound Democratic doctrine. Douglas won the senatorship, though Lincoln had a majority of the popular vote. The result was due to the fact that of the twelve hold-over senators, eight were Democrats.

Douglas was the apparent winner in this great contest, though in the light of subsequent events the world must render a different verdict. This campaign proved a turning point in the fortunes of both contestants, but, like Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker, their fortunes moved in opposite directions. Lincoln soon became the foremost man of his age. Douglas never again

¹ The truth of this incident has been questioned by some writers; but it is given by Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, and is probably true.

stood on the pinnacle he had occupied before. His Freeport doctrine had mortally offended the South. His Lecompton revolt was a venial offense compared with this,¹ and two years later the South refused to accept him as their candidate.

JOHN BROWN AND HARPERS FERRY

On the morning of October 17, 1859, the country was startled by the news flashed over the wires that the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, had been seized the night before by a band of Abolitionists and negroes, and that the slaves of Virginia were rising against their masters. In the North the news created intense excitement; in the South it created rage and terror, for in that section the belief quickly took possession of the public mind that a great northern conspiracy had been set afoot with the object of exciting slave insurrections throughout the South.

But the report proved exaggerated. The arsenal at Harpers Ferry, an insignificant village at the point where the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers meet and break through their mountain barrier, had been seized, but there was no uprising of slaves. The men who made the seizure numbered but nineteen, and these, led by an elderly man with a long flowing white beard and with a strange, unfathomable eye, had stealthily entered the town by night, extinguished the lights, cut the telegraph wires, made prisoners of the guards, and taken possession of the armory. Soon after daybreak the people of the neighborhood began to rise against the invaders, and a desultory fire was kept up during the forenoon, a few being killed on either side. Soon after noon a hundred militia arrived from Charlestown, and others poured in rapidly. Thousands of shots were exchanged during the day. In the evening Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived with a body of marines, but he made no attack until the following morning. He then sent his aid, J. E. B. Stuart, who had been in Kansas, and who was to become the famous Confederate cavalry leader, to demand a surrender. Stuart, on seeing the aged leader, exclaimed, "Why, aren't you old Pottawatomie Brown of Kansas?"² And thus it first became known to the public that the leader of this extraordinary movement was John Brown.

John Brown was a descendant of one of the Pilgrims who had come in the *Mayflower* in 1620. During the War of 1812 his father had been engaged in providing cattle for the American armies. John usually accompanied his father as a cattle driver,

¹ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. II, p. 163.

² See *Century Magazine*, June, 1885.

and in this capacity he witnessed the surrender of Hull at Detroit. It was about this time that he became a rabid abolitionist. He was staying for a time with a slaveholder who owned a negro boy about Brown's age who was apparently his equal in every way. Brown was treated with the utmost kindness, while the black boy was beaten and maltreated for little or no cause. This incident fixed in the youthful soul of John Brown a hatred of slavery that increased in intensity to the end of his life. Many years later, when he was the father of a growing family, in imitation of the ancient Carthaginian commander, he had his sons take a solemn oath that they would join with him in devoting their lives to making relentless war on slavery.

Early life of
John Brown

The stormy career of John Brown in Kansas we have noticed. This he closed by making a wild raid, with a few followers, into Missouri, and capturing a dozen slaves, whom he escorted to Canada. In the spring of 1859 we find him again in New England plotting his last and most famous exploit. His intention was to lead a band of men into the Virginia mountains, to call upon the slaves to flock to his retreat, to arm them against recapture, and to extend his operations over the entire South. In short, his plan was to lead the slaves to freedom through a general, violent uprising.

Late in the summer of 1859 Brown rented a house a few miles from Harpers Ferry, where, under the name of I. Smith and Sons, he received boxes of arms and ammunition. Everything was done with great secrecy. No one suspected that this gray-haired stranger and his numerous sons had other designs than to purchase a farm, as they pretended, and to become stock raisers. After some weeks of preparation they threw the whole country into a state of consternation, as we have seen, by their night attack on Harpers Ferry. Of Brown's followers, three were his own sons and five were colored men. He ordered his men not to take life, if they could possibly avoid it, and not a shot was fired until they had been in possession of the arsenal for three hours.

At any time during the forenoon of the 17th Brown might have escaped to the mountains, as he had intended to do after supplying his party at the arsenal with a stock of arms for his expected recruits; but this he failed to do until it was too late. Six of his men, including one of his sons, were out scouring the country for slaves, and these for the time escaped.¹ His other two sons were killed.

¹ Most of these were captured and put to death; but Owen Brown, son of the leader, was never taken; he lived for many years afterward in New York.

Brown's composure throughout the siege was a matter of astonishment to those who witnessed it. With one son dead at his side and another mortally wounded, he felt the pulse of his dying son with one hand and held his rifle in the other while he commanded his men with the utmost composure.¹ Brown was duly arraigned for treason and murder, was given a fair trial in the Virginia court at Charlestown, and was sentenced to be hanged. He spent the period between the time of receiving his sentence and the execution in the utmost serenity of mind, never exhibiting the slightest fear or regret except for the loss of life that he had occasioned. To a friend he wrote, "It is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause"; to his wife, "My mind is very tranquil, I may say joyous"; to his children, "I feel just as content to die for God's eternal truth on the scaffold as any other way." On the day of execution he walked out of the jail "with a radiant countenance and the step of a conqueror," said an eyewitness.

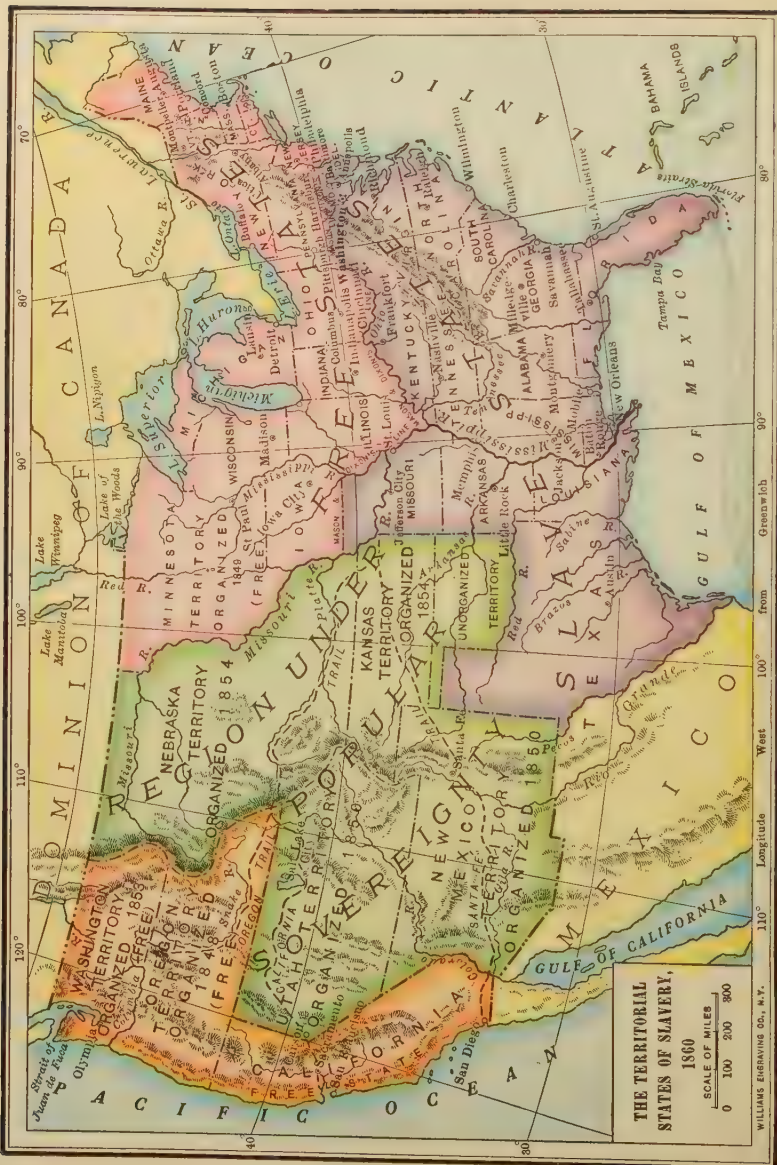
It is even at this day too early to make a final historic estimate of John Brown. Throughout the South he was denounced as the blackest of villains, while many at the North pronounced him a saint and a martyr. Emerson was led to say that Brown's death made the gallows glorious like the cross. Victor Hugo pronounced Brown an apostle and a hero. The general sentiment at the North, however, condemned the deed of Brown, while the greatest sympathy with the doer was expressed on every side. Brown was a man of intense religious convictions; but he drew his inspiration from the Old Testament rather than from the New; his models were Joshua, Gideon, and Jephthah.² He brooded over the condition of the black man until his judgment became warped and distorted. He was utterly impractical. No man with robust common sense, with well-balanced mental powers, would have regarded his attack on the United States arsenal as other than suicidal folly. By the technical letter of the law he was a criminal; by the motives and intents of his heart he was not. His supreme self-command, his heroic courage, his readiness to sacrifice his home, his family, his life, for a cause, must elicit admiration. He cannot be placed among the saints or the great heroes of history. But he was an honest, misguided fanatic; on this one subject he was probably insane.

No great political effect of Brown's raid was felt. Congress

¹ Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, p. 572.

² Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 161.





met soon after the execution, and great efforts were made to saddle the whole affair on the Republican party. It was found that Brown had been furnished with money by a few northern friends headed by Gerrit Smith, the wealthy New York philanthropist; but the most searching inquiry by a Senate committee failed to prove that the great Republican leaders, Seward, Greeley, Lincoln, and Chase, had anything whatever to do with Brown's movements, or any knowledge of the raid till after it had occurred. Brown's raid, however, had some effect in consolidating the South against the North.¹ The great majority of southern voters were non-slaveholding poor whites. Vast numbers of these would probably have cast their lot for the Union in 1861, but for their fear of a slave insurrection. The southern leaders rung many changes on the Brown raid to show that such an insurrection was possible and that the North was capable of encouraging it. This doubtless had much to do with unifying the South under the banner of the slaveholders at the outbreak of the war.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

Scarcely had the country recovered from the excitement of John Brown's raid, when it was called to face another presidential election — the most momentous of all since the overthrow of the Federalists in 1800. Great changes in the political world had been going on for several years. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Dred Scott decision, and the troubles in Kansas had shaken Democratic power to its foundations. The Republican party was irresistibly fastening its hold upon the North. Thousands of Democrats who had adhered to the party of their fathers with all its faults could now endure it no longer, after the ignoble attempt of their President to force the Lecompton fraud upon Kansas; and they were warmly welcomed into the Republican fold. Nevertheless, the Democrats would doubtless have again elected their President but for the fatal split within their own ranks. Early in February, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions which were intended to set forth the Democratic doctrine of the South, and which were meant as an ultimatum to the northern wing of the party. In these he set forth the extreme doctrine of Calhoun that the states were sovereign, that the general government was subordinate, and that neither Congress nor the territorial legislatures had the power to prohibit, but the

Davis's resolutions

¹ See Burgess, *Civil War and the Constitution*, Vol. I, p. 43.

government must protect, slavery in the territories. These resolutions were debated for many weeks, but ere they came to a vote the Democratic party had met in national convention at Charleston, South Carolina.

The Charleston convention was inharmonious. The spirit of discord that had so long distracted the country now threatened the one last great bond between the North and the South — the Democratic party. Many looked with awe upon the gathering storm, when they realized what its meaning might be to the Federal Union. For long years the North and the South had been growing farther and farther apart. The Whig party had destroyed itself in attempting to cater to both sections; the religious bonds, the industrial and social bonds between them had for the most part been severed. Nothing was left to hold the North and South together peacefully except this great political party whose representatives were now gathering at Charleston; and this bond was about to be broken.

Douglas was again the Democratic idol of the North. He had re-won his northern laurels only by sacrificing his popularity in the South; and while he was now the first and only choice of the northern wing of the party, the South refused to accept him. But it was the platform on which the convention divided. The committee that framed the platform was composed of one delegate from each state. There were eighteen free states and fifteen slave states; but as the delegates of two free states, California and Oregon, voted steadily with the South, that section had a majority in the committee. The committee, therefore, adopted a platform based on the Davis resolutions in the Senate, embodying the extreme southern doctrine on the subject of slavery in the territories; namely, that no power could exclude it, that Congress must protect it. The northern delegates could not accept this doctrine without sacrificing the vote of every northern state in the election. In vain they pleaded with their southern brethren to yield and save the party from disruption; the southern delegates were inflexible. Douglas meantime declared that he would refuse to be a candidate on such a platform. But the convention was not obliged to accept this platform dictated by the committee. The South had a majority in the committee, but not in the convention; and now, for the first time in the history of Democratic national conventions, the northern delegates made a determined stand, refused the dictation of the South, cast aside its proffered platform, and adopted another, brought in by a minority of the

committee. By this platform as adopted the status of slavery in the territories was to be determined by the courts.

The next act in the great drama immediately followed. The Alabama delegates, led by William L. Yancey, who had made an eloquent speech before the convention, rose and seceded from the convention; they were followed by those from Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Arkansas. The remainder of the convention then began balloting for a candidate, and after fifty-seven fruitless ballots the convention adjourned to meet on June 18 at Baltimore, while the seceding faction decided to meet at Richmond, Virginia.

Schism in
the Demo-
cratic con-
vention

The adjourned convention met at the appointed time and place. Every reason now existed for a reunion of the factions. The Republicans had met in the meantime, and had placed their candidates in the field; and every index pointed to a Republican victory unless the Democrats would unite. But the North could not, and the South would not, yield. Had the North yielded the point at issue, the Democratic party north of Mason and Dixon's line would have been destroyed. The northern delegates held their ground, and in consequence most of the delegates from the South who had not withdrawn at Charleston now did so, and they met in another hall. The convention then nominated Douglas for President and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for Vice President. The seceding faction, joined by their brethren from Richmond, nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice President, and the severance of the Democratic party was complete. Thus the great political party that had been founded by Jefferson, that had governed the country for half a century, had successfully carried on two foreign wars, and had acquired Florida and every foot of our public domain beyond the Mississippi, — this great party had at last quarreled with itself and invited its own destruction.

The Republican convention met in the rapidly growing city of Chicago on May 16. The convention was rendered an object of intense interest by the fatal disagreement at Charleston; for the belief was widespread that here would be named the next President of the United States. A great "wigwam," seating twelve thousand people, built for the purpose, could accommodate only a fraction of the gathering clans that poured into the city from all points of the compass. The convention gave little evidence of being the ex-

Republican
convention

ponent of a new party founded on a great moral principle; it was less orderly and seemed much less serious than the one that had met at Charleston. The streets of the city were filled with noisy multitudes shouting for this or that candidate. No longer did the leaders of the party hold aloof, as four years before at Philadelphia, when they willingly let the prize go to a romantic adventurer of the West. Now the best men of the party stood ready and eager to receive the honors of the convention.

The acknowledged leader of the party was William H. Seward of New York. His claims were strong. He was the chief originator of Republican doctrine, and for years before the party existed he battled against the encroachments of the slave power. But he had weak points. He was thought to be too radical by many; he was the author of the "higher law" doctrine, and this, with his "irrepressible conflict," was not popular in the great conservative states that bordered on slave land. Another element of weakness in Seward was the fact that when governor of New York he had offended the Know-nothings on the school question. These had now for the most part become Republicans and were willing to accept any candidate except Seward.

Next to Seward in the great contest stood Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Lincoln was past fifty years of age, but, until his famous debate with Douglas two years before, he was scarcely known to the great public. The prominence of Douglas had led the people to look upon his daring antagonist, and the vital question at issue had led them to read his speeches. These were found to equal the proudest efforts of Sumner, Chase, or Seward. Again, Lincoln had recalled public attention to himself by a powerful speech at Cooper Union in New York City, by which he displayed anew his masterly grasp of the great questions of the day. None could now deny that in the political sky he was a star of the first magnitude.

Below these two leaders stood Edward Bates of Missouri, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania.

But none of these had any chance of receiving the nomination unless the convention failed to choose between Seward and Lincoln. The Seward men felt confident; but the Lincoln shouters made the greater noise. It was said that two men, whose voices could be heard above the most violent storm (and one of them was a Democrat), were hired to lead in the shouting for the Illinois candidate. On the third

Cooper
Union
speech, Feb-
ruary, 1860

Nomination
of Lincoln

ballot Lincoln was nominated. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for Vice President.¹

Outside of Illinois and a few adjacent states the name of Lincoln created little enthusiasm. Why set aside the great New York statesman for this untried newcomer in public life? At first a feeling of depression swept over the party. It was feared that the convention had made a mistake, as its predecessor had done at Philadelphia in 1856. But the convention had builded more wisely than it knew.

The platform adopted by the convention pronounced for a protective tariff, condemned indirectly the John Brown raid and the Dred Scott decision, while it left unnoticed the Fugitive Slave Law and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. But it was very decided on the greatest question of the times — slavery in the territories. It pronounced slavery an evil, and while denying any intention of the party to interfere with it in the states where it existed, it denied the authority of Congress, of

¹ **Nomination of Lincoln.** — By Murat Halstead in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, May 18, 1860. After adjournment on Thursday (the second day), there were few men in Chicago who believed it possible to prevent the nomination of Seward. . . .

The applause when Mr. Evarts named Seward was enthusiastic. When Mr. Jewell named Lincoln the response was prodigious, rising and raging far beyond the Seward shriek. Presently upon Caleb B. Smith seconding the nomination of Lincoln, the response was absolutely terrific. It now became the Seward men to make another effort, and when Blair, of Michigan, seconded his nomination, the effect was startling. Hundreds of persons stooped their ears in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. No Comanches, no panthers, ever struck a higher note, or gave screams with more infernal intensity. . . .

Now the Lincoln men had to try it again, and as Mr. Delano, of Ohio, on behalf "of a portion of the delegation of that State," seconded the nomination of Lincoln, the uproar was beyond description. I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed; but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and feeling their victory, as there was a lull in the storm, took deep breaths all round, and gave a concentrated shriek that was positively awful, and accompanied it with stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver.

While the third ballot was taken amid excitement that tested the nerves, the fatal defection from Seward in New England appeared — four votes going over from Seward to Lincoln in Massachusetts. The latter received four additional votes from Pennsylvania, and fifteen additional votes from Ohio. The number of votes necessary to a choice was 233, and I saw under my pencil as the Lincoln column was completed, the figures 231½ — one vote and a half to give him the nomination. In a moment the fact was whispered about. A hundred pencils had told the same story. . . . In about ten ticks of a watch, Carter, of Ohio, was up. I had imagined Ohio would be slippery enough for the crisis. And sure enough! Every eye was on Carter, and everybody who understood the matter at all knew what he was about to do. He said, "I rise (eh), Mr. Chairman (eh), to announce the change of four votes of Ohio from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln." The deed was done. There was a moment's silence. The nerves of the thousands, which through the hours of suspense had been subjected to terrible tension, relaxed, and deep breaths of relief were taken, there was a noise in the wigwam like the rush of a great wind in the van of a storm — and in another breath the storm was there. There were thousands cheering with the energy of insanity. . . . The Seward men were terribly stricken down. They were mortified beyond all expression, and walked thoughtfully and silently away from the slaughter-house, more ashamed than embittered. They acquiesced in the nomination, but did not pretend to be pleased with it.

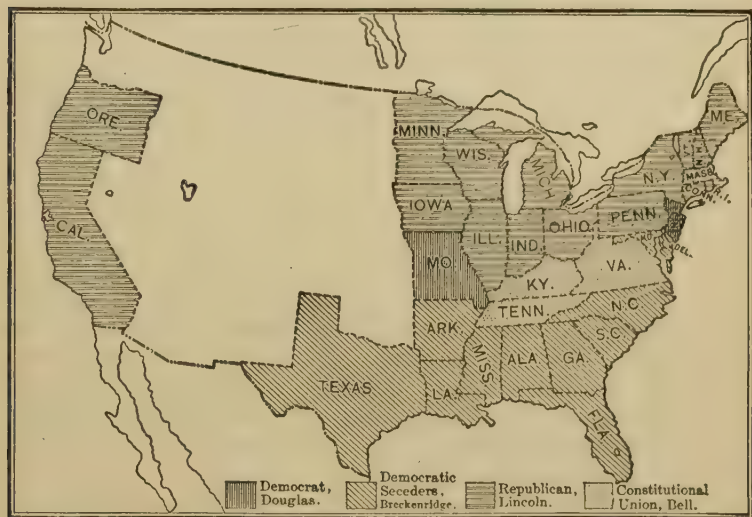
a territorial legislature, or of any individual to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, and demanded that Congress prohibit the institution in the territories.

Still another party entered the field in this great contest. It was composed of old-line Whigs and others who could find no political resting place with the extremes represented by Lincoln and Breckinridge, nor on the middle ground occupied by Douglas. It called itself the Constitutional Union party, adopted the terse platform "The Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws," which, in the apt words of Horace Greeley, meant anything in general and nothing in particular, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice President. Thousands of citizens voted with this party simply because they could not decide which side they were on.

The campaign was less boisterous than many of its predecessors. Issues rather than men were discussed — or rather, one issue, the same that had been before the country for several years — slavery in the territories. Outside of Pennsylvania, where the tariff received a large share of attention, this great subject absorbed the public mind. The issue was squarely drawn between the Lincoln and Breckinridge extremes. The Republicans took the positive ground that, as slavery was a moral and political evil, it should be permitted to spread no farther, and that Congress should prohibit it in the territories. The Breckinridge Democrats took the equally positive ground that, as slaves are constitutional property, their possession in the territories must be protected by Congress. The Douglas Democrats took the middle ground that Congress must keep its hands off, and that the people of a territory must decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist among them. If the Douglas party should win, the great subject would simply be left unsettled; if Lincoln or Breckinridge should carry the election, the issue would be squarely joined and the defeated party must yield to the majority, or resist by violence. Threats of dissolving the Union, in case of Lincoln's election, were freely made in the South; but in the North it was not generally believed that such a step would be taken. Had the North fully realized the gravity of the situation, the election of Lincoln would have been doubtful; for the people, a great many of them, whatever their hatred of slavery, dreaded still more a dissolution of the Union or civil war. Douglas made a noble fight. He spoke in many states; but with all his tireless energy and eloquence, the

**The three
platforms
compared**

tide against him was too great to be overcome. Nor could Breckinridge hope to carry a northern state, and, as all the southern electors were not enough to make a choice, his election was impossible. Bell could not dream of carrying more than a few states. This left Lincoln as the only candidate whose election was possible, and in case of his failure the election would go to the House. But the House was hopelessly divided, no party controlling a majority of the states.



ELECTION CHART OF 1860

The Republicans, however, felt confident. If the Democrats had united at any time during the summer or early autumn, with Douglas as their candidate, they might possibly have carried the election; but not after the October state elections in a few of the Northern states. When Pennsylvania voted in October and was carried by the Lincoln party, electing Andrew Curtin governor by thirty-two thousand majority, the last hope of successful opposition was crushed. Nothing under heaven could now prevent the election of Lincoln. The fact almost pleased the extreme South. The slaveholders preferred the election of Lincoln to that of Douglas; for if Douglas were elected, the great question would remain unsettled; if Lincoln were successful, the South would become united against the North and would have an adequate pretext for disunion.¹

¹ Greeley, Vol. I, p. 329.

The great battle of the ballots was fought on November 6. Lincoln received the votes of all the northern states except New Jersey, and in that state he won four of the seven electors, the other three going to Douglas through a fusion arrangement. Lincoln's electoral vote reached 180, while 152 were sufficient to elect. Breckinridge received seventy-two electoral votes, Bell captured three slave states, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, thirty-nine electors, while Douglas, whose popular vote was far greater than that of Breckinridge or Bell, received but twelve electoral votes — those of Missouri and three from New Jersey. The secessionists of the South were extremely chagrined at the fact that Bell, who stood on a distinctively union platform, had polled over half a million votes, almost as many as Breckinridge. This want of southern unity might have proved very embarrassing to the disunionists the following year, but for the fact that Bell, and most of his followers, probably on the issue of coercing a state, cast their lot with them.

The meaning of the result of this great election was plain to the world. It meant that the voice of the people in all the northern states pronounced slavery an evil and forbade its further spread in the United States. For many years a few thousand slaveholders had dominated the government, had dictated every presidential policy, had laid down the law for the millions. But at last the multitude had risen in its might and declared that this condition should endure no longer.

The *Black Warrior*. — In the early spring of 1854 an incident known as the *Black Warrior* affair threatened the peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. The *Black Warrior* was a merchant steamer plying between New York and Mobile, usually stopping at Havana. On February 28 this vessel was seized and declared confiscated with its cargo by the Spanish authorities at Havana, on the pretense that she had violated the trade regulations of the port. Her captain abandoned the vessel and appealed to the United States government for protection. President Pierce and his Cabinet made a demand that Spain make proper reparation, and communicated with Soulé, our minister at Madrid, to that effect. But Soulé exceeded his instructions, offended the Spanish government, and received a haughty reply. Soulé and the slaveholders now hoped for a war with Spain, that the United States might acquire Cuba, but northern sentiment refused to support this project. The *Black Warrior* was at length released, and the war spirit subsided. This affair had something to do with bringing out the Ostend Manifesto a few months later.

The Nicaragua Filibusters. — In 1854 William Walker of California proceeded with a band of reckless men to Nicaragua, and allied himself with one of the warring factions of that country. In a short time he had possession of the city of Granada and proclaimed himself president of Nicaragua. Soon after he had succeeded in usurping the power, he issued a decree reëstablishing slavery in the country, where it had not existed for many years. This revealed the true object of his expedition — to secure Central America for slavery, and eventually to add those states to our Union in the interests of the slaveholders. After he had held the country for two years, a coalition against him drove him out. Twice afterward he made attempts to regain his hold on Nicaragua; but on the last of these trips he was overpowered, captured, tried by court martial, condemned, and shot to death.

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CHAPTER XXIII

CAUSES AND OPENING EVENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR

SLAVERY

MANY causes have been given by various writers as bringing about the Civil War; but after all there was only one cause — slavery. Let us go back for a hurried glance at the great events of forty years that pointed toward war. It is true that there were muttered rumblings, arising from the slave question, since the founding of the government, but there was no general aligning of the North and South on opposite sides until the great agitation of 1820 that resulted in the Missouri Compromise. This Compromise, though it doubtless aided in keeping slavery out of the Northwest, was an immediate victory for the South.¹

Then came the Texas question. The south longed for Texas. The North objected, but only feebly, and Texas came in as a slave state. Hard on this came the Mexican War. Its object we have noticed in a former chapter — more slave territory. Another victory for the slaveholder? Not exactly; for it happened that the people and not the politicians had it to decide whether California should be a slave or a free state, and they decided for freedom. Next followed the Compromise of 1850, and this was a victory for the South; for the one feature objectionable to the slaveholder — the admission of free California — had already been decided by the people and was therefore not a part of the compromise, and the other feature to attract the chief attention — the Fugitive Slave Law — was forced by the slaveholder upon the North.

Four years then passed, when the slaveholder scored his greatest victory thus far in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise. By this he received back what he had paid for Missouri. This might have troubled his conscience a little — for he still kept Missouri — until the highest tribunal in the land decided, through the Dred Scott case, that the slave-

¹ As noted on p. 448, the South had yielded the Constitutional principle that Congress had the power to regulate slavery in the territories.

holder had been too good to his opponents in granting the Missouri Compromise line, that he had exceeded his powers, like a son bartering away an entailed estate, which he had no power to sell — in other words, that the bargain had been null and void all along. This was hardly fair to the North, for the slaveholder had eaten his cake, — he had settled Missouri with slaves, — and yet he took back the price he had paid for the privilege.

This ended the victories of the slaveholder. He made one more terrific struggle — for Kansas — but he lost. Why? Because, as in California, the people had the matter to settle. It is a very notable fact that in all these minor struggles antedating the war the South won in each case, except in those of California and Kansas; and in these two only had the people an opportunity to decide. All the others were decided by the ruling class at Washington.

From these facts we reach the twofold conclusion: first, that the slaveholder dominated the government for many years before the war; second, that the people in general were not in sympathy with him. If then the people, the source of all power, did not approve the slaveholder's rule, why did they not take matters into their own hands, as they had the right and the power to do? It may be answered that they did this eventually. It required many years for the North to learn that the Union could not continue half slave and half free. First the people defeated the Democratic party for waging the Mexican War, then they slew the Whig party for the compromise measures. But such mild treatment was ineffective, and the people, seeing that heroic measures were necessary, founded a new political party, based it on the non-extension of slavery, and elected their president.¹ This was a notice that the extension of slavery must cease; and this the slaveholder could not endure — hence came the war.

Some say that the war arose from the different interpretations of the Constitution on the question of state sovereignty, mis-called state rights. But what caused this difference of interpretation? Slavery. State sovereignty was but a weapon, the most convenient and effective, with which the slaveholder battled for his favorite institution. Why should he wish to destroy the Union which his fathers had

Slavery the
fundamental
cause

¹ It is true that fewer than half the people voted for Lincoln; many were too timid to vote their convictions, others could not break away from the historic party of their fathers; but it is certain that by 1860 a large majority of the people of the country opposed the further extension of slavery.

helped to form? Why should he be less loyal than the New England manufacturer, the Pennsylvania miner, or the Ohio farmer? It was not so at the beginning of the century; it is not so to-day, since the apple of discord has been removed. For sixty years no state or statesman had threatened the Union through state rights *per se*. In every case, when so used, it was some grievance that led to the use of state rights as the handiest effective weapon. When Jefferson abandoned his extreme state rights views for a stronger union, the status of that doctrine would have been settled except on account of other grievances for which it was made a mask. But for slavery state rights would have adjusted itself; and this it was doing, for it was less prominent in 1840 than at the beginning of the century. State rights in the abstract had nothing to do with bringing on the war.

Others say that secession caused the war. Very true; but what caused secession? Slavery. Still others will say that the election of Lincoln brought about secession and war. But why was Lincoln objectionable to the South, except on account of his views and the attitude of his party on slavery? The Kansas-Nebraska Law, the Dred Scott decision, the border strife in Kansas, — each played its part in hastening the war; they were all slavery questions. In short, all the various causes that converged to bring about the dreadful conflict may be summed up into one sweeping cause of causes — slavery. It is not true, however, that the southern people, the great majority of whom were not slave owners, fought through the war to maintain slavery. They fought for separation, believing it best for their future, because of their estrangement from the North — but it was slavery that caused the estrangement.

In a remoter sense, however, climatic and economic conditions, which rendered slave labor remunerative at the South and not at the North, may be said to have caused the war; but these conditions would have brought no war without slavery. The northern states emancipated soon after the Revolution, not that the people were more righteous than those of the South, for they were not, but because slavery had not taken such a hold on the North. Slavery in the one section and not in the other brought about a growing difference in social, economic, and political conditions, and the two sections drifted apart for many years. The statement that the causes of the war were numerous and varied is misleading if unexplained, for every cause had its root in slavery. It is morally certain that there would have

been no war but for slavery — unless it must be admitted that no people are capable of adjusting in right proportion the relations of the great opposing tendencies, Nationality and Democracy, without bloodshed.

The slaveholder was remarkably shrewd, but he made blunders. One was his forcing the Fugitive Slave Law upon the northern conscience. This led the northerner to see slavery in its ugliest form. The pleasant relations between the master and slave he did not see; he saw only the fleeing black man and heard his tale of woe; again, he saw the fugitive seized and dragged back into bondage. Such scenes awakened in the people of the North a moral resentment against slavery as nothing else could have done.

The more serious blunder of the slaveholder was his forcing the war by an attempt to break up the Union. This was a daring leap, and it proved to be a fatal blunder. He had been protected by the Constitution and by his influence over the northern politicians; now he shattered the Constitution and alienated his northern friends; he appealed his case from the lower court, the Constitution and the government, to the higher tribunal, the people. Had he not learned by the fate of California and Kansas, by the rough handling of the Whig party and of the Kansas-Nebraska Democrats, that the people were not with him? The slaveholder knew that the North was immeasurably stronger than the South; he certainly knew that in an exhausting war, a fight to the finish, between the Union and the slave power, both could not survive. Did he underestimate the Union sentiment, the love for the old flag at the North? Did he expect to be permitted to depart in peace? Did he rely on foreign recognition and aid? Or did he intend secession to be a temporary thing, expecting to make better terms out of the Union than in it? The slaveholder was admirably brave and daring, but in some ways he miscalculated, and he made a fatal blunder in permitting his cause to be appealed to the sword.

The slaveholder's mistake

SECESSION

The news that Abraham Lincoln had been elected to the presidency, though not unexpected, fell like a pall upon many parts of the South. Many of the radicals, it is true, professed to rejoice at the result; for now, they would have sufficient cause for secession; but with the great majority

Causes of secession

the feeling was one of awe and of evil forebodings. The threat to secede from the Union was as old as the century; it had been indulged in by many states North and South, and it usually awakened little fear. But in this case the South was in deep, deadly earnest. The ground on which the South based its right to secede was that the Union was a confederation of sovereign states, each of which had the legal power to withdraw from the compact at pleasure. The pretext for secession at that time was, as shown by the "declaration of causes" issued by South Carolina, that thirteen of the northern states had passed "personal-liberty laws" in violation of the Constitution, that the antislavery agitation of the North had rendered property in slaves insecure, and that a man whose "opinions and purposes were hostile to slavery" had been elected President of the United States. It was also said that the South had been taxed by high tariff duties for the benefit of northern interests.

South Carolina took the first step toward dismembering the Union. Even before the election Governor Gist of that state sent a circular letter to the governors of the other cotton states inquiring if they were ready to take the decisive step in case of Lincoln's success. From most of them the answer was rather discouraging. North Carolina and Louisiana were unwilling; Alabama and Georgia hesitated; Florida alone gave a hearty affirmative response. But the impetuous South Carolina would wait for none of them. Her legislature met on November 5 to choose presidential electors, for in this state alone the electors were still chosen by the legislature, and not by the people. Here was the opportunity. The legislature remained in session till the news of Lincoln's election had caused a whirlwind of disunion enthusiasm to sweep over the state. Now was the time to strike, for a few weeks of reflection might cool the ardor of the people. The legislature lost no time in calling for the election of a secession convention. This election was held on December 6, and the convention met on December 17.

The short campaign was marked by the wildest enthusiasm. Without party division the best men of the state were chosen; five had been governors of the state, and many had served in Congress. By the time this convention met the people had been wrought up to fever heat. "The excitement of the people is great under the sense of deep wrongs," wrote the newly elected governor. There can be no doubt of their sincerity. They honestly believed that the continued agitation of the North against slavery threatened the peace and happiness of their homes, and would, if con-

tinued, render life unendurable at the South. For many years they had been taught to love their state above the Union, and now it was easy for them to decide on the one remedy for their wrongs, as they believed, — secession.

The demeanor of the delegates was grave. They seemed to feel a deep sense of their responsibility. Their "Declaration of Independence" was solemnly read to the assembly. The ordinance of secession repealed the act of 1788, by which the state had adopted the Constitution, and pronounced the union between South Carolina and the United States of America dissolved. The vote was unanimous, and the state thus "resumed her sovereign powers." Excited throngs had gathered outside the convention hall; the streets of Charleston were filled with an expectant multitude. When the word was passed to the waiting crowds that the ordinance of secession had been passed, they broke forth into uncontrollable cheers, the cannon boomed, the bells rang, and palmetto flags were waved in exultant joy throughout the city. The South Carolinians compared themselves with the heroes of 1776; they seemed never to doubt that a new nation was then and there born, and they rejoiced at being witnesses of the mighty event. The state then issued an address to the other slave states urging them to leave the Union, and to join with her in forming a southern confederacy.

Secession of
South Caro-
lina, Decem-
ber 20, 1860

Within one month after the secession of South Carolina four other states had followed her example, — Mississippi on January 9, Florida on the 10th, Alabama on the 11th, and Georgia on the 19th. In each of these secession was accomplished through a convention elected for the purpose, but in none was the secession ordinance submitted to a vote of the people. Had this been done, the ordinance would doubtless have passed in each state, but in each, except perhaps Mississippi and Florida, a strong minority vote would have been recorded against disunion, and this would have disclosed a weakness of the movement which the leaders were unwilling to reveal.¹ In Georgia, the Empire State of the South, the feeling against secession was strong. Alexander H. Stephens, who led the faction opposed to disunion, declared that the state would have refused to take the step but for the cry, "We can make better terms out of the Union than in it." This was doubtless true,

Secession of
other states

¹ It must be remembered that the Federal Constitution had been adopted by the various states through conventions, and not by direct vote of the people. The South, therefore, is not open to criticism for following the precedent.

and it proves that Georgia meant to leave the Union only temporarily for the purpose of making terms with the North. Even then the convention recorded 89 votes against the ordinance in a vote of 297. Louisiana was the next to follow, on January 26, and Texas seceded on February 1. The faithful old governor of Texas, Sam Houston, did all in his power to prevent secession, but the legislature usurped the power and called a convention. This state was the first of the seceding states to submit the ordinance of secession to a vote of the people. It was carried at a popular election, but there was a considerable vote recorded against it.

These seven seceding states comprised the great cotton belt of the South. On February 4 they joined their fortunes and formed the Southern Confederacy.¹ A joint convention met for this purpose at Montgomery, Alabama, adopted a temporary constitution, and chose a provisional President and Vice President.

This provisional Constitution was supplanted by a permanent one, adopted by Congress on March 11, 1861. Having been ratified by the states, it went into effect in February, 1862. A brief comparison between this and the Federal Constitution is interesting. The Confederate Constitution was modeled closely after that of the United States, the term "Confederate States" being used instead of United States, and "Confederacy" for Union. In the preamble we find, "We, the people of the Confederate States," instead of "We, the people of the United States." In some points in which this Constitution differs from our own, the changes may be pronounced improvements, such as: The President was to be elected for six years and was not to be eligible for reelection; he was empowered to veto items in an appropriation bill while approving the remainder of the bill; members of the Cabinet were to be entitled to a seat in either house of Congress for the discussion of matters pertaining to their respective departments. Other changes were: A protective tariff was made illegal; internal improvements were confined to aids to navigation, which were to be repaid by duties on the navigation so aided; the postal system was to be self-sustaining after March 1, 1863. True to the theory of state sovereignty, a state legislature by a two-thirds vote could impeach a national official acting within the state. A slaveholder was permitted to travel in any state with his slaves.

¹ The Texas delegates had not yet arrived. They came soon afterward.

Provision was made for the admission of new states; but it is notable that no provision was made for secession from the Confederacy. The most striking feature of this Constitution was that it forbade the reopening of the foreign slave trade. The meaning of this clause has been construed in two ways: as a respectful recognition of the enlightened public opinion of the world, or as a bid for the border slave states to join the Confederacy; for if the foreign trade were not reopened, the border states might retain the market for their slaves, by joining the Confederacy.

For chief magistrate the whole South turned to Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. He was an impressive figure. Tall and spare with high forehead and straight profile, a sincere and honest countenance, he gave the impression of being a serious student of life. We met Mr. Davis in the Mexican War, in the United States Senate, and in the Cabinet of Pierce. He was a native of Kentucky, he had migrated to Mississippi, had espoused the cause of the slaveholder, and had risen in public and private life until he was the recognized leader of the far-famed aristocracy of the South. He was a graduate of West Point and was thoroughly trained in military as well as in political life. A nominal Democrat, he was in reality just the opposite; he was an aristocrat of the old school, typically represented in the preceding generation by John Randolph. Davis was a sincere, honest man, dignified, conservative, and intensely devoted to duty as he saw it. He was the chief, though not the most radical, representative of the ultra-slaveholders, and, after the death of Calhoun, the ablest leader in the South.

For Vice President, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia was chosen. Though he was a man of strong intellect, the choice fell upon him rather because of the elements he represented. He had been a Whig, and had joined the disunionists only out of loyalty to his state. It was believed that his selection for the second office would attach to the southern cause the former Whigs and those who had reluctantly joined in the disunion movement. Mr. Davis chose a Cabinet of six members, one from each of the seceding states except his own.¹ There were but two really strong men in this Cabinet — Robert Toombs of Georgia, secretary of state, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, attorney-general.

Thus within three months after the election of Lincoln, and

¹ More accurately speaking, President Davis did not name the Cabinet, but left the selection from each state to the delegates in the convention from that state.

one month before his inauguration, seven of the Southern states had withdrawn from the Union, and had set up a government of their own — on account of anticipated evils — and this in the face of the repeated statements of the Republicans that they had no intention of interfering with slavery where it already existed, and in the face of the fact that they could not do so if they would, because both houses of Congress were still Democratic. As to the constitutional right to secede, the question is theoretical, and no amount of discussion would settle it in the minds of all. One point, however, may be mentioned. It is certain that the framers of the Constitution never meant that violent secession from the Union they formed should be possible. The Articles of Confederation provided that the Union formed by them should be “perpetual”; and while the Constitution, which supplanted them, does not mention this, it does provide for “a more perfect union” than the one that it replaced. How could a “more perfect union” be less enduring than the “perpetual” Union it was intended to supplant? And besides, as President Lincoln argued, it is beyond the bounds of reason that any government would provide for its own destruction.

But there is another light in which the unbiased historian must view this matter. Assuming that slavery is right, that the North was wrong in condemning it, the South was right in its desire to separate from the Union. A separation by violence, as Mr. Lincoln said, would have been an irreparable blow to popular government; but a peaceful separation by mutual agreement, had such a thing been possible, would have been immeasurably better than for the two sections to remain together and keep up forever the distressing quarrel that had distracted the country for so many years. With all our intense pride of nationality, it is a mistake to believe that the inclusion of the vast domain of the United States under one government is absolutely essential to the advance of modern civilization. It were better far that the country be divided into two friendly rival powers than that it remain under one government in perpetual warfare with itself. But, as is now acknowledged by all, slavery was a blighting evil to the country, a blot on the civilization of the nineteenth century; and, viewed in this light, the secession of the South may be considered a blessing, for it brought about the ultimate destruction of slavery.

THE WINTER IN WASHINGTON

President Buchanan was greatly perplexed at the rash and precipitate action of the cotton states. A true unionist and an honest man at heart, his sympathies were nevertheless at first with the South. He firmly believed that the South had reason to be exasperated at the continued antislavery agitation at the North. In his annual December message to Congress he openly expressed this sentiment, but advised against disunion, as the election of an antislavery President did not afford just cause for dissolving the Union, especially as it was the result of "transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur." He also reminded the South that, with the exception of the Missouri Compromise, now repealed, Congress had never enacted a law that was unfavorable to the interests of slavery. What an admission from such a source! The message also denied the power of the President, or even of Congress, to prevent secession. Mr. Buchanan intended, no doubt, to conciliate the South by the tone of his message, but this he failed to do. On the other hand, the slaveholders were greatly encouraged in their work of destroying the Union, for now they were assured that there would be no forcible opposition to their course during the remainder of Buchanan's term. But Buchanan was not alone responsible for this message. Aside from the powerful influence of the southern members of his Cabinet over the mind of the President, he had received from his attorney-general, Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, an official opinion on the subject of secession, and on this opinion his message was largely based.

**Buchanan's
message to
Congress**

The North received the message from the President with astonishment. The press was severe in its criticisms, and the effect was soon felt in the Cabinet. General Cass resigned his position as secretary of state because he could not agree with the President on the subject of secession,¹ and Mr. Black became his successor. A few days later South Carolina passed its ordinance of secession, and this, with the rising sentiment at the North, wrought a sudden change in the attitude of Black. He now took a determined stand for the Union, and it was he that influenced the President not to recognize the South Carolina commissioners who came, a short time afterward, to treat with the government. But Black was not alone. Edwin M. Stanton, who became attorney-general,

**Buchanan's
new Cabinet**

¹ Notably on reënforcing the forts in Charleston harbor.

and Joseph Holt, the secretary of war, were stanch defenders of the Union cause, and these three soon gained the ascendancy over the vacillating President. In January General John A. Dix of New York was called to the treasury department, and his ringing dispatch to the treasury agent at New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot," had a magic effect in stimulating the North. Buchanan from this time forth was in full agreement with his reorganized Cabinet, though he still held that the executive had no power to coerce a seceding state. In a special message on January 8 he declared it the duty of the President to collect the public revenues and to protect the public property in all the states, and to use force in so doing if necessary. So different was the tone of this message from that of December that it was difficult to realize that they emanated from the same pen.

No President had ever been placed in a more trying situation than was James Buchanan. He has been severely censured for his southern sympathy in the autumn of 1860. But **Position of Buchanan** it must be remembered that his most intimate life-long associates were southern statesmen, that he was deeply grieved at the recent defeat of his party, and that the revolt in the South was a revolt against the success of his political enemies. Could he now suddenly break the instincts of a lifetime, come out openly against his old friends, and espouse the cause of Republicanism? And further, it is almost certain that he believed at first that secession would be a temporary thing, that the southern states would soon become quiescent, and that the fright given to the people of the North by the southern outbreak would be a good lesson for them. Again it must be remembered that Buchanan was not a leader of men; he had little executive ability; he was cautious almost to timidity; he was not an originator of great movements, nor capable of standing out for a principle. For his attempt to force the Lecompton constitution on Kansas a few years before, Buchanan stands unforgiven at the bar of history; but for his action in this great crisis near the close of his public life, the unprejudiced American must deal gently with his memory.

The agitation in the North during this fateful winter was almost equal to that of the South. But there was little spirit of defiance; it was rather one of conciliation. **Political reaction** Meetings were held in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, which expressed sentiments of conciliation for southern ears. At Philadelphia George William Curtis, who had

been a strong antislavery advocate, was forced to cancel a lecture engagement for fear of a riot, and the Republican mayor of that city declared in a public speech that the criticisms of slavery from the pulpit, the lecture room, and the press should cease and must be "frowned down by a just and law-abiding people." A reaction against Republicanism was visible on all sides, and thousands regretted having voted for Lincoln,¹ not because their sentiments on slavery had changed, but because they preferred the old régime to war or disunion. This feeling of the people was reflected in Washington, and the whole winter was spent by Congress in considering how the southern discontents might be conciliated.

A so-called Peace Congress met in Washington on the day of the meeting of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery. It was called by Virginia, and all the Southern states that had not seceded, and most of the Northern states, responded. Among the delegates to the Peace Congress we find some of the leading men of the country — William P. Fessenden of Maine, George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Chase of Ohio, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, and the venerable ex-President Tyler of Virginia, who was chosen chairman of the Congress. After three weeks' deliberation this "Congress" sent its recommendations to Congress; but they came to nothing, and it is needless to discuss them.

Peace
Congress

The Senate had been deeply engaged in the discussion of the "Crittenden Compromise," so called from its author, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. This aged senator, who had devoted a long and useful life to the service of his country, was perhaps better fitted than any other to adjust the relations between the two sections, had such a thing been possible. He not only represented a border state that hung in the balance; he was also himself a political neutral. Formerly a Whig, he did not, at the fall of his own party, join the Republicans or the Democrats, but occupied a middle ground; and he was now fitted above all men to view both sides with the unprejudiced eye of a jurist. Crittenden introduced his plan of compromise to the Senate on December 18, and two days later a committee of thirteen was appointed to consider the grave questions it involved.² This committee was composed of the best talent in the Senate, and represented all parties. With the

Crittenden
Compromise

¹ Blaine, Vol. I, p. 273.

² More than two hundred proposals of amendment were offered at this session, but this one received the chief attention. See Ames, *Proposed Amendments*, p. 194.

venerable Crittenden at its head, with Seward, Wade, and others representing the Republicans, Jefferson Davis and Robert Toombs the extreme South, and Douglas the Democratic medium, the committee began its work in earnest. The great subject was slavery in the territories and Crittenden proposed that the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ be restored and extended to the Pacific Ocean; that Congress have no power to interfere with slavery in any state or territory south of that line; and that these provisions be added to the Constitution in an amendment which no future amendment could have power to affect. They were supported by the Democrats, but the Republicans and the extreme southern men voted in the negative and defeated the amendment. The Republicans had founded their party and won their victory at the polls on the principle of non-extension of slavery in any territory. How could they make a concession that would destroy the foundation on which their party was built?

The House meantime was laboring to the same end through a committee of thirty-three. This committee formulated a series of resolutions, embodying in substance the Crittenden Compromise; but they failed of passage. The House, however, adopted one resolution forbidding Congress or the people for all future time to molest slavery in any state where it existed, without the consent of the state. In other words, it made slavery perpetual in the United States. This moral, social, and political evil of the land, this darkest blot on American civilization, was to be entrenched forever in the organic law of the country. Such an amendment to the Constitution would have struck a blow at modern progress from which the country could not have recovered in a hundred years. And yet it was supported by many leading Republicans, and it passed the Senate, as well as the House, by the necessary two-thirds vote, and was sent to the states for ratification. But even such humiliation on the part of the North could not arrest the coming conflict; and the amendment, though later ratified by three states, Ohio, Maryland, and Illinois, fell to the ground, the whole question having been transferred meantime to the battle field.

But Republican humiliation went still farther. Congress organized the three territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without a word concerning the prohibition of slavery within them. No one of course believed that these territories would become slave states, but in organizing them without mention of slavery the sole object was to avoid irritating the South. In this act the Republican party

**Republican
humiliation**

took the very same ground that Webster had taken in his Seventh of March Speech in 1850, and for the very same reason. These acts were passed, as well as the proposed amendment, after both houses had become Republican by the withdrawal of the representatives of the seceding states.

From the House of Representatives these members withdrew gradually as their respective states seceded, most of them quietly and without a word of bravado or defiance. The senators were less reticent. Most of them made ^{Withdrawals from} parting speeches, the general tenor of which was a ^{Congress} censuring of the North for its antislavery agitation and its electing of a Republican President, a warning to the North that any attempt at coercion would be met by force of arms, and an expression of general satisfaction in their hope of peaceful and pleasant relations between the two nations. If one of them had a doubt that the South would be able to maintain its independence, such doubt found no place in his speech. Nothing seemed more grotesque than the effort of the senators from Florida and Louisiana, which had been purchased by the United States government, to explain that their respective states had now "resumed" their sovereign capacity. The most serious of these valedictories was that of Jefferson Davis. Assuming a plaintive and pathetic strain, he begged to be forgiven if he had pained any one in the heat of discussion; he expressed his sincere belief in the right of secession, and his regret that his state could no longer enjoy the benefits of the Union. So touching and mournful was this address of Davis that his audience was moved to tears. That night the great southern leader is said to have wrestled with God in prayer for peace. He was one of the few southern leaders who did not believe that the North would stand by and see the Union dismembered without war.

As the people of the North saw with chagrin that all their overtures for reconciliation during this fateful winter were ignored by the South, as they beheld the property of the United States — forts, arsenals, and munitions of war — taken possession of by the seceding states, their feeling of conciliation began to change to one of resentment. Many at first believed the secession movement to be the usual wolf cry to frighten the North. As the affair grew more serious, public opinion was divided; some favored coercion, others declared that disunion was preferable to war. Among these latter was Horace Greeley, who advised that the southern sisters be permitted to depart in peace.¹ This

¹ *New York Tribune*, November 9, 1860.

attitude was taken by Henry Ward Beecher and by many other men of influence. Then came the period of reconciliation; but as this failed, the inclination to preserve the Union by force gained ground rapidly. Greeley and Beecher were won to this view, and even President Buchanan was not averse to it, but he professed to want the authority. It is possible that Buchanan might have nipped secession in the bud by reënforcing Charleston harbor, but he declined to do this lest he should irritate the South to further violence.

Charleston harbor was a center of public interest during the winter. Fort Moultrie was occupied by Major Robert Anderson with a handful of men; but, deeming it unsafe, he dismounted his guns, burned the carriages, and quietly moved to the stronger fort, Sumter, near by in the harbor. This act was irritating to South Carolina, as it indicated that the forts, which the "sovereign" state claimed as its own, were not to be given up without a struggle. Still greater was the irritation when President Buchanan sent the *Star of the West* to relieve the fort with supplies. As the little vessel steamed into the harbor, January 9, it was fired on from shore batteries and driven from the harbor without having accomplished its mission. These were the first shots of the Civil War.

Before the close of Buchanan's presidency the Confederate government had seized every fort, navy yard, mint, post office, and customhouse within the bounds of the seven states — except Fort Sumter, Fort Pickens, Key West, and the Dry Tortugas. General Twiggs had also surrendered to Texas a large portion of the regular army which was then in the state.¹ This seizure of public property was looked upon by the North as robbery, while at the South it was considered but a fair division.

The slave power ignored every effort of the North to bring about a reconciliation. Every index seemed to point unerringly to war — a weak and vacillating President, the blind precipitancy of the South, the firing on the *Star of the West*, the refusal of the South to listen to the friendly call for her to return. The lovers of peace looked with dismay on the rushing torrent of events, all pointing to dreadful, internecine war. The religious world cried unto the heavens in a wailing, piteous prayer for peace; but its prayer seemed unheard.

¹ The arms and equipment were seized, but the soldiers were permitted to return to the North.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

The time was now at hand for the installation of the new President. The moment was an ominous and fearful moment. Deplorable was the condition of the country. Seven states had left the Union and had organized a government of their own. They had seized United States property worth \$30,000,000. Other states were on the verge of secession. The glorious Union for which Washington had fought, which Jackson had preserved, which millions of Americans loved better than life, seemed on the verge of falling into fragments. Society was broken to pieces; men were hurrying to and fro with hot faces, not knowing what to do. Would the South yet return to its allegiance? It had answered, No. Would the Union be dismembered, or would there be war?

The answer was still locked in the bosom of one man, one of whom the world as yet knew but little. He had entered the capital by night and by stealth, for fear of the assassin's bullet. He stood now before the multitude and outlined the policy of the nation on the most momentous question that a great and free people were ever called on to decide. Never before and never since has a word fallen from a President's lips so eagerly awaited by the millions as was this inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln.¹

The inaugural was exceedingly moderate in tone. In spite of the failure of Congress in its conciliatory measures, he again held out the olive branch. He declared that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, of interfering with slavery where it existed, and affirmed his belief that he had no lawful right to do so; he expressed his willingness to

Lincoln's
inaugural

¹ **Lincoln's Journey to Washington.**—Lincoln's journey to the capital was roundabout. He passed through most of the large northern cities, and in his brief addresses he seemed to treat the grave state of the country too lightly, declaring that there was no need of fear that there would be any bloodshed. When in Philadelphia on February 22, he received letters from Seward and General Scott advising that his published program be changed, as there were serious threats of assassinating him when he passed through Baltimore. To this he refused to agree. "I cannot consent to it," said he. "What would the nation think of its President stealing into the capital like a thief in the night?" He went to Harrisburg that morning, and there it was determined by his friends that it was needless to endanger his life and that he should go to Washington *incognito* during the coming night. Lincoln yielded; but he ever afterward regretted having done so. Colonel Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, took entire charge of the project. He cut all the telegraph wires leading out of Harrisburg, and sent Lincoln with a single companion, Colonel Lamon, to Philadelphia to catch the night train to Washington. Everything went smoothly, and after the friends of Lincoln had spent a sleepless night at Harrisburg, the wires being repaired about daybreak, they received the cipher telegram previously agreed on, "Plums delivered nuts safely," and Colonel Scott threw his hat into the air and shouted, "Lincoln is in Washington." See McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War Times*, p. 45 sq.

abide by the Fugitive Slave Law, and he went so far as to give his approval to the unchangeable amendment to the Constitution, making slavery perpetual in the United States. Could the spirit of compromise go farther than this? Lincoln had been elected on a platform based on the non-extension of slavery, but not a word of this do we find in the address. He dealt only with the larger subject of preserving the Union.

But the iron hand was encased in the velvet glove. The speaker went on to declare that the Union was older than the Constitution, that the Constitution was adopted "to form a more perfect Union," that "no state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union," and that all ordinances to that effect were legally void. He declared the Union still intact and indissoluble; he declared his purpose of executing the laws in all the states, and that the Union would defend and maintain itself. The meaning of this was as clear as daylight. If the seceding states would not retrace the step they had taken, there would be war. "The ills you fly from," said the speaker, "have no real existence. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. . . . You can have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it."

This remarkable address was weak at one point, to say nothing of its approval of that inflexible amendment to the Constitution. The speaker promised that there should be no "invasion" of any state, as if it were an "invasion" for the United States to send troops to any part of its own soil. He also asserted that it were better to leave the Federal offices unfilled for a time than to force "obnoxious strangers" upon a people who were hostile to the government. This was a plain avowal by Lincoln that he would follow Buchanan's policy for the time in his attitude toward secession.

The Cabinet chosen by the new President was, William H. Seward, secretary of state; Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, secretary of war; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, secretary of the navy; Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, secretary of the interior; Edward Bates of Missouri, attorney-general, and Montgomery Blair of Maryland, postmaster-general. Two of the Cabinet, it will be noted, were from slave states, but none of them held slaves. The Cabinet was not harmonious on the great question before the country, nor had its

Lincoln's
Cabinet

members yet learned that, in addition to their ordinary department duties, they were only an advisory body, that the new President was their master, and that his judgment and not theirs would shape the policy of the nation. The general belief was that Seward would be the power behind the throne, that this unsophisticated President from the western prairies was fortunate in having such a genius to guide his administration — and none believed this more firmly than Seward. A month had not passed when Seward offered to the President a memorandum,¹ outlining a policy for the government and at the same time offering himself as the agent to carry it out. Mr. Lincoln dismissed the subject with the quiet remark, "If this must be done, I must do it." Seward needed no second lesson. From this time forth he sat at Lincoln's right hand, vigilant, resourceful, fearless, and with great ability carried out the policies of his chief.

A week after the inauguration two commissioners from the South, John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford, sent by President Davis, submitted to Secretary Seward a paper requesting an interview for the purpose of adjusting the questions growing out of the political separation of the two governments, and expressing their desire that a peaceful settlement would be reached. To these Mr. Seward, without ascertaining the views of the President, is said to have given some encouragement, leading them to believe that Fort Sumter would not be reënforced; but Lincoln decided otherwise, and his decision was final.

The immediate attention of the country was attracted to the Charleston harbor. The defenses of the harbor had fallen into the hands of South Carolina, except Fort Sumter, still held by Major Anderson. This little morsel **Fort Sumter** became the first object of contention, the means of precipitating the conflict of the giants. Fort Sumter was necessary to the Confederacy; it was the key to the harbor of the chief seaport of the South, save New Orleans. And yet the North could not yield up the fort without acknowledging the independence of the Confederacy. The provisions in the fort were running low, and if not relieved, Anderson must abandon it. The South intimated that an attempt to supply the fort would be considered an act of war. The matter was the subject of much negotiation at Washington. Five of the seven members of the Cabinet opposed an attempt to relieve the fort, and at length Lincoln promised not to do so without first notifying the governor of South Carolina. On the 8th of April this promised notice was given, and vessels

¹ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. III, p. 445.

were laden with provisions for Fort Sumter. General P. G. T. Beauregard, who had resigned from the United States Army to join the Confederate service, had command of the forces about Charleston. He telegraphed to Montgomery the news of Lincoln's intention.

President Davis called a Cabinet meeting to decide the great question. He and Lincoln both well knew that war was now inevitable, but each was loath to strike the first blow. Davis's secretary of state, Toombs, declared that it would be fatal to fire on Fort Sumter. "At this time it is suicide," said he, "murder, and will lose us every friend at the North. You will wantonly strike a hornets' nest which extends from mountain to ocean, and legions now quiet will swarm out and sting us to death."¹ But other counsels prevailed, and the order was wired to Beauregard to demand the surrender of the fort, and, in case of refusal, to reduce it. Beauregard made the demand, and it was refused. On the morning of April 12, some hours before daylight, the Confederate general sent word to Major Anderson that fire would be opened on the fort in an hour; and at the appointed moment a shrieking shell from Sullivan's Island announced to the world that the day of compromise was past.²

Fifty cannon were soon pouring their deadly missiles into the walls of the doomed fort. As the morning arose the people of Charleston gathered along the wharf in thousands to witness the spectacle. Anderson and his little band returned the fire with vigor. The walls of the fort were soon shattered and crumbling; the barracks and wood-work were set on fire, and only by the greatest effort did the men save all from being consumed. They rolled nearly a hundred barrels of powder into the sea to prevent explosions. So stifling was the air with smoke, dust, and cinders, that the men lay upon their faces and breathed through wet cloths. After the bombardment had continued for thirty-four hours the little band³ surrendered and marched out with the honors of war, and Fort Sumter passed into the hands of the Confederacy. This was considered the first blow of the Civil War, for the little matter of the *Star of the West* had been forgotten. At the fall of Sumter

The bombardment

¹ Stovall, *Life of Toombs*, quoted by Rhodes, Vol. III, p. 347.

² Anderson had said that he must abandon the fort by noon of the 15th, if no supplies reached him. The decision to fire was made by Beauregard's four aides, who had discretionary power. Had Davis or Beauregard known the exact intention of Anderson, it is possible that the fort would not have been fired on.

³ Anderson had one hundred and twenty-eight men, including non-combatants. It is a strange fact that not a life was lost on either side in this bombardment.

Charleston gave itself up to the same unrestrained, delirious joy that had marked the passing of the secession ordinance four months before.

The effect of the attack on the fort was magical throughout the North. If the shot was not "heard round the world," it certainly echoed from every hill and reverberated in every valley from the New England coast to the shores of Oregon. "Fort Sumter crystallized the North into a unit, and the hope of mankind was saved," said Emerson. The North had hesitated all through the winter. Millions were undecided what to do; but now this attack on a United States fort awakened their resentment with a unanimity that was surprising. Two days after the fall of Sumter President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand militia, and the response from every section of the North was most gratifying. At the stirring call of the fife and drum the men rallied in great numbers from the cities and the countryside, from thousands of towns and villages. Not only the adherents of his own party, but all classes of citizens forgot their party differences and rushed to the defense of the country. Mr. Buchanan came out strongly for the Union. "The North will sustain the administration almost to a man, and it ought to be sustained at all hazards," wrote the ex-President to a former member of the Cabinet.

But most notable of all was the action of Douglas, to whom a parting word is now due. If there was a man in the North, aside from the President, in whose hands the fate of the Union rested, it was Stephen A. Douglas. The Republican party could not have won in the gigantic struggle but for the aid of the northern Democrats. More than a million men at the North looked to Douglas as their political leader, and his influence was at least coördinate with that of the memory of Jackson. What a power for good or for evil rested with this man! and the use he made of this power must lead posterity to condone every error of his earlier life. Not only did Douglas powerfully defend the President's inaugural in the extra session of the Senate, but on the day that intervened between the fall of the famous fort in the Charleston harbor and the call to arms, Douglas called on the President, and in a long, confidential interview pledged his support and offered his services to the cause of the Union. Next morning the press of the North published the President's call for troops, and in the same edition an account of this interview with Douglas. The effect on the followers of Douglas may be imagined. Southern

Call to arms

Stephen A.
Douglas

hopes of a divided North vanished like a mist. Lincoln was greatly pleased with this attitude of his former rival, and, it is believed, would have offered him some high position of honor, had his life been spared. But Douglas was soon called to pay the debt of Nature; in June of this same year he was gathered unto his fathers.¹

The fall of Fort Sumter had an effect on the South quite equal to that on the North. This first blow struck by the South had the effect, as we have seen, of crystallizing the North against disunion, and it unified a large portion of the South on the opposite side. Four slave states that had hesitated for months now proceeded to pass ordinances of secession, and thousands who had favored preserving the Union till that moment readily joined the forces of secession. This is explained, not only by the fact that the firing on the fort was a notice that the day of negotiation was past, but by the further fact that President Lincoln's call to arms that soon followed indicated his policy of coercion — a thing most distasteful to the South.

If there was one man in the South who could have prevented the secession of these four states it was John Bell of Tennessee.

John Bell For many years he had stood high in the councils of his state and of the nation. He and Douglas had received a combined vote in the South a hundred thousand greater than the vote of Breckinridge. He could have held for the Union not only many of the old Whigs who had voted for him, but also the Douglas Democrats — probably half a million men; he might have been able to prevent secession in Tennessee and North Carolina; and probably Virginia would not have seceded if cut off from the cotton states by these two.² But this man, who had stood on a "Constitution" and "Union" platform, probably because of his dislike of coercion, trampled the Constitution in the dust and gave his voice for disunion.

¹ **Douglas at Columbus.** — A few days after the fall of Fort Sumter, Stephen A. Douglas, in journeying eastward to Washington, stopped to spend a night at Columbus, Ohio. The people of the city soon learned of his presence, and a large crowd gathered in the dim-lighted street about his hotel and called for an expression from him on the great question before the country. The crowd, composed of all parties, was not noisy; it was earnest, serious, and thoughtful. Douglas had not thought of making a speech, but he went half dressed to the unlighted window, his form appearing in dim outline to the waiting crowd. Then he spoke solemnly in slow, measured sentences, his deep, musical, sonorous tones rolling over the crowd — a veritable voice in the night. Here the great Democratic leader declared for the preservation of the Union at all hazards, for the crushing of insurrection, and pledged himself to the support of the Lincoln administration in the great crisis. "The people scarcely cheered," says an eyewitness, "and the silence seemed as a deep religious Amen from the multitude." See Cox, *Reminiscences, of the Civil War*, pp. 5-6.

² Virginia preceded these in seceding, but Virginia was morally sure that North Carolina and Tennessee would follow her. See Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. I, p. 311.

Virginia was the first to join the procession. Her convention had been sitting for weeks, and as late as April 4 had voted by two to one against secession. But Richmond was full of men who labored night and day to get the Old Dominion into the Confederacy. Now the hour had come; the state would swing in the balance no longer; and she cast her lot with her slaveholding sisters. But two days after Lincoln's call to arms the Virginia convention passed a secession ordinance. It then provided for submitting the ordinance to a popular vote. The convention proceeded, however, to put the Virginia troops into the hands of Jefferson Davis, to send delegates to the Confederate Congress, to invite the Confederate government to make Richmond its capital, and to proclaim officially the commonwealth a member of the Confederacy, — all before the people had voted on the ordinance. Then they voted, and ratified it by a substantial majority. There was nothing else to do but to "get out of the state," as Senator Mason put it. Before the secession of Virginia was proclaimed, movements were set on foot to seize the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry and the Government Navy Yard near Norfolk with its immense military stores, including two thousand cannon. Both were in the hands of the state authorities before the end of April. These were worth \$10,000,000; all the seizures by the South put together reached the grand total of \$40,000,000.

**Virginia
secedes**

North Carolina and Arkansas seceded in May, and Tennessee in June. This made eleven, and here the process of secession stopped. Every effort was made by the Confederacy to win the four remaining slave states, — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri; but though the governors of Missouri and Kentucky did everything in their power to lead their respective states to secede, their efforts were fruitless. Even in the seceded states the disunion sentiment was not unanimous. In eastern Tennessee thousands of the mountaineers opposed secession and remained true to the Union during the war. The same was true in western Virginia, where the people, repudiating the action of the state, broke away from it and formed the state of West Virginia.

**North Caro-
lina, Arkan-
sas, and
Tennessee
secede**

STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND SECESSION

The idea of secession was not new at the time of the Civil War nor were the southern states the only ones to advance it. As Alexander Johnson says, "Almost every state in the Union

in turn declared its own sovereignty, and advanced as almost treasonable, similar declarations in other cases by other states.' A few instances here follow: The seeds of disunion were sown by two of our earliest and most honored statesmen — Jefferson and Madison in their Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. In 1804 opposition to the Louisiana treaty led to a plot to sever New York and New England from the Union. In 1809 the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut declared the Embargo law unconstitutional and not binding on those states, and a few years later when the war with England broke out the legislatures of both these states pronounced them "free, sovereign and independent states." In 1811 the legislature of Pennsylvania, in opposing a bank charter, declared the Constitution "a treaty between sovereign states." Ohio in 1819 declared its right to tax the branch banks and denied the right of the Supreme Court to settle matters pertaining to the "sovereign states." In 1827 Georgia flared up and openly defied the government to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court with respect to the Indians. The outbreak in South Carolina in 1832 is well known. Several New England states and Ohio protested against the annexation of Texas as unconstitutional, as a slaveholder's project to increase the number of slave states. This was the first of the state uplarings arising from the slavery question. Various northern states touched the verge of nullification in their opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. As late as 1859 Wisconsin declared the Union a federal compact, the states being "sovereign and independent."

A study of this subject will show that state sovereignty *per se* was never an object, a goal sought by any state; it was merely a weapon, a means for attaining some other end. These state threats, petulant expressions of grievances, prove that the nation as we now know it was still in the making. It required nearly a century for the American people to settle into a consciousness of national oneness and permanency. This was greatly hastened by the Civil War, which put an end to state boasts of sovereignty or threats of disunion. Any state indulging in such to-day would risk making itself a laughing stock, if not an object of derision.

A VIEW OF THE BELLIGERENTS

The United States was now divided into two hostile sections ready to spring at each other in deadly combat. The North, including the border states and the newly admitted Kansas, was

composed of twenty-three states, with a population of almost twenty-three million. The seceding states, eleven in number, had a population of about nine millions, only about five million of whom were of the white race. According to these figures it would seem that the North must win in the great contest that was before them. But in some respects the South had the advantage of the North. One of these was its unanimity. We have noticed that the slave states were geographically divided, that four of them refused to secede, and that two, Virginia and Tennessee, experienced a revolt against secession; but aside from these exceptions, the oneness of spirit in the slave states was remarkable. This seems the more surprising when one considers that in the entire Confederacy there were only about eight thousand large slaveholders, and that not more than three hundred and fifty thousand held slaves at all. These represented a population of less than two millions. More than three millions of the southern whites therefore were absolutely without interest in slave property; and yet these were as faithful as their slaveholding neighbors to the southern cause.

The North, on the other hand, was less unanimous after the first year of the war, when it became an abolition war, as well as a war against disunion. The firing on Fort Sumter, as aforesaid, swept the free states with one grand, patriotic impulse; but before the close of the great contest partisanship rose again to the surface, and the administration was often handicapped by want of hearty support. This was shown by the draft riots in New York, by the adverse result of the elections in many states, and by the severe criticisms of the methods of conducting the war, from within as well as from without the dominant party.

Another advantage of the South was found in its better trained men. The slaveholders were men well trained in the use of firearms and in horsemanship, while no such a class could be found at the North outside the regular army. The southern armies, therefore, were more efficient at first than their opponents from the North.

A third advantage of the Southerners was found in the fact that they fought on their own soil, and had the sympathy and support of the people. After secession had been accomplished they felt that the United States was a foreign nation, that its armies were invading their soil and destroying their homes for the sole purpose of conquest and subjugation. Such a belief infuses into men a desperate valor that nothing else can produce.

Advantages
of the South

The advantages of the North, however, were greater than those of the South. First, it had more men and more money.

Advantages of the North The military population of the North was almost four times greater than that of the South. This disparity became very marked in the latter part of the struggle. In wealth the North far surpassed the South. The manufactories in the North were ten times greater than in the South. At first the credit of the United States was low, but soon after the Midas touch of Secretary Chase began to be felt, our bonds found a ready sale. A brilliant stroke was the establishing of the national banks in 1863, by which the government became responsible for the issue of local banks, and by thus laying its hand on the people's money, it restored confidence on all sides. The credit of the nation was far better at the close of the war than at its beginning.

The Confederacy had little specie, and it issued large quantities of paper money; but as the years passed and its cause seemed hopeless, its bills fell steadily in value until they became worthless.

Another advantage of the North lay in its foreign relations. Nothing is more essential to our modern civilization than foreign relations and foreign commerce. It was important to the United States to maintain its cordial relations with other powers, and it was absolutely essential to prevent the recognition by foreign countries of the independence of the Confederacy. Had any of the great European powers recognized the South, the blockade of the southern ports could have been broken in an hour, and the South could have sold its cotton, while food, clothing, and munitions of war would have poured into its ports in endless quantities. But the Confederacy fought the war through under the incalculable disadvantage of being without foreign relations, and the fact is due chiefly to the diplomatic skill of Lincoln's administration.

The North, however, might have won in the great struggle though its foreign relations had been suspended, as it had unbounded resources and the ability to use them. This brings us to the chief advantage of the North over the South — its ability to manufacture its own materials. Every soldier in the northern army could have been fed from the northern farms, clothed from the northern mills, and fully equipped from the northern foundries. But the South was purely an agricultural region. Slave labor was incapable of manufacturing; it could only delve the soil; nor could the skilled workman be induced to go to the South

and work among the slaves. Hence its rich minerals, its vast and inexhaustible resources, were left in the earth. It raised cotton, rice, tobacco, and cereals, sold them abroad, and purchased almost every manufactured article from the North or from Europe. When the war came, this trade was all shut off, and it was then too late to build factories; the men of brains were in the armies. The one great staple of southern production, cotton, was worthless when its market was destroyed. This want of ability to manufacture, occasioned by slavery, was a source of fatal weakness in the South, and insured its ultimate defeat if the blockade could be maintained. Thus slavery not only brought about secession and the war, but, the war once begun, it brought about the defeat of the South.

EVENTS OF APRIL, 1861

The month of April, 1861, was exceedingly eventful in American history. We have noticed the fall of Fort Sumter, the secession of Virginia, the seizure of Harper's Ferry and the great Navy Yard at Gosport near Norfolk, and have referred to the President's call to arms. Then came the great uprising of the North, the attack on the troops in Baltimore, the marshaling of southern armies, the proclamation of the blockade by President Lincoln — all within one week after the attack on Sumter. The President's call for troops was met throughout the North with a ready response. The farmer left his plow and the artisan his workshop, the merchant abandoned his store, and the banker his counting-room to answer the call to save the Union. Congress, it is true, has sole power to create armies and navies, but this call for militia was based on a statute of sixty-five years' standing, by which the President was enabled to call the militia in any numbers into the service of the Union when necessary for the public safety. The object, as stated in the proclamation, was to put down insurrections in certain states, which were mentioned by name, and to repossess the forts and other places that had been seized. All mention of the Confederacy, and even of the states as units of insurrection, was avoided. Secession was not therefore recognized as the action of a state, but as the unlawful proceeding of certain disaffected classes within it.

The President's call was addressed to the governors of all the states North and South, except those in which rebellion existed. The response from the North was hearty and unanimous. The solitary Democratic governor in the North (in Rhode Island)

marched at the head of his militia to the battle field. From the lower South favorable answers were neither expected nor received. The answers showed a spirit of defiance and a decisive refusal to send troops for the "wicked purpose of subjugating the southern states." From the four border states that did not secede the answers were far from satisfactory. The governors of Kentucky and Missouri flatly refused, while those of Maryland and Delaware delayed and did nothing.¹

As the Massachusetts troops were passing through Baltimore on the 19th of April, they were attacked by a mob of southern sympathizers. The mayor did all in his power to preserve order, but the mob could not be restrained; it attacked the troops with pistols and missiles, and they were obliged to open fire in self-defense. Four of the soldiers and probably a dozen of their assailants were killed. This was the first bloodshed of the Civil War.

If anything more was needed to fire the northern heart after the attack on Sumter, the work of the mob in Baltimore supplied the deficiency. President Lincoln dealt with the matter in great moderation. He did not lose his temper; he quietly decided to avoid further trouble by bringing his troops to the capital by way of Annapolis. Baltimore remained in a state of great commotion for three weeks, when General B. F. Butler of Massachusetts took military possession of the city.

This 19th of April was to receive still another mark as a historic date. It was on this same day that witnessed the first bloodshed of the Civil War, the anniversary of the first bloodshed of the Revolution, that the American President issued a proclamation of unmeasured importance. He proclaimed a blockade of the ports of the seceded states.² This seemed an audacious utterance indeed. The United States Navy was composed of but forty-two wooden vessels, and more than half of these were in foreign waters, while the blockade covered three thousand miles of seacoast. Was the new President a dreamer or a genius? The world had not yet taken his measure, and knew not how to classify him. At first the blockade amounted to little; but ere long the vessels began to arrive from afar, merchant vessels were turned into ships of war, the northern shipyards were kept busy day and

¹ Governor Hicks of Maryland raised some troops after long delay.
² The ports of Virginia and North Carolina were not included in this proclamation, but these were included in an additional one issued on April 27.

night, one southern port after another was shut in by a cordon of war vessels, and long before the close of the war the South was hemmed in and isolated from the rest of the world. Great stacks of cotton piled along the seaboard could be bought for four cents a pound, while it was worth \$2.50 at Liverpool. A ton of salt, worth \$7 or \$8 at Nassau, was worth \$1700 in gold at Richmond before the close of the war — all because of the blockade. The South was in the direst need of arms and clothing, but it could purchase nothing from abroad, owing to the blockade. Had the southern markets been open to the world, the conquest of the Confederacy would have been almost impossible. Scarcely more did the northern armies toward compassing the collapse of the rebellion than did the blockade.

The spirit of secession in Maryland was not confined to the city of Baltimore; it swept in a sudden wild, enthusiastic wave over the state. But it was short-lived; it was the cry of a vigorous minority. Before the close of April Maryland the sober second thought began to assert itself; two thirds of the people were found to be for the Union, and the legislature decided by a large majority to cling to the old flag. And yet Maryland did not rush to the defense of the Union. As the state lay between the two great sections, the people halted between two opinions. The legislature voted to take neutral ground as to actual hostilities, and sent an embassy to Montgomery, and another to Washington, to implore the respective Presidents to cease the unholy war. In the course of the war, however, many Marylanders fought in the Union armies, while others took the side of the South.

In the other two great border states, Kentucky and Missouri, there were similar struggles, with the same result as in Maryland. It happened in Missouri that both Governor Jackson Missouri and the legislature were favorable to secession. In January a call was made for the election of a convention to decide the great question, and to the chagrin and surprise of the authorities a large majority of the delegates so elected were Unionists. Governor Jackson, however, did everything in his power to lead the state into secession and to seize the United States arsenal at St. Louis. But St. Louis at this moment contained a staunch defender of the Union in the person of Francis P. Blair, Jr., a brother of Mr. Lincoln's postmaster-general. The governor found his plans foiled at every point by the ever watchful Blair. Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who had command of the arsenal, worked hand in hand with Blair to save the state and the arsenal.

Governor Jackson was busy organizing the forces of secession; he established "Camp Jackson" in the suburbs of the city, and sent to President Davis for arms and ammunition. These arrived on May 8, and two days later Lyon marched out with six thousand men, surrounded the camp, and forced its surrender without bloodshed.

This was a great blow to the secession cause in Missouri, but the trouble did not end here. The whole state was in a turmoil, and the scenes of a few years before in Kansas were repeated. Governor Jackson and Sterling Price, his chief lieutenant, demanded as a condition of peace that Federal troops should not be stationed within the state, nor be permitted to pass through it. Blair and Lyon refused to agree to this, and their decision was construed by Jackson and Price as a declaration of war upon the state. Jackson issued a call for fifty thousand volunteers to defend the state. This was a challenge, and Lyon, so accepting it, sailed up the Missouri in June and took possession of the capital. Thus Missouri became one of the first battlefields of the war, to be noticed later. At this point let us take a view of her sister south of the Ohio.

President Lincoln was extremely anxious to save Kentucky for the Union, not simply because of its strategic importance, which was great, but also because it was his native **Kentucky** state and he regarded it with peculiar affection. Governor Beriah Magoffin was a decided secessionist, as was also the foremost man in the state, John C. Breckinridge; but their combined influence was not great enough to control the people of the state, or even the Democratic legislature. Governor Magoffin used every effort in his power to lead the legislature to call a secession convention and to arm the state under Simon B. Buckner, a known secessionist; but that body answered him by passing a law requiring an oath of allegiance to the Union. However, Kentucky, like Maryland, failed to hasten to the aid of the Union at the President's call, and decided on a neutral policy towards the war.¹ President Lincoln tacitly consented to the neutral position of Kentucky, on the supposition that the soil of the state would soon be invaded by Confederate armies, when the people would gladly welcome Federal troops to expel them; and so it came to pass. On the 20th of June the state voted for members of Congress, and to the lasting joy of the administration the Union party polled nearly three votes to one for the se-

¹ The Confederate Congress went through the farce in December, 1861, of admitting Kentucky into the Confederacy.

cessionists, electing nine out of ten members by a combined majority of 55,000. Thus ended the hopes of the disunionists for Kentucky, though the state, like Maryland and Missouri, furnished many soldiers for each side in the war.

OPENING OF HOSTILITIES IN VIRGINIA AND MISSOURI

President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men and for an extra session of Congress was answered by President Davis by a call for 100,000. He also called for an extra session of the Confederate Congress. It met on April 29, authorized the raising of \$50,000,000, forbade the payment of all debts due from the southern people to individuals or corporations in the free states, admitted Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas to the Confederacy, and moved the capital to Richmond.

Lincoln, on May 3, called for 42,000 more volunteers for three years unless sooner discharged, for an increase of the regular army by 22,714 men, and for the enlistment of 18,000 seamen for the navy. It was now plain that both sides were preparing for war in earnest. The great immediate concern of the Lincoln administration was to make safe the city of Washington. Soon after the fall of Sumter a member of Davis's Cabinet had boasted that by the first of May the Confederate flag would float over the capital at Washington. This threat was published throughout the North, and it caused much fright among the people. The fear was greatly increased by the knowledge of the gathering of the Confederate armies in northern Virginia and the inability of the northern troops to pass through Baltimore on their way to the defense of the capital. No attempt to take the city was made by the Confederates, but had such an attempt been made before the 25th of April, it might have succeeded. But all fears were scattered on that day by the arrival of two New York and Massachusetts regiments. And others were coming. Before the end of May 50,000 troops had gathered in the city; they crossed the Potomac and took possession of Alexandria and of the famous heights of Arlington. Here they paused; and the Confederate army, scattered from Harpers Ferry to Norfolk, also remained inactive.

Meantime the war had actually begun in another quarter. Early in May Governor Letcher of Virginia called for the militia of that state to assemble under arms for the purpose of repelling an apprehended invasion from the "government at Washington." This meant nothing

Peril of
Washington

West
Virginia

less than an enlistment in the Confederate service. But the people living beyond the Alleghanies, throughout that section of Virginia bordering on Ohio and Pennsylvania, were not in sympathy with the southern cause. They had few slaves, and their interests lay with the North. Why should they take up arms against the Union and the flag which they loved? They refused to do so; they held mass meetings in Wheeling and other cities, and declared their adherence to the Union. Some forty counties, including a few east of the mountains, held a convention in June, and the delegates were almost unanimous in their desire to have the western counties break away from the old state and form a new one. One of the chief objects of the convention was to bring about a division of the state. The convention chose Francis H. Pierpont governor, not of the proposed new state, but of Virginia, taking the ground that the loyal citizens of the state truly represented it, and that the disunion government at Richmond was illegal. It was this government that applied to Washington for a division of the state. Some time later senators and representatives were sent to the Congress — not at Richmond, but at Washington. A constitution was framed for the new state, and was ratified by the people in May, 1862. The following year West Virginia became a state in the Union, Congress agreeing with the loyal citizens that they legally represented Virginia. The clause in the Federal Constitution forbidding the division of any state without its consent was overcome on the ground that, as secession was illegal and void, the West Virginians represented Virginia, and their consent to the division was deemed sufficient.

Governor Pierpont had applied to President Lincoln for assistance in driving out the secessionists. The request was granted, and western Virginia became the first battle ground of the Civil War; and the first hero of the war, aside from Major Anderson, was George B. McClellan, a young army officer who had resigned his commission and was now president of a railroad company and residing in Cincinnati. His first serious work was to clear western Virginia of Confederates, and he addressed himself to the task with great vigor.

In a series of skirmishes, covering but a few weeks, he drove the enemy¹ entirely out of that part of Virginia. This preliminary work was very important in its results. It reestablished the

¹ The belligerents both being American, the term "enemy" is used in these pages for either side as required by clarity and brevity. The word "rebellion" is used also as a convenience, *sine ira*.

broken railroad lines westward from Washington, and pointed toward McClellan as the coming man in the great war that was to follow.

While these things were going on, conditions were maturing in eastern Virginia for the first real battle of the war. Public opinion at the North was impatient at the inaction of the army along the Potomac. Why not strike a blow for the Union? This was the cry all over the North, and though General Winfield Scott, the commander in chief, did not favor giving battle at that moment, the pressure was too great to be resisted. General Irvin McDowell held 45,000 men on the Potomac opposite Washington; while opposite McDowell, with his base at Manassas, Beauregard,¹ who in former years had been a classmate of McDowell at West Point, held the main Confederate army. Another Confederate force, under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, was in the Shenandoah Valley not far away. It was decided to send McDowell forward to meet Beauregard and to prevent Johnston from joining Beauregard. General Patterson was moving with a strong force from Pennsylvania.

McDowell was a good strategist. The plan of the coming battle was his own, though the general movements were directed from Washington by General Scott. The North was in high spirits in anticipation of the battle. Many members of Congress drove out from Washington to receive the earliest word of the expected victory of the "Grand Army." And it would have been realized but for the unaccountable action of General Patterson, who failed to detain Johnston as he was ordered to do. Instead he withdrew to Charlestown and Johnston hastened to join Beauregard with the major part of his army. Patterson was a veteran of the War of 1812 and of the Mexican War, and though he was a Breckinridge Democrat in the campaign of 1860, there is little ground to question his loyalty to the Union. His costly blunder was the result of incapacity. He was speedily relieved of his command, and Nathaniel P. Banks was appointed in his stead.

McDowell had planned the battle with reference to Beauregard's army alone, and did not know of the arrival of Johnston till after the battle. He made the attack on Sunday, July 21. In a short time the Confederates were driven back a mile and a half to a plateau where General Thomas J. Jackson stood with a brigade awaiting the Union forces. At this point a Confederate general is said to

Battle of Bull Run

¹ Beauregard had resigned from the United States army, as had some two hundred Confederate officers.

have exclaimed to his men, "Look at Jackson, there he stands like a stone wall!" — and from that time this remarkable commander, whose powers were yet to be revealed, was known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

Beauregard and Johnston, some miles away when the firing began, galloped to the field and, arriving at noon, ordered an immediate renewal of the fight. For three hours longer the Union men fought valiantly and began to rejoice in another victory. Then suddenly the Confederates began to cheer and to move forward with great confidence. Why the sudden change? General Kirby Smith had just arrived with the remnant of Johnston's army, more than 2500 men, the first part having joined Beauregard the day before. These fresh troops were joined to the main army and the whole force moved impetuously against McDowell. The word now flew through the Union ranks that Johnston's army had arrived, and the untrained militia were seized with a sudden fear. They began to waver, and in a little time they were a panic-stricken, disorganized mass, fleeing for their lives across the Virginia plains. They believed the Confederates were pursuing them (which was not true), and they fled on and on till late in the night, many of them never stopping till they reached the heights of Arlington or Washington, thirty miles from the scene of the conflict. Thus ended the famous, disastrous battle of Bull Run.¹

The news of the defeat at Bull Run caused deep depression and indignation at the North. McDowell was severely censured, but he had done nobly, and deserved no blame. The army was denounced as a band of cowards, but unfairly and unjustly. Most of the men were untrained in military affairs; they had enlisted in the war through a patriotic impulse, with little knowledge of the real character of war. They had been thrown into a panic, had lost their heads and become uncontrollable through a sudden fright. Such an experience might come to any body of raw militia, but it would hardly be possible with regulars.

The battle of Bull Run was in the end a great lesson for the North. It misled the South by giving the people a false sense of security, a belief that ultimate success was certain. The North, on the other hand, after a few days of depression and discouragement, arose to the gravity of the situation. People realized for

¹ The Union loss in this battle was 481 killed, 1011 wounded, and about 1300 prisoners, many of whom were wounded. The Confederate loss was 387 killed, 1582 wounded, and a few prisoners. The Union army also lost 28 cannon, 5000 muskets, and half a million cartridges.

the first time that a long and bloody war was necessary to save the Union; and the slight wound received at Bull Run awakened the mighty energy that was essential to success.

Next to Virginia, Missouri became the earliest battle ground of the war. As already noticed, Governor Jackson and the legislature made the most desperate efforts to lead Missouri into secession, but the people thought otherwise. They elected a Union convention which Missouri a battle ground declared the office of governor and other offices vacant, and appointed Union men to fill them. These appointments were ratified by the people. But the discredited governor and a fragment of his discredited legislature met in November, and boldly set forth a declaration of independence and pronounced the state out of the Union. This movement proved a fiasco; it had no influence with the people.

We left General Lyon at Jefferson City, whence he removed to Springfield to join his forces with fifteen hundred men under Colonel Franz Sigel. The Missourians under Sterling Price had meantime been joined by General Ben McCulloch with a force from Texas and Arkansas, raising the entire army to nearly twelve thousand, while that of Lyon was not over six thousand. Price and McCulloch were encamped on the banks of Wilson's Creek some miles from Springfield. Here on August 10 Lyon made a front attack with his main army, sending Sigel at the same time with 1200 men around the enemy's right to attack in the rear. Sigel made a desperate charge but was driven back with a loss of two thirds of his men. In front the battle continued for some hours, Lyon leading his men with great gallantry. Twice he was wounded, and his horse was shot under him; he mounted a second horse, shouted to his men to follow him in a final attack; but at that moment he received a fatal shot in the breast. The death of Lyon, one of the bravest and most skillful officers in the service of the government, was a national disaster. After his death the little army fought on valiantly for an hour longer, when it retreated in good order. The total Union loss in the Battle of Wilson's Creek slightly exceeded twelve hundred, while the Confederates sustained a loss of about eleven hundred and fifty.

THE EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS

Before the battles of Wilson's Creek and Bull Run the Thirty-Seventh Congress had met in special session at the call of the President. Two notable leaders of the Senate, Seward and

Chase, were now in the Cabinet, and the seat of the latter was filled by John Sherman, whose six years' service in the House had prepared him for a long and useful career. Of the twenty-two senators representing the eleven seceded states, all had left that body save Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, who alone remained true to the Union. But many able leaders yet remained. New England was represented by Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Jacob Collamer of Vermont, Fessenden of Maine, and John P. Hale of New Hampshire. From Pennsylvania came David Wilmot; from Ohio, Benjamin Wade; from Illinois, Lyman Trumbull; from Kentucky, John C. Breckinridge, and from far-away Oregon, the popular English-born soldier-statesman, Edward D. Baker.

The leader of the House was Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who held the leadership throughout the war, and whose sympathy with the slave almost led him to dislike his own race. Among the ablest men in the House were George H. Pendleton of Ohio, Elihu B. Washburn of Illinois, and George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania was elected Speaker.

Mr. Lincoln's message was a remarkably clear statement of the condition of the country, the purpose of the government, and the importance to the world of saving the Union. "This issue," he stated, "embraces more than the fate of the United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy — a government of the people by the same people — can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. . . . Must a government be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?" That the President no longer thought of compromise is clear from his statement that "no popular government can long survive a marked precedent, that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election." As to the criticisms of the President for having in April suspended the writ of *Habeas Corpus*,¹ he shows how this apparent violation of

Lincoln's
message

¹ In May, 1861, a serious dispute arose between the President and Chief Justice Taney concerning the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The Constitution provides that the writ may be suspended only in case of rebellion or invasion, but by whom is not stated. President Lincoln took the responsibility of suspending the writ, and caused the arrest of one John Merriman, for recruiting a Confederate force in Maryland, and imprisoned him at Fort McHenry. Merriman applied to the chief justice for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* and Mr. Taney issued it, on the ground that Congress only had the right to suspend the writ. But

one law was to enforce all the others that had been violated at the South, and disposes of the matter in a stroke by saying, "Are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated?" He confessed in this message that he had surpassed his constitutional powers in his call of May 4 for an increase in the regular army and of the navy; but he showed the public necessity for these acts and asked Congress to ratify them. He also called for four hundred thousand men and \$400,000,000 to prosecute the war.

The session was in full swing when the news of the Bull Run defeat reached the members; but this only stimulated them, as it did the entire North, to the greater determination. One of the first important acts was to authorize the President (July 25) to call out five hundred thousand volunteers for three years, or for the period of the war; and a few days later another act was passed largely increasing the regular army and the navy. The finances were also well taken care of. The secretary of the treasury was authorized to borrow \$250,000,000 by issuing bonds and treasury notes; duties on certain imports were greatly increased; an annual income tax of three per cent was laid on all incomes exceeding \$800. Finally, on August 6, the last day of the session, the earlier acts of the President in augmenting the navy and army were ratified, and he was authorized to seize and confiscate any property used or intended to be used against the government of the United States. After having thus put the country on a war footing, Congress adjourned, leaving the President practically military dictator.

The session was remarkable for its rapid dispatch of business and for the adoption of the following resolution, offered by the venerable Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky: "That . . . Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; this war is not waged . . . in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest . . . but to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states unimpaired; and as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease." By this resolution it will be seen that the war was not a war against slavery at this time; but nothing could long keep the slavery question out of Congress; this was shown in December of the

President Lincoln refused to be bound by the decision of the chief justice, and applied for the opinion of his attorney-general, Mr. Bates, who sustained the President. The Constitution, interpreted by the correct principles of political science, could not deny to the President the power of suspension of this writ, as Congress might not be in session at a time of sudden invasion, and on the President would devolve the responsibility of maintaining public order.

same year, when Congress, called upon to vote on a resolution similar to the above, defeated it by a large majority. Even in this extra session an act, known as the Confiscation Act, was passed, by which freedom was given to any slave who should be employed in any way against the government of the United States.

RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN; THE TRENT AFFAIR

The "Trent Affair" played an important part in our foreign relations during the early portion of the war period; but the account of it must be preceded by a hurried glance at the relations that led up to it.

It was impossible that a prolonged civil war should be carried on in America without profoundly affecting the civilized world; and the attitude of Europe, especially of England, was a matter of deep concern to the American people. Never before had a more friendly spirit existed between England and the United States than in the autumn of 1860. Seldom had a year passed from the founding of the United States government seventy years before, without a dispute of some kind with the mother country; but in December, 1860, President Buchanan could truthfully say in his message to Congress that as "two dangerous questions arising from the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and from the right of search" (which had come up for the last time in 1858) had been amicably settled, our relations with Great Britain were of the most friendly character. Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, pronounced this message the most cordial that had ever appeared in such a communication. Moreover, the young Prince of Wales had just visited our shores, bearing the good will of his royal mother to our government and people, and receiving from them the most unfeigned expressions of the nation's friendship. The *London Times*, commenting on the planting of a tree at the tomb of Washington by the prince, said: "It seemed, when the royal youth closed the earth around the little germ, that he was burying the last faint trace of discord between us and our great brethren in the West." But all this was soon changed by the rising war cloud in America.

The nation looked to England for sympathy in its struggle for life; the southern Confederacy appealed to England's commercial interests, for it was the South that supplied the material that moved the machinery of the great cotton mills of Liverpool, of Manchester, and of Leeds. How would England decide between the two sections?

North and
South appeal
to England

On the one hand were the friendly relations with the United States; on the other, the want of cotton, which could be had only by breaking the blockade and thus making war with the United States. An independent South meant free trade with the cotton states in future, and the bait was an alluring one to the English. But another consideration it was that probably prevented an early recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain. Slavery was the acknowledged corner stone of the Confederacy, and the English disliked slavery. From the time of Lord Mansfield's famous decision in 1772 slavery had not been permitted on the home soil, and in the English colonies it was abolished in 1833. How could the English aid in establishing a nation founded on slavery?

The sympathies of the higher classes in England, the press and the great quarterlies, favored the South.¹ "We believe the conquest of the South to be a hopeless dream," said the *Quarterly Review*. "The Federal government can never succeed in putting down the rebellion," said Mr. Gladstone.² The English press Early in March a motion was introduced into the House of Commons for the recognition of the independence of the South. Commercial interest, however, was not the sole cause of this feeling. There was a general fear on the other side of the Atlantic that the American republic was growing too great. This was voiced by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who said in an address,³ "I believe that such separation will be attended with happy results to the safety of Europe and the development of American civilization. . . . America would have hung over Europe (but for its being divided by the Civil War, which the speaker assumed to be already accomplished) like a gathering and destructive thunder cloud." This feeling was natural in Europe, nor is it a just ground for present-day resentment in America. Europe foresaw that the United States, if they remained together, would grow into a vast power of unmeasured strength, but did not foresee that we would be a conservative people who love peace far better than war. To become a military bully because of conscious power is utterly foreign to the American spirit, nor can such a condition ever be possible without a complete revolution in public opinion, of which there is yet no tendency.

Before the close of Buchanan's administration Secretary

¹ See Justin McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. II, p. 224.

² In 1896 Mr. Gladstone, in his old age, wrote in his diary that expressing this opinion in 1862 had been a gross offense. See Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. II, p. 81.

³ Before the Agricultural society of Hertford County, September 25, 1861. Quoted by Harris, *The Trent Affair*, p. 27.

Black had written an order to our foreign ministers that they use every effort with the respective countries to which they were assigned to prevent a recognition of the Confederacy.

The queen's proclamation, May 14, 1861 This was repeated in a more emphatic way by Secretary Seward soon after the inauguration of Lincoln.

Most countries made favorable answers; but England, through her foreign minister, refused to commit herself one way or the other. Early in May, Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, embarked for England as minister to that country from the United States. On the day of his landing and before he had met the British officials, the queen's proclamation of neutrality was made public. This accorded to the South the same belligerent rights, the same war privileges, that international law accords to a sovereign power. This hasty action of Great Britain, which was soon followed by France and most of the other European governments, was looked upon as showing an unfriendly spirit. It is true that the United States was forced a few months later to do this very thing — to acknowledge the belligerent rights of the South, not openly, but by its treatment of Confederate soldiers according to the rules of war — but why should a foreign power do this first, and in the face of our protest? As John Bright said in the House of Commons, "It was done with unfriendly haste."¹

In a few months, however, when it was seen that the British government was not inclined at that time to acknowledge the independence of the Confederacy,² the feeling of bitterness awakened by the proclamation was greatly softened. There was also some reaction in England.

Meantime the Confederate government was industriously seeking recognition from foreign powers, especially from England. The southern leaders believed that cotton would eventually unlock the doors that were at first closed against them. "We do not like slavery," said Lord Palmerston, the British Premier, to an American in London, "but we want cotton, and we dislike very much your Morrill tariff."³

¹ Speech of March 13, 1865. British writers have justified the action of the queen on the ground that President Lincoln had in substance acknowledged the belligerency of the South by his blockade proclamation of April 19, and that a foreign power could not respect the blockade without recognizing the state of war. But there is no international rule of this sort. For example, Russia blockaded her own ports on the Black Sea for five years succeeding 1831, as they were in the hands of the Circassian rebels. England recognized this blockade without acknowledging the belligerent rights of the rebels. See Harris, p. 51.

² The motion to recognize the independence of the South, introduced in the House of Commons in March, was withdrawn in June.

³ See Rhodes, Vol. III, pp. 431, 433.

In the fall of 1861 occurred the episode known as the Trent Affair, which strained the peaceful relations between the United States and the British Empire almost to the breaking point. President Davis determined to send two men of established reputation to represent his government at London and Paris. James M. Mason of Virginia and John Slidell of Louisiana were chosen. Mr. Mason belonged to one of the most prominent families of Virginia; he had served for many years in the United States Senate, and was the writer of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Slidell had also served in the Senate.

The Trent
Affair,

At midnight of October 12, 1861, Mason and Slidell escaped from Charleston Harbor in an armed blockade runner and reached Havana in safety. They embarked from that port for Southampton, England, on the British mail steamer *Trent*. As the *Trent* was steaming through the Bahama Channel, she was hailed by an American sloop and ordered, by a solid shot across her bows, to heave to. Disregarding this, the *Trent* was brought to a stop by a shell that exploded in front of her. The American vessel proved to be the *San Jacinto*, a screw sloop of fifteen guns. Captain Charles Wilkes was her commander. Wilkes was known as a skillful naval officer, but he was better known as a scientist and an explorer. He had made a famous voyage to the Antarctic seas, where he discovered and gave his name to that dreary, unpeopled land which was marked in our geographies as "Wilkes Land." The English captain was highly indignant at Wilkes' demand, but he had no power to resist, and after Mason and Slidell and their two secretaries had been transferred to the *San Jacinto* the *Trent* was permitted to proceed on her way. The two men were carried to Boston Harbor and confined as prisoners of war in Fort Warren.

Seizure of
Mason and
Slidell

The news of the capture produced the first hearty rejoicing of the war throughout the North. The press and the people raised a shout of joy over the clever capture. Captain Wilkes was given an ovation in Boston, another in New York, and he became a popular hero of the day. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks.

When the news of the capture reached England, a universal outburst of anger overspread the kingdom. As the American public had rejoiced without considering the gravity of the situation, so the English people were equally thoughtless in flying into a passion. They ignored all precedents arising from their own claim of the right of search,

War spirit in
England

and saw in the act of Wilkes only the violation of the British flag. The war spirit rose to fever heat, and the government began making immediate preparations for war. Great quantities of cannon, muskets, and ammunition were loaded on shipboard for Canada. Thirty thousand men were sent to Halifax, in the belief, however, that they were going straight to Charleston to join the Confederate armies.

With great promptness the British ministry framed a formal demand on America for reparation. This was sent to the queen for her approval, and Prince Albert wrestled with it a whole night, greatly modifying the harshness of its tone.¹ But seven days were allowed in which to return an answer to the British demand. When this became known to the American people, there was a cry of rage against England. It was believed on all sides that England would have made no such demand had we not been embarrassed at home by a great civil war — that she would have been willing to discuss the merits of the question, to cite precedents and to leave the matter to arbitration. All this was refused in the peremptory demand. Public opinion was divided; some wanted war at any cost. Others drew a darker picture — the destruction of our seaboard cities, the annihilation of our navy, and the breaking of the blockade; the loss of trade, the vast expense in money and human life, and the coalition of England with the South! Others said, "Let us yield now from necessity and be revenged hereafter." John W. Forney, one of the leading newspaper men in the country, said in the *Philadelphia Press*: "Let us swear, not only to ourselves, but to our children that come after us, to repay this greedy and insolent power with the retribution of a just and fearful vengeance." But most of the people refrained from the use of such extravagant language.

Meantime the momentous question had to be decided. The seven days had almost expired. Every eye was turned toward Washington. With the exception of the secretary of the navy, who had written Wilkes an approving letter, Lincoln and his Cabinet did not openly join in the general rejoicing; they remained quiet and let the flame of public passion burn. Perhaps they knew, what the American public did not know, that France was urging England on and was ready to join with her in declaring war on the United States. On the day that brought the first news of the capture Lincoln had said that he feared the captives might prove white elephants, that we fought Great Britain

¹ This was the last official writing of the Prince Consort; his health was rapidly failing, and within a few weeks he was dead.

for insisting on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes had done. The framing of an answer to the British demands devolved on Seward and he did it with consummate skill. The act of Wilkes had already been disavowed. Seward now declared that Wilkes' act was an error because he had not brought the *Trent* before an admiralty court, that his only purpose was to serve his country with no thought of violating the British flag, that we had always opposed the right of search and would not now violate our own principle. Mason and Slidell were released and the danger of war was averted.¹ The South had hoped that the incident might bring war between the United States and England and was deeply disappointed at the outcome.

The consensus of European opinion on the Trent Affair was favorable to the British view; and this was practically the view taken by Mr. Seward. Great Britain was wholly in the wrong in being wrought into a war fever without waiting for a word of explanation or asking if we meant to offend her, in sending an ultimatum while mobilizing armies, and in refusing to discuss the merits of the subject at all.

Belligerent Rights. — This matter was settled by the battle of Bull Run. President Lincoln had stated in his blockade proclamation that Confederate privateers when captured would be treated as pirates. Early in June the privateer *Savannah* was captured and the crew were taken to New York City and lodged in jail for trial. But soon after Bull Run, President Davis put some of the prisoners taken in that battle in chains, and sent word to the authorities at Washington that he would deal with them in the same manner as the United States government should deal with the crew of the *Savannah*. This led Mr. Lincoln to recede from his position, and the crew were exchanged as prisoners of war. From this time the United States, in practice though not in theory, accorded belligerent rights to the South, recognizing Confederate captives as prisoners of war.

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¹ Mason and Slidell proceeded to Europe, but they accomplished nothing. They received no public welcome in London. The *London Times* said, "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CIVIL WAR: THE FIRST YEAR

THE Federal disaster at Bull Run was better than a victory for the North, for it roused the whole people to a sense of the magnitude of the task before them. It led hundreds of thousands of determined men to leave their homes and take up arms in defense of the Union; while the South was led by its victory to a false sense of security, to a belief that secession had succeeded, and that the war was practically over. The uprising of the North was on a grand scale. Every city, village, and hamlet was astir with martial activity, and within a few months after Bull Run more than half a million men had joined the northern armies.¹ These were stationed at various points along the border line, from the coast of Virginia to the plains of Kansas. The largest army was that before Washington, and the young leader who had won the admiration of the country in the mountains of western Virginia was called to its command. McClellan took control the last week in July, 1861, leaving General W. S. Rosecrans at the head of the forces in West Virginia. General John C. Frémont was appointed to the military district of the West, and he reached his headquarters at St. Louis near the close of July. General Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame was placed in command at Louisville, and General Benjamin M. Prentiss at Cairo. These commands were all changed within a year or two, as we shall notice in the course of the narrative.

The preparations for war were less vigorous at this time in the South than in the North. The Confederate president, who did not share the belief of his countrymen that Bull Run had ended the war, employed all his personal and official influence to awaken the people to the belief that a long and bloody war was before them. At the beginning of July the South had about 112,000 men in the field, stationed chiefly in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and southern Missouri. On the 8th of August the

¹ The December reports of the secretaries of war and the navy show that there were at that time in the service of the government 640,637 volunteers, 20,334 regulars, and 22,000 marines.

Confederate Congress, led by Mr. Davis, authorized the enlistment of 400,000 men for three years, and the work of raising and organizing this force continued through the autumn and winter; but there was no such universal, spontaneous movement as characterized the North, and at the close of the year 1861 scarcely one fourth of this number had been raised.

In the matter of army equipment the South was at first fairly well supplied, owing partly to the thoughtful foresight of Mr. Floyd, Mr. Buchanan's secretary of war, who, in apparent anticipation of war between the sections, had removed great numbers of muskets from northern to southern arsenals. The seizure of Harpers Ferry and Norfolk and the muskets captured at Bull Run were of great service to the southern armies. The North, though badly armed at first, began at once the manufacture of arms and other munitions of war on a large scale, and after the first year of the war there was an adequate supply for all demands. The Confederates also set about manufacturing powder and arms, but the supply was never adequate, and the southern cause suffered constantly from this defect. For some months after Bull Run and Wilson's Creek there was no battle or military movement of importance; we turn therefore to a notice of

THE FIRST NAVAL EXPEDITIONS

At a notable gathering of the European powers at Paris in the spring of 1856 it was decided, among other things, that privateering be abolished. The United States was requested to join in this agreement, but it refused. A few months later, however, the United States government offered to accept the Paris agreement, if the powers would add another article exempting all private property from capture by an enemy at sea. But to this they refused to agree. Had the United States foreseen the fearful retribution that would be visited upon it within the coming decade on account of the first refusal, there is little doubt that the original agreement would have been accepted.

One of the first acts of the Confederate president was to authorize privateering — the preying of Confederate cruisers on the merchant marine of the United States. This was a vital spot at which the South could strike without fear of retaliation, for the wealth of the South in shipping could be rated at zero. Confederate privateering was begun early in the struggle, and it was partly to intercept the blockade runners that the first Federal naval expeditions along the Atlantic coast were undertaken.

In August, 1861, General B. F. Butler embarked in a small fleet from Fortress Monroe for Hatteras Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina. Two days later the fleet was throwing shells into the newly built forts, Clark and Hatteras, at an opening of Pamlico Sound, and in twenty-four hours both forts had surrendered with nearly seven hundred men, a thousand stand of arms, and thirty-five cannon.

Butler's expedition

A more pretentious expedition was that of General Ambrose E. Burnside, who sailed from Fortress Monroe in January, 1862.¹

His fleet bore an army of twelve thousand men. The destination was the eastern coast of North Carolina.

Burnside's expedition

The object of the expedition was to blockade and to gain possession of Pamlico Sound and the adjoining coast. The fleet crossed the bar into Pamlico Sound, and proceeded northward to Roanoke Island. The Confederate forces on this island, about three thousand strong, were in command of Henry A. Wise, whom we have met as governor of Virginia, at the time of the execution of John Brown. The Union fleet landed seventy-five hundred troops on the island. They floundered through marsh and bog till they reached the enemy's breastworks, which, after firing several volleys, they scaled in one impetuous rush, making prisoners of the whole force of the enemy. This was a victory of much importance, as Roanoke Island stood at the gateway of both great sounds east of the main coast of North Carolina.

A little later Burnside captured New Berne, an important port on the Neuse River, and Fort Macon.

The Burnside expedition was a very successful one, and the coast of North Carolina was held to the end of the war by the Union armies. Burnside, however, was ordered northward in midsummer, 1862, to join the Army of the Potomac under McClellan.

One more successful naval expedition belonged to this early period of the war. Sometime before the expedition of Burnside a fleet of fifty ships left Hampton Roads under Admiral S. F. Dupont.² The commanders of the vessels were ignorant of their destination; but each had sealed orders to be opened at sea in case the fleet became scattered. When they were off Cape Hatteras a tempest swept the sea, and the fleet was soon scattered far and wide. The sealed orders were

Dupont's expedition

¹ See Burnside's account in *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 660 sq.

² At the opening of the Civil War the highest rank in the navy was captain. In July, 1862, Congress created several rear admirals, of whom Dupont was one.

then opened and each commander discovered that he was going to Port Royal, on the coast of South Carolina between Charleston and Savannah. Several of the vessels were lost or disabled. The rest met at the designated place early in November. The sound on which Port Royal is situated was guarded by two forts, one on either side of the channel. The Confederate commander was General T. F. Drayton, whose brother, Captain Percival Drayton, commanded a vessel in Dupont's approaching fleet.¹ With six hours of cannonading both forts were silenced, the Confederates fled, and the stars and stripes were hoisted over the ruined walls. Thus another important harbor came under the control of the government. This victory, with those of Butler and Burnside above mentioned, was of great value to the Union cause. They greatly revived the spirit of the northern people after the disasters of Bull Run and Wilson's Creek; they had a salutary moral effect on Europe; they rendered the blockade effective almost throughout the entire coast from Virginia to Florida, and they furnished admirable bases for future operations during the war.²

THE DUEL OF THE IRONCLADS

The most famous of all naval duels, and one of the most important in the world's history, was that between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* at Hampton Roads on Sunday, March 9, 1862. But four years before this time France had built the first ironclad; England soon followed her lead and built two, and these three alone existed at the opening of the Civil War. But none of these had come into action, and it was left for the United States, in its unnatural contest with itself, to furnish the first battle between ironclads.

On abandoning the navy yard near Norfolk in April, 1861, the Union forces burned what was combustible, including the steam frigate *Merrimac*. The vessel when partially consumed sank beneath the waves. A few months later the Confederates raised it and converted it into an ironclad. The work progressed for many months, until March 8, 1862, when this new ironbound monster, now called the *Virginia*, steamed down the Elizabeth River toward Hampton Roads, where lay at anchor several of the finest United States warships.

Meanwhile the Lincoln administration, knowing of the building of the *Merrimac*, was preparing to meet her with a vessel of

¹ There were many instances where brother fought against brother in the Civil War.

² *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 682.

her own class. A contract for an ironclad was made with John Ericsson, the Swedish inventor. Ericsson ignored the French and English models and built a vessel on a plan of his own invention. Day and night the work was pushed at the Brooklyn shipyard, and the new ironclad, named the *Monitor*, was finished almost at the same hour as was the *Merrimac*. But she had much further to go, and the *Merrimac*, under Captain Buchanan, reached the scene of action some hours in advance of the *Monitor*; and memorable hours they were in American naval history.

The *Merrimac* steamed slowly up the harbor toward Newport News on that calm afternoon of March 8, on her mission of destruction. When she came within three quarters of a mile the *Congress*, a fine frigate of fifty guns, opened fire on her, as did also the *Cumberland*, a sloop of thirty guns; but the strange-looking monster held her peace. At length, when she came within easy range, she fired into the *Cumberland* with fearful effect, then she raked the *Congress* with a broadside. After this, steering direct for the *Cumberland*, she rammed that vessel, and the impact stove in her side, making a hole "wide enough to drive in a horse and cart." The *Cumberland* filled rapidly with water, but the gallant crew kept working their guns to the last. The vessel sank with a final roar, and the mast, still protruding above the water, marked with its fluttering pennant the burial place of a crew as brave as any that ever died in their country's cause. For an hour longer the *Congress* continued the struggle, when she surrendered; and the Confederates burned her in the evening. During this contest the shore batteries at Newport News poured volley after volley into the *Merrimac*, but neither their shots nor those from the vessels seemed to affect the iron pachyderm. The *Minnesota*, seeing the distress of her unfortunate sisters, had steamed down the channel to take part in the battle, but she ran aground and stuck fast. Here she lay helpless in the middle of the channel and might have become an easy prey to the *Merrimac*. But it was late in the afternoon, and the captain of the *Merrimac* decided to wait till the following morning to complete his destructive work. The delay was fatal.

The news of this fearful day's work was flashed northward, and it created consternation. Mr. Lincoln held a Cabinet meeting to discuss the new terror.

"The *Merrimac*," said Secretary Stanton, "will change the whole character of the war; she will destroy, *seriatim*, every naval

vessel; she will lay all the cities on the sea coast under contribution." The greatest anxiety prevailed in government circles; but the next day brought different news.

On that night the *Monitor* arrived from New York, commanded by Lieutenant John L. Worden. Steaming up the mouth of the James by the light of the burning *Congress*, she hove to near the grounded *Minnesota* and waited for the morning. Early in the morning the *Merrimac* stood for the *Minnesota* and opened fire — but here was the new enemy to deal with. The *Monitor* instantly threw herself before the *Minnesota* and engaged the *Merrimac*. The two vessels were alike only in being ironclads. The *Merrimac* was a clumsy, unwieldy vessel of thirty-five hundred tons, and carried eight heavy guns and seven small ones. She was aptly described as "a huge, half-submerged crocodile." The *Monitor* was a small vessel of but nine hundred tons and carried two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns in a revolving turret, twenty feet in diameter, and gave the appearance of "a cheese box on a raft." It seemed like the fight of a pygmy and a giant.

The *Monitor*
and the
Merrimac,
March 9,
1862

For several hours the two vessels fought, sometimes but a few yards apart. One double shot from the *Monitor* forced in the sides of the *Merrimac* several inches, knocking the crew off their feet with the concussion.¹ A shell from the *Merrimac* struck the pilot house of the *Monitor*, and wounded Commander Worden. He then ordered his vessel to retire that the extent of the injury to the pilot house might be ascertained. The *Merrimac* steamed back to Norfolk, and the battle was ended. The fight was terrific and grandly picturesque, but there was no loss of life. The battle was a draw; but in its effects it must be regarded a victory for the *Monitor*, for the *Minnesota* and the other Union vessels were saved, the power of the *Merrimac* was destroyed, and two months later, when the Confederates abandoned Norfolk, she was burned.²

This first fight of ironclads had the effect of revolutionizing naval warfare throughout the world. All the navies of the world were composed of wooden vessels, and here in Virginia waters it was demonstrated that no wooden ship could stand before an ironclad. The day of the "ship of the line" of the "oak leviathan" was over from this hour. "Whereas," said the *London*

¹ *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 702.

² The *Monitor* was wrecked the following December off Cape Hatteras, and sank with nine of her crew.

Times, "we had one hundred and forty-nine first-class warships, we have now two. . . . There is not now a ship in the English navy apart from these two that it would not be madness to trust to an engagement with that little *Monitor*." Every maritime power in the world began from this date to reconstruct its navy on the basis of the ironclad.

OPERATIONS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The North had expected to hear ere this of some notable achievement of the Army of the Potomac; but McClellan was still unready, and while he continued his preparations various movements took place in the great central valley of the continent. The people of the upper Mississippi Valley had a twofold reason for rising against the rebellion of the South. First, they would save the Union, and second, they would save the river. Their second reason was partly commercial and partly sentimental. They could not endure the thought of this great artery of trade, this opening to the world's markets for their products, this their own majestic, beloved river — they could not endure its flowing for a thousand miles through a foreign land. To prevent such a condition the men of the West rose in arms to save the Union.¹

The comprehensive, twofold object of the Union armies in 1862 was to take the Confederate capital and to open the Mississippi River. To accomplish these ends it was important that the forces east and west work in harmony, and to do this they must be directed by one brain, by a commander in chief. But here the government was at a loss. General Scott had long passed the prime of manhood, and was in no way fitted for the great task. For a short time McClellan was made commander in chief, and then H. W. Halleck, but both proved unsatisfactory, and, until the last year of the war, the armies east and west of the mountains acted, in a great measure, separately, without any effective common commanding authority, save that of the President, who laid no claim to military knowledge.

So numerous were the battles and skirmishes in the West, as well as in the East, that we must leave many of the minor ones unnoticed, and give our attention to the larger movements which contributed most to the final outcome of the war. We left two small opposing armies in southern Missouri after the Battle of Wilson's Creek in August, 1861. For many months thereafter no important movement

John C.
Frémont

¹ Inaugural address of Governor Yates, of Illinois, 1861.

occurred in that section. John C. Frémont had been put in command of the department that included Missouri, and his headquarters were at St. Louis. But ere long he was charged with incompetency and flagrant misuse of his authority — with corruption in giving out contracts, with bearing himself like an Oriental nabob, with keeping men waiting for days to see him on pressing business of the department, with throwing men into prison without a cause, and with general incompetence. These charges were brought before the President, who, investigating them with the utmost care, found them to be true, and Frémont was removed. What a comment on the narrow escape of the country in electing James Buchanan President instead of Frémont in 1856!

Before Frémont's removal he had issued a proclamation, for the purpose, as some thought, of calling public attention from the charges against him, confiscating the property and setting free the slaves of all persons in Missouri who had taken up arms against the government, or who should do so in the future. This was by far the most radical move that had yet been made against the slaveholder. When Mr. Lincoln heard of it he saw at a glance that the order, if sustained by him, would seriously impair the Union cause in Kentucky. He accordingly ordered Frémont to modify his proclamation so as to conform to the recent Confiscation act of Congress.

This incident is memorable from the fact that it caused the first serious disaffection in the Republican party. A great many of the radical antislavery members of the party, including such leaders as Charles Sumner, openly favored Frémont. In the Middle West, especially in Ohio, Lincoln was denounced most vigorously, and was accused of trying to suppress Frémont because he feared him as a rival for the presidency. When a little later Lincoln removed Frémont from his command, the radicals, not knowing the true cause, were furious. But the President preserved his usual calm, and time has fully vindicated his course.

At the beginning of the year 1862 the Confederates held the southern part of Kentucky, the line between the opposing forces passing through Mill Springs, Bowling Green, Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Columbus on the Mississippi. To break this line General George H. Thomas was sent with some ten thousand men. Thomas met a force of five or six thousand men under General George B. Crittenden, a brother of the Union general, Thomas

Battle of
Mill Springs,
January 19,
1862

S. Crittenden,¹ at Mill Springs, Kentucky, and a desperate battle ensued. The Confederates fought bravely during the day, but they were completely routed, and at nightfall they fled toward Nashville.

Kentucky was now occupied by three armies, with another at Cairo, Illinois, hovering on its border and about to enter the state. General Albert Sidney Johnston, then reputed the ablest commander of the South, held an army at Bowling Green, and General Leonidas Polk, the Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, who was also a soldier and a graduate of West Point, commanded a force at Columbus. Opposed to these were a Union army at Louisville under General Don Carlos Buell² and the army at Cairo under General U. S. Grant.

General Grant had seized Paducah in Kentucky, and had made in the preceding autumn an expedition down the Mississippi to Belmont, Missouri, where he had a sharp fight with General Pillow. But being bombarded from Columbus across the river by General Polk, Grant hastened back to Cairo.

Western Kentucky is traversed by two parallel rivers that empty into the Ohio near together. The larger of these, the Tennessee, takes its rise in the foothills of the Alleghany Mountains in southwestern Virginia, makes a grand detour southward into northern Alabama, crosses the state of Tennessee twice, and flows into the Ohio near its confluence with the Mississippi. The Cumberland, much smaller than the Tennessee, rises in eastern Kentucky, sweeps in a great curve through northern Tennessee, and flows northward into the Ohio. These two rivers, which were navigable for hundreds of miles, furnished the southern armies with invaluable means of transportation, and the Union commanders conceived the idea that the evacuation of Kentucky could best be forced by operating up the two rivers.

General A. S. Johnston was now the commander of all the Confederate armies west of the mountains, except in the extreme South. He saw too late that while the Mississippi had been strongly guarded by heavy batteries — at Columbus, Island No. 10, Memphis, and Vicksburg — the two inland rivers had been

¹ These two brothers, who took opposite sides in the war, were sons of the famous Kentucky senator, J. J. Crittenden.

² General Anderson, who was first in command at Louisville, was relieved, owing to failing health, by General William Tecumseh Sherman. Sherman stated to some Cabinet officers that it would require two hundred thousand men to clear Kentucky of the enemy. So extravagant seemed this statement that Sherman was considered insane, and was so characterized in the newspapers throughout the country. He was relieved by Buell in November, 1861. His statement evinced his foresight and judgment, as events proved. See McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War Times*.

neglected. Two small forts, Henry and Hieman, on the Tennessee, were now quickly strengthened, and also a far more formidable one on the Cumberland — Fort Donelson. Early in February General Grant captured Forts Henry and Hieman, most of their garrisons having fled to Fort Donelson.

Fort Donelson at this time was the scene of great excitement. The garrison knew that the Union army had invested Fort Henry, twelve miles across the country on the Tennessee. They knew also that it was only a matter of a few days till their own fort would be surrounded by gleaming bayonets and frowning cannon. Fort Donelson was admirably situated on a plateau a hundred feet above the river, and covered about a hundred acres. It had several heavy guns, and was held by eighteen thousand men under command of General John B. Floyd, late secretary of war in the Cabinet of Buchanan. Beneath the bluff on the river bank were two powerful batteries commanding the approach of the river.

While Flag Officer Foote with seven gunboats steamed up the Cumberland, Grant was busy moving his army from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson. His army, in two divisions, under command of General John A. McClernand, the Illinois congressman, a lawyer and not a soldier by profession, and General Charles F. Smith of the regular army, began closing in around the doomed fort. But before the battle began General Lew Wallace, the future author of "Ben Hur," arrived from Fort Henry with a third division. Pickets were thrown forward, and the sharpshooters hunted their holes among the rocks and trees.¹ The chief action of the day, aside from the continuous firing of artillery, was an assault on some rifle pits on a hillside, ordered by McClernand. The men surged up the hill amid a tempest of bullets and were driven back, leaving many strewn along the hillside. Again, and still again, they dashed toward the rifle pits, picking their way among dead and dying comrades, until at last, the leaves on the hillside being set on fire, they sullenly retreated, and "their souls were riven with the shrieks of their wounded comrades, whom the flames crept down upon and smothered and charred where they lay."²

Thus ended the 13th of February. There had been no general engagement. Foote arrived that night with his seven gunboats, four of them ironclads. Next day his guns were trained on the batteries on the river bank. The Confederate reply was terrific.

¹ See *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 407.

² See Lew Wallace's account in *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 412.

Foote was severely wounded ; his boats drifted helpless down the stream. The Confederates were cheered at the defeat of the gunboats and at their success of the day before ; but the next day would tell the story.

Grant's army, including those on guard, was about twenty-seven thousand strong, exceeding that of the enemy by at least six thousand.¹ Floyd knew this, and in consultation with his two chief lieutenants, Pillow and Buckner, he decided to attack the Union right at dawn and hurl it upon the center, and thus to open a way out to the road that leads to Nashville. In the early morning Pillow with ten thousand men fell upon McClelland, and Buckner soon joined him with an additional force. For some hours the roar of the battle was tremendous. Toward noon many of McClelland's men ran short of powder and he was forced to recede from his position. Pillow seems then to have lost his head. He felt that the whole Union army was defeated, and though the road to Nashville was open, the Confederates made no attempt to escape. Just then General Grant rode upon the scene. He had been absent all the morning down the river consulting with Foote. This moment, says Lew Wallace,² was the crisis in the life of Grant. Had he decided other than he did, the history of his life would have closed at Donelson. Hearing the disastrous news, his face flushed for a moment ; he crushed some papers in his hand. Next instant he was calm, and said in his ordinary quiet tone, to McClelland and Wallace, "Gentlemen, the position on the right must be retaken." In a short time the Union lines were in motion. General Smith made a grand assault on the enemy's outworks and rifle pits, and they were carried. At the same moment Lew Wallace was leading his division up another slope with equal gallantry. Here again the Confederates fled within the fort, and the road to Nashville was open to them no longer. Furthermore, Smith held a position from which he could shell the fort on the inside, and nothing was left to the enemy but surrender or slaughter on the morrow.

A council was held by Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner. Buckner, who was the ablest soldier of the three, declared that he could not hold his position for half an hour in the morning. The situation was hopeless. Floyd was under indictment at Washington for maladministration in the Buchanan Cabinet. He declared that he must not be taken, and that he would escape on two little boats that were to arrive from Nashville in the morning. He passed

¹ Livermore, *Numbers and Losses of the Civil War*, p. 78.

² *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 416.

the command to Pillow, and Pillow, declaring that he too would escape, passed it on to Buckner. Floyd and Pillow with fifteen hundred men made good their escape; so did Colonel Forrest, the cavalry leader. He led his cavalry, some eight hundred strong, along the river bank and reported some days later at Nashville.

In the early morning Buckner sent a note to Grant offering to capitulate. The answer is well known. Grant demanded "Unconditional surrender," and added, "I propose to move immediately on your works." Buckner was too good a soldier to sacrifice his men to needless slaughter. He accepted the "ungenerous and unchivalrous terms," as he pronounced them, and surrendered Fort Donelson and the army, consisting of at least fourteen thousand men, with all its stores and ammunition. The Union loss was over twenty-eight hundred men.

Surrender of
Fort Donel-
son, Febru-
ary 16, 1862

The loss of Donelson and this gallant army was an irreparable blow to the South. The way was now open for the Federal armies to penetrate the heart of the western South. The reproach of the disaster fell on the shoulders of Albert Sidney Johnston, who had unwisely divided his army. This was the first great victory for either side in the war. The North was electrified by its grandeur and magnitude, and the eyes of the country were turned for the first time upon General Grant. His laconic "Unconditional Surrender" caught the public fancy. He was a graduate of West Point, and had served through the Mexican War. After that he was stationed at Detroit, at Sacketts Harbor, and finally on the Pacific Coast, leaving his family in the East. In 1854 he resigned from the army and settled on a little farm owned by his wife near St. Louis. Here he hoed potatoes and hauled cord wood, but failed to earn a living. He tried the real estate business, and again failed. At length, deeply in debt, he applied for assistance to his aged father, who owned a leather store at Galena, Illinois. His life seemed hopelessly wrecked. He accepted a position in his father's store at a small salary, and here we find him at the outbreak of the war. The governor of Illinois placed Grant at the head of the Illinois volunteers. Next we hear of him at Cairo, at Belmont, at Donelson. Up to February 16, 1862, the name of Ulysses S. Grant was unknown to the great world. Now he became famous; and his rise in the next six years is the most extraordinary in the history of America.

U. S. Grant

On the minor movements of the armies and the petty disputes among the generals that followed Donelson we have no time to

dwelt. Suffice it to say that Polk abandoned Columbus, Kentucky, and A. S. Johnston left Bowling Green. Buell advanced from Louisville and occupied Nashville, after its vast Confederate stores had been destroyed, while **Pittsburg Landing** Grant's army was moved piecemeal farther south on the Tennessee. By the first of April Grant had an army of forty thousand at Pittsburg Landing. This was an obscure stopping place for boats in southern Tennessee, not far from the northern boundary of Mississippi; but the name means more now than a mere landing for river craft. The army was divided into six divisions, under the command, respectively, of McClelland, B. M. Prentiss, W. T. Sherman, Stephen A. Hurlburt, C. F. Smith, and Lew Wallace; but Smith being ill at Savannah, eight miles down the river, his command devolved on W. H. L. Wallace. The President had in March limited the authority of McClelland to the Army of the Potomac, and Halleck was placed in superior command in the West, including the division of Buell, whom he now ordered to join Grant at Pittsburg Landing.

The Confederate clans were gathering in great numbers at Corinth, Mississippi, some twenty miles southwest from Pittsburg Landing. Here had come Polk from Columbus, General Braxton Bragg from the far South, Beauregard from the East, and Albert Sidney Johnston, commander over all, from Bowling Green. Johnston's army was about equal to that of Grant, some forty thousand strong; and nothing was more certain than that the two would soon come together in a terrific contest for the possession of the region of the upper Tennessee. Through this region ran the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, from Memphis by way of Corinth to Chattanooga, where it connected with the lines to the seaboard. This railroad was of immense importance to the South, and to save it from falling into Union hands a great battle must be fought and won by the Confederates. Grant fully believed that the enemy would await an attack in his intrenchments at Corinth, and in this belief he left his army entirely exposed. Not an earthwork was thrown up, and the blunder, if such it may be called, no doubt cost a thousand human lives. Johnston had determined to move his army stealthily from Corinth and to fall upon the enemy in a sudden, impetuous dash at Pittsburg Landing.

It was Saturday night, and the Union army lay shivering on the damp ground. Only the dull tread of the sentinel could be heard, and the plashing waters of the streams overflowing with recent rain. Only a mile away lay the army of Johnston, waiting

to spring on the foe in the morning. At break of day magnificent battle lines emerged from the woods in front of the Union camps, and in a few minutes the roar of artillery announced the opening of the greatest battle ever yet fought on the western continent. Halleck, Grant, and the division commanders stoutly insist that they were not surprised. Be that as it may, the fact remains that no intrenchments had been made, and that Grant, without the slightest anticipation of an engagement, had spent the night at Savannah, and learned of the opening of the battle only by hearing the sound of the heavy guns. Buell had not yet arrived from Nashville, and Lew Wallace and his division were at Crump's Landing, five or six miles from the scene of the battle.

Grant hastened up the river, and when he arrived on the field he found a tremendous battle raging all along the Union front. He spent the day riding from one division commander to another, directing them and urging them to their utmost efforts. At various times during the day the whole Union front was pressed back, and in one of these movements Prentiss did not fall back with the rest, and he, with twenty-two hundred of his men, was captured by the enemy. The fighting raged part of the time around a little log church called Shiloh, which has given its name to the battle. Southern hopes were high that day. The fearful Confederate charge of the morning was sustained almost without cessation, and the battle raged till darkness overspread the valleys and the hills.

Battle of
Shiloh, first
day, April 6

Whatever of victory there was at the close of this first day's fight at Shiloh belonged to the southern army. The Union army had been pressed back little by little for more than a mile, and now occupied a few hundred acres around the landing, while the ground and the tents which it had occupied the night before were in possession of the enemy; but the end had not yet come, and the weary legions of both sides sank down for a few hours' rest, knowing that the final struggle would come on the morrow.

The Union army had been stunned and wounded, but not disabled. The losses on both sides had been exceedingly heavy, especially on the southern side, for it had lost its noble commander, Albert Sidney Johnston. About the middle of the afternoon, while riding amid the tempest of bullets cheering his men, he was struck by a Minié ball, and an artery of his thigh was severed. The wound was not a fatal one, and his life might have been saved; but the hero thought only of victory. He continued in the saddle, cheering his men above the din of battle, until his voice grew faint and his face grew deadly pale. Then he was

lifted from his horse, but it was too late ; in a few minutes he was dead.¹ The command of the Confederate army then passed to Beauregard.

Had neither side been reënforced, the South would probably have won a signal victory on Monday. But early on Sunday night the thrilling news ran along the Union lines that Buell had arrived from Nashville. Lew Wallace was now also on the ground and ready for the next day's conflict. Wallace's forces and those of Buell, twenty-five thousand fresh troops, were to be hurled against the weary army of Beauregard in the morning. Beauregard looked longingly toward the West, hoping for the coming of General Van Dorn, who had an army in Arkansas and was marching with all speed to join him ; but Van Dorn was still far away, and a week must elapse before the two armies could be united.

Before the rising of the sun on the morning of the 7th the two armies were again engaged in battle, but the contest was now an unequal one. Buell and Lew Wallace had come, but Van Dorn had not. Yet the Confederates fought with great valor, yielding their ground slowly, till an hour after noon, when Beauregard ordered a general retreat, and this was accomplished in good order. The army retired, battered and bleeding, to Corinth.² The result of the battle was a Federal victory but not a decisive one. The people of the North did not rejoice greatly over it, and General Grant, who had loomed into public favor so suddenly at Donelson, was now severely criticised for having left the army unprotected and for spending the night of the 5th away from the field. One result of the battle was the development of W. T. Sherman. Nothing was plainer than that he was the strongest of the division commanders. Born in Ohio in 1820, Sherman graduated from West Point, and served in the war against the Indians of the South, but resigned from the army and became a broker in California. Next we find him in Kansas as a practicing lawyer, and later he was superintendent of a military academy in Louisiana. He resigned the position on the secession of that state, reëntered the United States army and commanded a brigade at

**Second day
at Shiloh**

**William T.
Sherman**

¹ The Federal general W. H. L. Wallace was also killed in this battle, and General Smith died a short time afterward at Savannah. The death of Johnston, it is believed by some, prevented the utter rout or capture of Grant's army on the night of the 6th. "Johnston's death was a tremendous catastrophe," wrote General Gibson, one of his subordinates. ". . . Sometimes the hopes of millions of people depend upon one head and one arm. The West perished with Albert Sidney Johnston, and the southern country followed." *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 568.

² The losses given in *Battles and Leaders* are: Union, 1754 killed, 8408 wounded, and 2885 captured or missing; Confederate, 1728 killed, 8012 wounded, and 959 missing.

the battle of Bull Run. After Shiloh, his star rose steadily to the end of the war, when it outshone all others at the North, save that of Grant; and many believe that as a military genius he was superior to Grant.

The Federal victory at Pittsburg Landing was supported by another, a far more decisive one, in the capture of Island No. 10, some forty miles below Columbus, in a great bend of the Mississippi. The Confederates had fortified the island, and it was held by General W. W. Mackall with seven thousand men and large army stores. Early in March, General John Pope was sent with a large army from Cairo against the island. Flag-officer Foote was in command of the river squadron. They cut a canal twelve miles long across the peninsula made by the bend of the river, so as to get the transports below the enemy's work, and forced the surrender of the island on the 7th of April, with its whole force and military stores. This loosened the grasp of the Confederacy on the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis.

**Surrender of
Island No. 10**

Some weeks before this great double victory at Shiloh and Island No. 10, another desperate battle had been fought which resulted also in a Union victory. This occurred among the hills of Arkansas, and is known as the battle of Pea Ridge. After the battle of Wilson's Creek the preceding August, General Samuel R. Curtis was put in command of the Union forces west of the Mississippi, and General Earl Van Dorn of the Confederate forces. The two armies met in northern Arkansas. The Confederate forces, though outnumbering the enemy, became divided during the battle, and this fact gave the victory to the army of Curtis, whose ablest subordinate was General Sigel. Van Dorn then led his forces eastward to join the main Confederate army at Corinth, but did not reach that point till after the battle of Shiloh. The status of Missouri on the subject of secession was settled at Pea Ridge. No longer was there any fear that the state would join the Confederacy.¹ The battle of Pea Ridge was conspicuous in one respect — it was the only important battle of the war in which Indians played a part. In this battle some thirty-five hundred Indians under General Albert Pike fought on the Confederate side; but their methods of warfare differed so greatly from those of the white men that their aid was little felt.

**Battle of Pea
Ridge,
March 7**

¹ The strength and losses in this battle, as given in *Battles and Leaders*, were: Union strength, 10,500; losses at Pea Ridge, 1,484 killed, wounded, and missing. Confederate strength, 16,200 [exclusive of Indians]; losses about 1,300 killed, wounded, and missing.

FARRAGUT AND NEW ORLEANS

To these four Union victories in the West within a few months (Donelson, Pea Ridge, Shiloh, and Island No. 10 — five, if we include that of Thomas at Mill Springs) another must be added, the most important of them all, the opening of the mouth of the Mississippi and the capture of the greatest seaport of the South. For the accomplishment of this great work, the country was indebted to David Glasgow Farragut, the ablest naval commander in the Civil War. Farragut had been in the naval service from childhood. As a boy of twelve years he had witnessed the terrible sea fight between the *Essex* and the two British vessels at Valparaiso, South America. He had been sent by Andrew Jackson to enforce the national laws at Charleston at the time of South Carolina's Nullification. He was a native of Tennessee, and every effort was made by his fellow southrons to induce him to join the secession forces; but he refused, with the well-known answer, "Mind what I tell you; you fellows will catch the devil before you get through with this business," and they never caught what he said more decisively than at New Orleans and Mobile. Farragut was now intrusted with the most important naval expedition of the war.

From the spring of 1861 there had been a few Federal vessels along the gulf coast for the purpose of enforcing the blockade; now an attempt was to be made to get control of the lower Mississippi. The object was to sever the Confederacy in twain, to cut off the supplies of the Confederate armies from Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana, and to get possession of the cannon foundries of New Orleans. General B. F. Butler was put in command of the land force, thirteen thousand strong, and the fleet of bomb vessels and frigates accompanying Farragut's squadron were commanded by Captain Porter. On the 16th of April, 1862, the fleet, composed of forty-seven armed vessels, eight of which were powerful sloops of war, had crossed the bar with the utmost difficulty at the mouth of the Mississippi, and was ready to begin operations.

The Confederates had heard of the coming fleet, and had not been idle. Two powerful forts, Jackson and St. Philips, guarded the river, one on either side, some seventy miles below New Orleans. They mounted 126 heavy guns. The Confederates had also built ironclad gunboats, rams, and various river craft with which to defend their beloved city. The bombardment of the two forts, begun on the morning

**David G.
Farragut**

**Expedition
to the Gulf**

**Forts Jackson
and
St. Philips**

of the 18th, was answered with great fury. For five days and nights the earth shook with the artillery duel; the Union fleet in that period threw 16,800 shells. On the morning of the 24th, some hours before dawn, Farragut's memorable passage of the forts was accomplished. The scene of this passage of the forts has been pronounced one of indescribable grandeur by those who saw it. The burning of fire rafts, sent among the vessels, lit the heavens with a lurid glare, while the shells from the fleet, the forts, and the shore batteries, bursting in mid-air as they crossed each other's path, gave the appearance of a battle in the sky.¹ A fire



ship with a streaming blaze a hundred feet in the air floated against the flagship *Hartford* and set her on fire. Farragut, standing on the deck, remained unperturbed. He called on his men to do their duty, and while some put out the fire and saved the ship, others kept working the guns as if nothing had happened. The fleet passed the forts, and the proudest city of the South lay at the mercy of the Federal fleet.

New Orleans was under martial law, with General Mansfield Lovell in command. For weeks before the passing of the forts the city was gay, except that a minor strain ran through every song after the news came from Shiloh.

**Surrender of
New Orleans**

But the city was defiant. One newspaper expressed the fear that the Yankee invaders would not come for the warm reception prepared for them. Now all was changed; the city was seized with a panic of fear; ten thousand children ran screaming through the streets; the women sobbed and wailed and wrung their hands. Wild disorder and panic reigned everywhere. The

¹ See Admiral Porter's account in *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. II, p. 47.

thousands of cotton bales along the wharf were set on fire, and so were the boats, lest they fall into the hands of the enemy; and the miles of flame set men and women weeping thirty miles away.¹ Lovell fled with his army, leaving the city to its fate; \$4,000,000 in specie were carried away. The crowds that remained howled and yelled with rage and despair, as they saw the last hope of defending the city disappear. Such was the condition when, on the first day of May, 1862, Butler with his army arrived up the river, took possession, and waved the flag of the Union over the historic city of the Creoles.

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

What we call the Public, or Public Opinion, is a gigantic personality with his likes and dislikes, his passions, his virtues, and his foibles. In our great Republic he is the universal master; he elects our presidents and congresses, and shapes our legislation. This vast personage is long-suffering, but he may become angry or excited; then he is dangerous. At heart he is honest and his motives are sincere; he is usually wise, but now and then his judgment is sadly at fault — and yet he is absolute master, and none can dispute his sway. He may be trained, educated, persuaded, but not coerced. The strongest man cannot afford to withstand or defy him. It was this mighty giant, usually designated Public Opinion, that forced the battle of Bull Run. He grew impatient and demanded that a battle be fought, against the judgment of the military leaders. The result was disastrous, as we have seen, and the Giant, half ashamed of what he had done, remained quiet for some months. Meantime he fondled his newly found hero — for at times he is like a half-grown child; he must have his toys, his heroes, and his villains, whom he changes at will.

George Brinton McClellan was then the popular hero. General Scott had long passed the meridian of his powers, and he failed to grasp the magnitude of the situation. McClellan was young, handsome, valiant. He was thoroughly trained; he had been graduated at West Point and had served in Mexico; he had studied war in the Crimea but a few years before, and above all he had just completed a bold, successful campaign in western Virginia. The public was thoroughly pleased when, just after Bull Run, Mr. Lincoln called McClellan to take command of the Army of the

Autumn of
1861

¹ See description by George W. Cable, in *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. II, p. 14.

Potomac. McClellan had his shortcomings, as events proved; but in one respect he was very strong. He lacked the bulldog tenacity of Grant, the strategy of Sherman, the impetuous dash of Stonewall Jackson; but as a military organizer he was superior to them all. When he took control of the army it was a great disorganized mass, untrained, discouraged, but possessing the one supreme virtue — patriotism. In four months McClellan had made of this crude mass a trained, disciplined, and organized army. No such work had been done on this side of the Atlantic since the days of Steuben at Valley Forge. "Had there been no McClellan," said General Meade in after years, "there could have been no Grant; the army made no essential improvement under any of his successors."

George B.
McClellan

The summer of 1861 passed, and the autumn. The star of McClellan was still rising; on the 1st of November the aged Scott was retired on full pay, and McClellan was made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States. This again pleased the public; but it wrought some change in the plans of the operation, and caused further delay, and at length McClellan decided that it would be unwise to undertake a winter campaign in the Virginia mud. Meantime a new disaster, known as the battle of Ball's Bluff, played on the feelings of the public.

A small Confederate force under Colonel Evans was posted at Leesburg, near the Potomac above Washington, and McClellan directed General Charles P. Stone to keep a lookout on Leesburg. Stone sent Colonel Devens with eight hundred men to destroy a camp near Leesburg.

Ball's Bluff,
Oct. 21, 1861

Devens was unexpectedly attacked near the rocky heights called Ball's Bluff. Colonel E. D. Baker, United States senator from Oregon, was sent across the Potomac to his assistance with a thousand men. The fight was sharp and murderous. The Unionists were beaten and driven down the bluff. At least a thousand brave men were lost. Colonel Baker, who had ranked Devens, had charge of the battle; his decision to fight then and there was very unmilitary, and he paid the penalty with his life. The public was shocked at this disaster. Who caused it? The blame must be fixed on some one, for the Giant demanded a victim to appease his wrath. Colonel Baker was the chief blunderer; but he was lying dead. McClellan was still the popular idol, too sacred to be assailed, and the popular wrath fell on Stone. The administration could not ignore the clamor for a victim, and Stone was sacrificed. He was arrested and imprisoned for six

months, and then released without a vindication or a trial; but history has pronounced him blameless. So much for the tyranny of Public Opinion. This great Master is sometimes a tyrant, and he makes blunders; but we must overlook all that, for he always means well, and in this great government it would be impossible to get along without him.

General McClellan was doubtless right in deciding not to undertake a midwinter campaign, but he erred in other respects.

McClellan's delay He constantly magnified the power of the enemy and underestimated his own. At length the public became impatient with the long inaction; so with the administration. President Lincoln ordered a general advance for the 22d of February; but the army was not ready and did not move. Then McClellan disclosed his latest plan, — to transfer his army to the mouth of the James and move upon Richmond from the peninsula formed by the James and York rivers. The President did not approve of this; but at a council of generals he was overruled, and he yielded the point. At about this time McClellan was relieved of the duties of commander in chief, and his authority was confined again to the Army of the Potomac. Now he will certainly move, thought every one; but he continued to organize and drill. Perhaps he was doing the very best thing, but he was at fault in presuming too much on the public patience. The general should not have lost sight of the fact that he was responsible to the people. He might have done something to quiet public feeling, but he ignored it, and suffered the penalty — his popularity waned during the winter.

But McClellan was not alone to blame. President Lincoln was at fault in not giving McClellan a free hand. When he approved the general's plan of operating from the peninsula, he waited nearly a month before giving the order to furnish transportation for the army. Mr. Lincoln's interference arose partly, as he acknowledged, from "pressure," that is, pressure from the politicians who knew nothing of military affairs. He should have given his general full control of the army or asked his resignation.

The reader should remember that the change in the plan of operation was an important one. Manassas was but thirty miles across the country from Washington, while the "peninsula" was two hundred miles away. Fort-tress Monroe, near which the famous duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* had taken place a few weeks before, was at the apex, and was to be the base of the operations. At length, on the 17th of March, the great movement was begun.

Four hundred vessels of all sizes were employed, and in something over three weeks the army of 121,000 men, 15,000 horses and mules, with wagons and other munitions in like proportion, was safely landed at Fortress Monroe. For economy and celerity of movement the expedition was said to be "without a parallel on record." At last McClellan was ready to begin operations. The objective point was Richmond, seventy-five miles up the James. The army began its march up the peninsula; but a Confederate army of 11,000 men under General Magruder lay intrenched across the peninsula from Yorktown, the town that had witnessed the closing scenes of the War of the Revolution. The Union general was about to make an attack when he received an order from the President detaching McDowell's corps, some 25,000 men, to join the defenses of Washington.¹ This embarrassed McClellan, and had Mr. Lincoln had a military training he would doubtless have seen that nothing would draw the Confederates away from Washington so effectually as an advance with a large army upon their own capital. But McClellan still had a large army, and might easily have broken through Magruder's thin lines, had he chosen; but he settled down to a siege of Yorktown, spent a month erecting batteries and digging trenches, and when at last he was ready to open his guns, he found that the enemy had retreated toward Richmond.

Yorktown

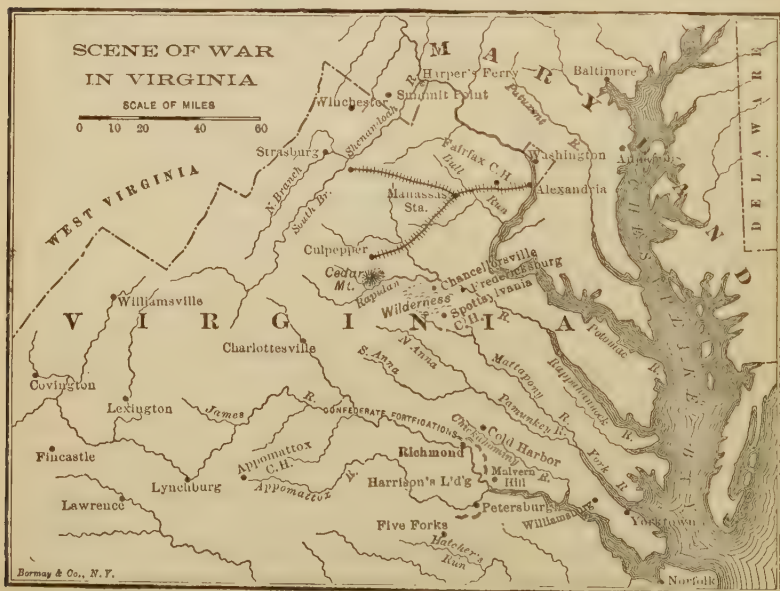
A vigorous pursuit was ordered, and the Confederates were overtaken near Williamsburg near the site of historic Jamestown. Here on May 5 occurred McClellan's first battle, though he had been commander since the preceding July. When night closed the conflict the Confederates took advantage of the darkness to continue their retreat toward Richmond.

Battle of
Williams-
burg

McClellan then moved his army up to the head of the York River to White House, where he established his base. He preferred to approach Richmond up the James. But President Lincoln preferred that he hold the Grand Army between Richmond and Washington, and promised to send him the corps of McDowell of 40,000 men. McClellan was delighted with this prospect of reinforcement; but his hopes were crushed by a sudden turn of events.

¹ This corps, with the other forces left to guard the capital, under Generals Banks and Wadsworth, aggregated at least sixty thousand men. McClellan's army was divided into four corps, commanded respectively by Generals McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes. These had not been selected by McClellan; they had been appointed by the President. But McDowell, as we have seen, was retained at Manassas.

It will be remembered that Banks had a small army in the Shenandoah Valley and that Frémont had another thirty miles westward across the mountains. President Lincoln
Jackson threatens Washington and Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, who had in January succeeded Simon Cameron as secretary of war, conceived the plan of having Banks and Frémont join to crush Jackson. But the plan was entirely frustrated by a brilliant piece of strategy, the author of which was Jefferson Davis. The Confederate president divined the purpose of the Washington authori-



ties, and he quietly sent Jackson a detachment of Johnston's army, raising his force to twenty thousand men. With this force Jackson prevented the union of Frémont and Banks, defeated the latter at Winchester on May 25, and swung so near to Washington as to create great excitement in that city. This action led the President to send McDowell in pursuit of Jackson, but that wonderful strategist kept the three armies of McDowell, Banks, and Frémont apart, and left them groping among the mountains while he returned to join the main Confederate army near Richmond. The movement was brilliant in the extreme, and it is quite possible that it prevented the capture of Richmond in the summer of 1862.

Before the arrival of Jackson at Richmond, however, the battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, had been fought. McClellan threw his left wing across the Chickahominy to a place called Seven Pines. The keen eye of Johnston detected the weak position of McClellan's army, and he determined to attack. In a short time the battle was raging furiously between the village of Seven Pines and the railroad station of Fair Oaks. The Federals were slowly pressed back, and utter defeat seemed staring them in the face, when Sumner, the most energetic, though the oldest, of the corps commanders, suddenly appeared on the scene. He had pushed across the swollen river at great peril on a dangerous bridge of his own making and now he rushed to the attack, threw Johnston's army into confusion, and drove it back with great slaughter. Johnston himself was wounded, and was carried bleeding from the field. The battle of Fair Oaks, in which the Union loss was about five thousand and the Confederate loss exceeded six thousand, was a fair victory for the Grand Army of the Potomac, and completely retrieved the wounded honor of ten months before at Bull Run. The chief honor of the victory belonged to Sumner. McClellan has been severely criticised for not following up the victory and capturing Richmond at once. The city was but six miles away, and its spires could be seen from the battle ground. But the great swamps of the Chickahominy Valley rendered such a sudden stroke at this time impracticable.

Battle of Fair Oaks, May 31-June 1, 1862

THE SEVEN DAYS' FIGHT BEFORE RICHMOND

Joseph E. Johnston was severely wounded at Fair Oaks. He could not again take the field for many months, and the command of the Army of Northern Virginia passed into the hands of his classmate at West Point, his lifelong friend, Robert E. Lee. Of all the sons of the South brought into prominence by the Civil War, Lee stands first. He was a son of "Light Horse Harry" of Revolutionary fame. He had married a wealthy and accomplished wife, the daughter of the adopted son of George Washington, and at the opening of the war he lived in unostentatious affluence at beautiful Arlington, the ancestral inheritance of his wife, on the banks of the Potomac River. He was a man of the highest culture, of quiet, sincere life, of noble impulses, of perfect morals. He loved the Union and opposed secession, but he loved his state still more. He would have been chosen chief commander of the Union armies, but he could not

Robert E. Lee

turn his sword upon the state that had given him birth; and at the secession of Virginia he resigned his commission and retired into private life, declaring that if the Union were dissolved he would share the miseries of his people, and, save in defense, draw the sword on none. Soon, however, he was chosen commander of the Virginia forces, and accepted the position; next he became military adviser of President Davis. When Johnston was disabled at Fair Oaks, Lee was made commander of the chief southern army, and so he continued to the end of the war. Lee was the ablest commander of the South, and many believe that he had no equal on the side of the Union.

McClellan rested for nearly four weeks after Fair Oaks, sending to Washington almost daily dispatches saying that he would move as soon as the Chickahominy, which was overflowing its banks from recent rains, should subside. During this period Lee was very active. He drew reënforcements from North Carolina, Georgia, and from the Shenandoah Valley, until his effective army almost reached ninety thousand. To aid the movement of Stonewall Jackson to Richmond, Lee sent the daring cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, with fifteen hundred cavalry to make a complete circuit of the Union army; and to prevent McDowell from joining McClellan he sent General Whiting with a division to threaten Washington. The ruse was successful. Lincoln and Stanton failed to see that the object of these threats was to prevent the reënforcement of McClellan.

McClellan had now to fight both Lee and Jackson. His army numbered about a hundred thousand, and he addressed himself to the great task before him with skill and vigor. The first of the seven days' battles was at Mechanicsville on Beaver Dam Creek, a small stream that flows into the Chickahominy. In this battle Lee made the blunder of dividing his army, and in consequence suffered a stinging defeat, losing about fifteen hundred men, while the Union loss was less than four hundred.

The next day witnessed a still greater battle near Gaines Mills, and not far from the village of Cold Harbor. Here in a grand semicircle General Fitz-John Porter, commander of the Union right wing, disposed his troops. The Confederates made a grand assault with nearly sixty thousand men, while Porter had less than forty thousand. The Union troops fought with the utmost courage, but the odds against them were too great; and but for the coming of two

**Mechanics-
ville, June
26, 1862**

**Gaines Mills
June 27**

more brigades from the main army Porter's corps might have suffered a most serious disaster. The Confederates then halted, and ere they could attack again it was night. The weary Union legions welcomed the darkness, and ere the coming of the dawn of the following day they had joined the main army on the south bank of the Chickahominy. Neither side ever made an official report of the total losses at Gaines Mills; but it is believed that each side lost about eight thousand men.

There is little doubt that McClellan could now have captured Richmond by a bold dash. The Grand Army was but five or six miles from the city, which had been left in charge of Magruder with twenty-five thousand men, while Lee and Jackson were more than a full day's march to the northward. The people of the city were greatly alarmed, and President Davis had the public archives packed, ready for instant removal. But there was nothing to fear. McClellan had no thought of attacking the city. His genius was methodical and cautious, and was not equal to a bold, sudden movement of such magnitude. But in one point McClellan outwitted both Lee and Jackson. They believed that if he were forced to retreat he would go back by the same route by which he had come, and all their movements for several days were made on that supposition. McClellan quickly comprehended their mistake and skillfully kept them deceived for some days, meantime massing his army south of the Chickahominy. His object was to form a new and better base of supplies on the James River. It was a great task; he had four thousand wagons, five hundred ambulances, three hundred and fifty cannon, and twenty-five hundred live cattle. Nothing but his clever deception of Lee and Jackson saved his trains from capture. Not until the morning of the 30th did the Confederates come up with the retreating army, and on that day three heavy battles were fought.

McClellan
moves his
base to the
James

The first of these occurred between Franklin's corps and the army of Jackson at White Oak Swamp. Franklin's attack prevented Jackson from joining the main army. About two miles from this place occurred the battle of Glendale, or Frazier's Farm. Here the divisions of Longstreet and A. P. Hill, accompanied by Lee and Jefferson Davis, attacked two Federal divisions. The battle continued till late in the night. A third battle of this eventful day occurred at the foot of Malvern Hill, and was of much smaller dimensions. General Wise made a bold but unsuccessful attack on Porter and

Frazier's
Farm

Keyes.¹ McClellan now had his army well in hand, and during the night he concentrated his entire force on Malvern Hill to await the battle of the next day, which was to close the campaign.

Malvern Hill is a low plateau more than a mile in diameter, near a great bend of the James River. Here McClellan placed his army in a position so strong that twice the force of Lee could not have dislodged him. The army was arranged in "a grand semicircle, with tier after tier of batteries . . . rising in the form of an amphitheater." The crest of the hill bristled with cannon, so placed that their fire could be concentrated on any point of attack. McClellan had the further advantage of being supported by his gunboats from the river. General Lee would have made no such blunder later in the war as he now made in attacking McClellan. For the first time each commander had a united army, and had the advantages been equal, a fight to the finish might have taken place.

The morning was spent in an artillery duel. Then three of Lee's divisions in turn made a determined rush up the slope; but in each case the steady hail of musketry and the concentrated fire of the cannon from the crest of Malvern drove them back, leaving thousands dead and wounded in their trail. The battle raged till an hour after dark, the lurid glare of the powder flashes pointing out to each side the location of the enemy. At the close of the battle every Confederate assault had been repelled, every battery disabled, while not a line or a column of the Army of the Potomac had been broken. Lee's loss exceeded five thousand men, McClellan's loss was not one third as great.

McClellan then settled down at Harrison's Landing on the bank of the James, Lee withdrew his army to his intrenchments at Richmond, and thus ended the memorable peninsular campaign. The losses of the Federal army during the entire campaign were officially given at 15,249; the Confederate losses were slightly above 19,000.

McClellan now determined on a new campaign against Richmond, and was ready to begin it, when all unexpectedly he was ordered to abandon the peninsula and return with his army to the vicinity of Washington. This was certainly an unfortunate move for the Union cause, for with a reënforcement of twenty or thirty thousand men, which had been promised him, McClellan could surely have captured Richmond within the next two or

¹ The losses of this June 30 are not known, but Longstreet and the two Hills reported their losses from the 27th to the 30th as 12,458.

three months. He was slow to strike; but when he struck, he struck with power. The campaign, it must be confessed, had failed in its intended object — the capture of Richmond. But the army had vast obstacles to overcome — endless swamps and swollen rivers, with a powerful and ever vigilant foe in front. It suffered great losses, but it inflicted greater losses. For seven days it had fought nearly every day and had marched through the swamps at night; and yet with all this the army was not in the least demoralized. Its organization was as perfect after the battle of Malvern Hill as it was before the battle of Williamsburg, and, above all, it was intensely devoted to its commander. In view of these facts it is difficult to see why McClellan should have been recalled at this moment and his army scattered and merged into another. The answer to this question remains among the unfathomable political mysteries of Washington.

The Sanitary and Christian Commissions. — These voluntary organizations did in war times the same kind of noble work as has been done in later years by the Red Cross Society. The Sanitary Commission was organized in the spring of 1861, and the Rev. Dr. H. W. Bellows of New York became its president. More than 7000 women's auxiliary societies were afterward organized. The people were called on by them to contribute money and articles of usefulness for the soldiers in the field, and especially for those in hospitals. In the course of the war \$15,000,000 worth of articles and \$4,000,000 in money were contributed. The commission followed the armies with its supplies and helpers. For example, after the battle of Antietam the 10,000 wounded lying on the field were for four days in the hands of this commission; and on this one occasion it furnished 28,000 shirts, towels, etc., 30 barrels of lint, bandages, etc., 2000 pounds of condensed milk, and other things in proportion. In the course of the war it furnished 4,500,000 meals to hungry and wounded soldiers.

The Christian Commission was organized later in the year 1861. George H. Stewart of Philadelphia was its chairman. It sent out over 6000 delegates without pay. Its work was confined chiefly to supplying religious reading matter and medical supplies. It sent out hundreds of thousands of Bibles, hymn books, magazines, and over 10,000,000 religious tracts. In addition to these organized societies, there were many women who volunteered as nurses, the leader of whom was Miss Dorothea L. Dix. Others of note were Miss Amy Bradley, Mrs. Barlow, and Miss Clara Barton, who in the Spanish War, thirty-five years later, became the head of the Red Cross Society. The women of the South were also devoted to the cause in which they believed, and were even more self-sacrificing than their sisters of the North.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Same as that given under Chapter XXIII.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CIVIL WAR: THE MIDDLE PERIOD

A YEAR had now passed since the first clash of arms at Bull Run. It was a momentous year in American history; it had brought the marshaling of great armies and a few tremendous battles. Neither side had yet much to boast of. The North was as determined as ever to preserve the Union; but the Confederacy seemed unshaken. Yet it had visibly lost ground — not in the East, save along the coast of the Carolinas, but in the valley of the great river. Missouri had been saved to the Union; so had Kentucky; the South had lost Arkansas at Pea Ridge, and Tennessee at Pittsburg Landing. The mouth of the Mississippi had been seized, and the greatest port of the South had fallen before the armies from the North. But the year ending with July, 1862, with all its great events, was surpassed by the year that followed it. The whole land was now astir with the spirit of war. No longer did any one dream of compromise; the two mighty powers had grappled in mortal strife, and only when one had overcome the other could the contest end. Which would win no one could yet say. Certainly the North, if Europe would keep quiet; otherwise, the outcome was uncertain.

THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

At this point a rapid view of the Confederate government is in place. We have noted the forming of the provisional government at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, the election of a provisional President and Vice President, the adoption by the Congress of a permanent Constitution in March, and the removal of the capital to Richmond, Virginia. The provisional government continued for one year, its Congress consisting of but one House, when it gave way to the “permanent” government, in which the Congress consisted of two houses, similar to those of the Union. The laws of the United States in force at the time of secession continued to operate until repealed.

On November 6, 1861, an election of President and Vice President for the full six years was held, and Davis and Stephens were reëlected by a unanimous electoral vote. The inauguration took place amid great enthusiasm on February 22, 1862. But on that gala day of song and cheering there ran a strain in a minor key, giving a touch of sadness to the joy of the occasion. The wires had just brought the news that a few days before, Fort Donelson, with all its stores and its thousands of soldiers, had fallen into the hands of the Union army.

Under the permanent Constitution two congresses were elected. The period of the first was from February 18, 1862, to February 18, 1864, four sessions being held. The second Congress began at the expiration of the first and continued till it was unceremoniously broken up, on March 18, 1865, by the proximity of General Grant's army. Thomas S. Bocock of Virginia was the Speaker of both congresses. In the first Congress there were delegates from the non-seceding states of Missouri and Kentucky, elected by rump conventions or by soldiers in the field. The highest number in the Confederate Senate was twenty-six and in the House one hundred and six. The Congress held most of its sessions in secret. It was not free in its acts; it was dominated by President Davis, and its main business was to register laws prepared by him. Davis soon had quarrels with the leading members of Congress as well as of the army. Toward the close of the war the Congress began to wrest itself from the control of the President. As early as December, 1863, Foote of Tennessee stated on the floor of the House that President Davis "never visited the army without doing it injury — never yet, that it has not been followed by disaster." The only known instance, says Alexander Johnston,¹ of entirely independent action in an important matter by the permanent Congress was that of 1865, when it voted that Davis's incompetency was the cause of Confederate disaster, and made General Lee commander in chief with unlimited powers. Certainly the presidency of the Confederacy was a thorny road to travel.

The suspending of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was practiced in the South, as in the North; and there also it awakened much opposition, especially in Georgia and North Carolina. In the matter of conscription the South dealt more drastically than the North. An act of the Confederate Congress, February 17, 1864, declared all white men in the Confederate states, between the ages of 17 and 50 years, in the military service for the period of the war.

¹ Lalor's *Cyclopedia*, Vol. I, p. 570.

Little was the opportunity of the people of the South to show their capacity for self-government, which, with their many trained statesmen, they no doubt had in a high degree. The brief period of the Confederate government was one of unceasing warfare with a mightier power, and its game was a losing one throughout. Little could its Congress do but pass war measures, dealing with the raising of armies and the distressing subject of finance. From the beginning the government relied chiefly on loans. It hoped to refrain from internal taxation, and the blockade prevented an income from foreign trade. The first issue of bonds, in February, 1861, was for \$15,000,000, and this was realized in specie; but the second, three months later, for a hundred millions, was raised partly by accepting farm produce, by which the government became the possessor of vast stores of cotton. This produce loan system was continued through the years 1862 and 1863, and even the states followed the example and borrowed cotton by the issue of bonds.¹

As the raising of money by bond issues grew more difficult, the government came to rely on the issue of treasury notes, or paper money. The issue was at first meager; but it increased rapidly, and by the close of the war there was probably \$1,000,000,000 of Confederate money afloat. This of course decreased in value until it became worthless. The government at length resorted to internal taxation; but as the taxes were paid in its own depreciated notes, it provided for produce taxation, and the farmer paid his tax with the products of the farm. On the whole the struggle of the Confederacy for life was one of the most heroic in history.

POPE'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA

The almost unbroken successes of the Union armies in the Mississippi Valley created a feeling that their leaders were superior to those of the East. The latest of these western men to call attention to himself was General John Pope, a Kentuckian by birth, a graduate of West Point, and a veteran of the Mexican War. Pope's signal victory at Island No. 10 gave him national fame, and in June he was called east and given command of the forces under McDowell, Banks, and Frémont, and the combined army, some forty thousand men, was named "The Army of Virginia."² The following month General Halleck was called

¹ See *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, p. 610.

² Frémont refused to serve under Pope, and General Franz Sigel was appointed in his stead.

east and made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States. A little later, McClellan was recalled from the peninsula, and a large part of his army was given to Pope, who was directed to make an aggressive campaign in the vicinity of Manassas. Pope started out with a bombastic proclamation, almost as turgid as that of General Smythe before Niagara in 1813.

The first serious encounter took place at Cedar Mountain, a few miles south of Culpeper. Its gentle slopes were covered with forests and from its summit could be seen for miles away in the blue the quiet rural homes that dotted the farm lands which had borne their annual harvests since the days of the Cavaliers. The corps of Banks, about eight thousand men, fought with more than twice their number under Jackson. Banks rushed upon the enemy's lines with great fury and threw them into disorder, and had not Jackson received reënforcements he might have been routed, though his loss was much less than that of Banks.¹ The next few weeks were occupied in skirmishes, marches, and counter-marches. On one occasion Stuart with his cavalry cut Pope off temporarily from his base of supplies at Manassas and captured his private papers; and on the 27th of August Jackson captured the great Federal stores at Manassas. Lee had now moved forward with most of his army to the aid of Jackson. Pope had also been reënforced from the Army of the Potomac, but his force was still inferior to that of Lee.

**Banks at
Cedar
Mountain,
August 9**

On August 29 occurred the sanguinary battle of Groveton. The fight, especially in the afternoon, went against the Federals. Pope blamed Fitz-John Porter for this. He had sent Porter word to support McDowell, but, as Porter declared, the word did not reach him till night.² Pope had been worsted on this day, but he prepared for a new attack the following morning. Lee's whole army was now in his front. This battle, in which Pope was again defeated, has been called the second battle of Bull Run, as it was fought on almost the same ground as that on which the Army of the Potomac was defeated thirteen months before.

**Second
battle of
Bull Run**

¹ Sigel and his corps were only a few miles away, but through some misunderstanding he failed to go to the aid of Banks. The Union loss at Cedar Mountain, says Livermore, was 2353; Confederate loss, 1338.

² For not obeying this order Porter was court-martialed, dismissed from the service, and disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit in the United States. The matter became the subject of long controversy. In 1882 General Grant reviewed the case and decided that Porter was innocent. His disability was removed that year, and in 1886 he was restored to the army and retired.

Two days later another fierce battle occurred, known as the battle of Chantilly. Again the Federals were forced to retire, and the brave General Kearny, who had lost an arm in the Mexican War and had just passed through the peninsular campaign, was among the slain. Pope now led his army back to the defense of Washington. The campaign had cost him at least fifteen thousand men; the Confederate loss was probably above ten thousand. If McClellan had failed on the peninsula, Pope, with all his glowing promises, had made a far more dismal failure. On the same day that he reached Washington he was relieved of command at his own request, and McClellan was restored to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

ANTIETAM

When, on September 2, 1862, President Lincoln called in person on General McClellan and requested him to resume command of the army, McClellan accepted the heavy burden without a murmur concerning the past. The cheers of the army were tremendous when it was known that "Little Mac" was reinstated. One of the officers wrote, "The effect of this man's presence on the army . . . in sunshine or rain, in darkness or daylight, in victory or defeat, was electrical." The army at that moment was shattered and demoralized, but in a few days the magic hand of McClellan effected a new organization.

Lee was elated at his recent successes; he resolved to make an immediate invasion of Maryland. In a few days his army was on its way toward Harpers Ferry. McClellan at the same time moved his army up the north bank of the Potomac. He was uncertain as to the intentions of the Confederates until, on the 12th of September, Lee's order of the campaign fell into his hands. By this he learned that Jackson had gone to Sharpsburg, between the Potomac and Antietam Creek, that Longstreet was to halt at Boonsboro with the supply trains, and that McLaws was to occupy the heights above Harpers Ferry. This information was of great advantage to McClellan. When Lee entered Maryland he called upon the people to rally to his standard, to throw off the foreign yoke, and to restore the independence and sovereignty of their state; but the people failed to respond, and the southerners found only closed doors and frowning looks. The Union army, on the other hand, was welcomed with open arms.

The first encounter took place at the passes of South Mountain, a continuation of the Blue Ridge north of the Potomac.

The battle continued many hours, till late in the night, and the Union troops were victorious, though General Reno was killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. Hayes, a future President of the United States, was among the wounded.

**South
Mountain**

These two actions are known as the battle of South Mountain. The Federals won a decisive victory, but they failed to save Harpers Ferry. On the next day Jackson on the one side and McLaws on the other looked down from the heights on Harpers Ferry, where Colonel Dixon S. Miles had twelve thousand men and vast stores of arms and ammunition. With inexplicable stupidity he had remained in the trap when he should have led his men to one of the heights and held the enemy in check until the arrival of Franklin, whom he knew to be but a few miles away. Scarcely had the bombardment begun when he raised the white flag and surrendered his army and the great stores to the enemy. Miles's action arose probably from want of capacity, rather than of patriotism. Yet he would doubtless have been severely dealt with but for the fact that a stray Confederate bullet, after the surrender, laid him dead upon the ground.

**Capture of
Harpers
Ferry,
September
15**

Jackson and McLaws now hastened to join the main army, which had taken a strong position on the south bank of Antietam Creek, a little stream that flows into the Potomac above Harpers Ferry. It was evident that a battle of great magnitude was imminent, one that must decide the issue of Lee's campaign. If Lee won, he would push northward into Pennsylvania, or strike Baltimore; if he lost, he must return to Virginia. After an artillery duel at intervals, the two great armies bivouacked on the field for the night and sought a little rest and strength for the fearful business of the coming day. At sunrise of the 17th, the battle opened and for hours the two armies surged to and fro, and human blood flowed like water. As evening approached the firing ceased as if by mutual consent. Both had suffered severely. More than 23,000 men lay dead or wounded on the field, divided almost equally between the two armies. This day has been pronounced the bloodiest day in American history. McClellan reported a loss of 12,640. For twenty-four hours the armies rested, glaring at each other. McClellan meant to attack on the second day, but during the preceding night Lee escaped across the Potomac in the darkness. Antietam was a drawn battle; but in another sense it was a victory for McClellan, for it ended Lee's proposed

**Battle of
Antietam
September
17, 1862**

invasion of the North. Lee had started north with a fine army of over 50,000 men just two weeks before; now he returned with little over half the number, having lost greatly by straggling as well as in battle. Had McClellan known that on the day after the battle Lee was nearly out of ammunition and his army was greatly disorganized, he could have overwhelmed and crushed him. His pursuit of Lee was long delayed; it should have been immediate and vigorous. He alleged that his army was short in horses, short in wagons, rations, clothing, etc.; but he should have remembered, for he certainly knew, that the retreating enemy was shorter in everything than he was. Lincoln urged an immediate pursuit of Lee; but McClellan waited five weeks before attempting to cross the Potomac River. At last he did move; he crossed the river late in October, and the celerity of

**McClellan
dismissed**

his march was unusual for him. But the patience of the administration had been exhausted, and on November 7, as he sat in his tent with his friend Burnside, he received a dispatch from the President relieving him of the command and giving it to Burnside.

Why McClellan was removed at this time it is impossible to determine. Some attribute the removal to the inner political councils at Washington. It was known that McClellan was a conservative, and his friends outside the army were generally Democrats or conservative Republicans.¹ Others believed that

¹ **Lincoln and McClellan.** — An endless controversy arose after the close of the peninsular campaign concerning the merits of the relations between President Lincoln and General McClellan. Many take the ground that McClellan was incompetent and should have been recalled sooner than he was, while others contend that the administration did not support the army properly, and actually desired McClellan's downfall. There was merit and blame on each side. McClellan was utterly in the wrong in believing that Lincoln did not wish to sustain him. He was wrong also in overestimating the force of the enemy; but he accepted the reports of his spies, who, some have believed, were in sympathy with the enemy, and purposely deceived him. The claim of some that Lincoln, believing that McClellan had aspirations to the presidency, was jealous of him and wished to degrade him, will seem absurd to any one who studies Lincoln's whole life. But Lincoln was at fault in urging McClellan to begin great operations in midwinter. He simply reflected the impatience of the great untrained public. His proclamation ordering the army to move on the 22d of February is pronounced by Ropes, one of our best military critics, "a curious specimen of puerile impatience," as war orders and proclamations "will not make roads passable." McClellan was quite right in deciding not to move till spring, but he was wrong in ignoring public opinion. He should have made minor movements here and there, as he could easily have done, to quiet public feeling. Again, when he saw that there was a frantic fear that Washington would be captured, he should have done more than he did to allay it, though he did not share it. Lincoln was greatly handicapped in two ways: First, his want of military training, and, it may be added, his commonplace native judgment in military matters; and second, his inability to extricate himself from the all-powerful political influence at the capital. Many of his appointments were based on political grounds. Here is an example: McClellan urged (see *McClellan's Own Story*, p. 226) that the defenses of Washington be put into the hands of one of the ablest men of the army; but Lincoln appointed to this important post

the administration feared that McClellan, if left a few weeks longer, would crush Lee, annihilate his army, and end the war, leaving slavery intact, and they preferred that the war continue rather than that it should end with the cause of it left over to disturb the country in future. There is no proof that this motive entered the mind of the President and his advisers; but if it were so, we cannot hesitate to give it our approval. From a military standpoint, however, the removal of McClellan was a serious mistake. It is certain that he was a growing man, and that with his extreme caution and his wonderful powers of organization a great defeat of the army under him was scarcely possible. Thus closed his career as a soldier, and it is with sincere regret that we take leave of McClellan. He was a man of clean moral life and was deeply devoted to the cause of the Union. Much has been written concerning McClellan as a commander, and the best summing up of it all was made by General Grant in later years. "The test applied to him," said Grant, "would be terrible to any man, being made a major-general at the beginning of the war. . . . McClellan was a young man when this devolved upon him, and if he did not succeed, it was because the conditions of success were so trying. If McClellan had gone into the war as Sherman, Thomas, or Meade — had fought his way along and up — I have no reason to suppose that he would not have won as high distinction as any of us."¹ Lee, when once asked who was the best commander to whom he had ever been opposed, replied, "McClellan by all odds."²

Who should succeed McClellan? Various names had been considered, and the choice fell on General Burnside, who had repeatedly disparaged his own ability and had affirmed over and over again that McClellan was the ablest commander in the army. This was attributed to his modesty. Had not Cæsar refused the crown offered him by the Roman Senate? Twice had Burnside been offered and twice he had refused the command

General Wadsworth, a politician wholly without military training or experience. The secret of the appointment is shown in a letter to McClellan from the secretary of war. "Wadsworth," wrote Stanton, "had been selected because it was necessary for political reasons to conciliate the agricultural interests of New York," and he declared that it was useless to discuss the matter, as in no event would the appointment be changed. No ill effects came of this; but had a Confederate army attacked Washington the result might have been disastrous. Lincoln was a victim of this political monster, which, in our government, is so strong that the strongest man cannot wholly prevail against it. Burgess pronounces the dismissal of McClellan "a dark, mysterious, uncanny thing, which the historian does not need to touch and prefers not to touch."

¹ See Young, *Around the World with General Grant*, Vol. II, p. 216.

² Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, p. 166.

of the Army of the Potomac, declaring that he was incompetent. But George Washington had said the same thing to the Continental Congress. It was left, however, for Burnside to do what Washington never did — to prove his assertion to be true. His short, disastrous campaign, to be noticed hereafter, left no doubt in the minds of his countrymen.

EMANCIPATION

The battle of Antietam not only drove Lee back to Virginia soil and ended his invasion, which, with a simultaneous invasion of Kentucky by forty thousand Confederates under General Bragg, had caused great excitement in the North; it also enabled Lincoln to issue the most important proclamation ever issued by a President of the United States.

The war had been going on for a year and a half; it had cost eighty thousand men and \$1,000,000,000; but it was still, as in the beginning, a war for the Union. The real cause of the strife, slavery, was not yet seriously molested. But a beginning had been made, and after Antietam the matter took such shape that henceforth there could be no backward step. Emancipation, as well as the preservation of the Union, became the policy of the government. From the beginning of the war there was a radical party that ceased not to demand that the government strike at slavery. But the President hesitated long, and the radicals denounced him unsparingly; yet Lincoln was right. He knew that the radicals were greatly in the minority; he knew that, with all his desire to see the institution fall, he would alienate the border states and perhaps the whole Democratic party of the North, especially in the Ohio Valley, if he pressed the matter too soon. The Republican party was almost equally apathetic. Though in full control of Congress from 1861, it did not repeal the Fugitive Slave law till 1864 and then it did so without enthusiasm.¹ The Democrats claimed to be fighting for the Union and not for the negro. Lincoln therefore, with infinite tact, waited for public opinion and aided in its development.

The gradual steps toward emancipation are interesting to note. The first step was taken by General Butler while in command at Fortress Monroe. He refused, in May, 1861, to send three black fugitives back to their master, pronouncing them contraband of war. The next step was an act of Congress in August of the same year,

¹ Channing, Vol. VI, p. 536.

confiscating all property, including slaves, employed in the service of the rebellion. Next came Frémont's confiscation order in Missouri, which, as we have noticed, was overruled by the President. In May of the next year, 1862, General David Hunter, commanding on the coast of South Carolina, issued a proclamation declaring the slaves in his department — South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida — free; but the President overruled this, as in the case of Frémont. In spite of these apparent checks the subject continued to develop. On April 16, 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation. In June it passed a law prohibiting slavery in all the territories of the United States, including those to be acquired. As early as March 6 Lincoln had urged Congress in a special message to coöperate with any state for the gradual emancipation of its slaves, with compensation from the government. He figured out that the cost of the war for eighty-seven days would purchase all the slaves in the border states at the rate of \$400 apiece.¹ A resolution to this effect passed the House on March 11 and the Senate on April 2. Lincoln in July called the senators and representatives from the border states to the White House for a heart to heart talk on the subject. He begged them to accept his policy, pointing out to them that the opportunity might never come again, that the signs of the times pointed to the ultimate extinction of slavery; but he pleaded in vain.²

The second and most sweeping Confiscation Act was passed on July 17, 1862. This act in substance pronounced all slaves free who should come within the protection of the government, if their owners were in rebellion against the government, or had given or should give aid or comfort to the rebellion.

On July 22 at a Cabinet meeting Mr. Lincoln declared his purpose to issue an emancipation edict to take effect January 1, 1863, and he read the document he had prepared. Two of the members, Seward and Welles, had been taken into the President's confidence and knew what was coming. The others were astonished at the announcement. But all approved it except Blair, who feared that it would throw the fall elections against the administration. At Seward's advice Lincoln decided to wait for some signal Union victory in the field, and the document was

¹ The war at that time cost \$2,000,000 a day, and the cost of eighty-seven days would be \$174,000,000.

² The next winter a bill came up in Congress to offer Missouri \$10,000,000 for her slaves; but it was defeated by the efforts of the border state members, aided by the Democrats of most of the northern states.

pocketed and the secret kept for two months. Meantime the radical party continued to denounce the President for moving so slowly. Horace Greeley, representing this party, addressed an open letter, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," to the President through the *New York Tribune*, urging him to take immediate action, to "execute the laws," meaning specially, the confiscation laws. To this Mr. Lincoln replied that while his personal wish was that all men should be free, his paramount official duty was to save the Union with or without slavery.¹

Then came Antietam and the retreat of Bragg from Kentucky. Now the proclamation could be issued and seem a child of strength. On the 22d of September, therefore, Mr. Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which has been pronounced the most important document ever issued by a civil ruler. In this proclamation he declared that the slaves in all the states or designated parts of states that should be in rebellion against the government on the first of January, 1863, should be forever free. This gave a hundred days' notice to the seceding states, but none of them heeded the warning, nor were they expected to heed it. Accordingly, on the first day of January the President issued his proclamation, of which the former had been but a warning, declaring the freedom of all slaves in the seceding states, except in certain parts of Louisiana and Virginia, then held by the Union armies.²

This proclamation had no immediate effect in emancipating the slaves, no more than had the Declaration of Independence in bringing independence. Such a result could not have been expected. But the proclamation set forth the policy of the government on this most important question that ever arose in American politics since the Revolution, except that occasioned by secession; it placed the war on a new basis without abandoning the old, namely, that henceforth it should be a war against slavery as well as against disunion; it announced to the world that if the North were successful in the great war, slavery must perish. The proclamation had a salutary effect on Europe, and won the North many friends. Europe cared little about preserving our Union, but as soon as the North proclaimed to the world that it was battling against human slavery, as well as against disunion, the sympathies of

What it
meant

¹ This letter to Greeley was written on August 22, precisely a month after the famous Cabinet meeting, and precisely a month before the more famous proclamation was issued to the world.

² It will be remembered that slavery in the border states was not affected by this proclamation.

mankind were turned in its favor.¹ During the summer and fall of 1862 the British government, urged on by France at every step, came dangerously near recognizing the independence of the South. The matter was seriously debated in the Cabinet. Even Gladstone, whose memory to-day the American people delight to honor, predicted the certain success of the South, declaring that Jefferson Davis had made a nation. The deep-lying cause that led the British ruling aristocracy to wish to see the Union broken up and the South triumphant was its innate hatred of democracy.² But with the issuing of the proclamation the great middle class that loved democracy and hated slavery made its voice heard. This class was led by the brilliant English statesmen, John Bright, by Richard Cobden, and by W. E. Forster, all of whom represented in Parliament great cotton manufacturing centers that suffered by the war. The unselfish attitude of the British masses was based wholly on a feeling of humanity.

Lincoln had at heart belonged to the radical party all along, in that he desired the overthrow of slavery; but he was too wise to be rash. He waited for the development of public opinion, and he waited none too long. The proclamation made the administration many enemies, as well as friends, and it doubtless had much to do in bringing about an alarming political reaction in the fall elections. A new Congress was elected about six weeks after the preliminary proclamation, and the Democrats showed great gains. The Republicans lost nine members from New York, six from Pennsylvania, eight from Ohio; and but for New England and the border states they would have lost control of the House, while New York and New Jersey chose Democratic governors. But the Emancipation Proclamation was not the sole cause of the reaction. Many voted against the administration because of arbitrary arrests, of the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, of want of success in the field, of the dismissal of McClellan; and thousands of strong friends of the Union voted the Democratic ticket simply because they had always done so. The result, however, fell heavily on the burdened heart of Lincoln. He feared that it meant a want of confidence in himself, but he bore the burden silently and took no backward step.

Often has the constitutional right of the President to issue this proclamation been questioned. The President ordinarily

¹ The governing classes in England, however, still favored the South. See Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, Vol. I, and McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. II.

² Goldwin Smith in *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1902.

has no power to interfere with private property. Not even the general government had the constitutional right to touch slavery in any state. How then could Lincoln by his mere fiat set free four million slaves? The answer is that the measure was a war measure. It is the right and duty of the President to suppress rebellion by any means necessary to success. Here was a vast revolt against the government, and it was the slaves that raised the crops that fed the armies that fought against the government. Why not then strike at slavery? Here was the legal, technical ground on which Lincoln could do what he did, and he made use of it. He issued the proclamation ostensibly to weaken the southern armies, knowing, at the same time, that he would not weaken them thereby.¹ This then, could not have been his real object, but it was the only ground on which he had any legal right to act. Must we, then, pronounce his act but a lawyer's trick after all? However that may be, the real object of the proclamation was to compass the downfall of slavery, to prepare the way for a constitutional amendment, to commit his party to the cause. The end accomplished was so unselfish and so vast as a factor in modern civilization that the world has long forgotten the technicality in admiration of its author.

BUELL, BRAGG, AND ROSECRANS

We must now change the scene again to the Mississippi Valley. A year has passed since we left the two great armies stunned and bleeding at Pittsburg Landing, and it was a year of great activity in the West. Halleck had taken command after Shiloh. He moved to Corinth, which the Confederates abandoned on his approach. In midsummer he was called to Washington, and left Grant at the head of the Army of the Tennessee. The star of General Grant, which had burst out so brilliantly at Donelson, had waned after Shiloh, and nothing but another victory could again attract to it the public gaze. For a year the army under Grant lay in west Tennessee and did little, while the Army of the Ohio, under Buell, became the chief object of the nation's attention, next to the Army of the Potomac. Early in the summer of 1862 Halleck sent Buell to capture Chattanooga, in southern Tennessee, an important railroad center and the key to east

¹ It is true that as the war neared its end many of the slaves were practically free, but this condition was brought about more by the exigencies of war, the ruin of the South, than by the proclamation.

Tennessee. But Buell was delayed in repairing railroads, and the Confederate army, now commanded by General Braxton Bragg, who had succeeded Beauregard, reached the place before him and held it. Bragg was a stern, exacting man of much energy and moderate ability. His name had long been familiar to American readers through the historic expression of Zachary Taylor at Buena Vista, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg."

President Davis determined to retrieve, if possible, the losses of Donelson and Shiloh, and he sent Bragg to invade Tennessee and Kentucky. A sweeping conscription law had passed the Confederate Congress, and this brought many new recruits to the western armies. Bragg, with a wagon train forty miles long, raced across the state with Buell. Both were headed for Louisville, and Bragg, who had the shorter line of march, might have won, but he hesitated at the magnitude of the undertaking, and Buell entered the city in the last days of September. There his army was swelled by new recruits to sixty thousand, while Bragg had about fifty thousand. Bragg now went through the farce of setting up a Confederate state government in Kentucky. Buell moved out from Louisville, determined to drive Bragg out of the state. The latter slowly retreated before the advancing army, but was overtaken at Perryville, where, on the 8th of October, was fought a bloody battle. The Union left wing under General McCook was assailed with great fury by General Polk. Buell fully expected a great battle on the morrow, but during the night Bragg decamped and took up his march to the Southland.¹

Bragg starts
north across
Kentucky

Battle of
Perryville,
October 8,
1862

Buell was severely censured for his bad management at Perryville and for his subsequent dilatory pursuit of the retreating enemy. He drove Bragg out of Kentucky, and that was a victory, but his permitting Bragg to escape with all the plunder he had gathered was not relished at the North. Lincoln's pet project had long been to throw an army into east Tennessee, and

¹ The Union loss at Perryville was nearly four thousand; the Confederate loss was about one thousand less. A strange incident occurred to the Confederate general, Leonidas Polk, near the close of the battle. It was growing dark, and he unwittingly rode into the Union lines, thinking them his own men firing on their friends. He angrily demanded why they were shooting their friends. The colonel, greatly astonished, answered, "I don't think there can be any mistake about it. I am sure they are the enemy." "Enemy!" rejoined Polk, "why, I have just left them myself. Cease firing, sir. What is your name?" "I am Colonel — of the — Indiana. Pray, sir, who are you?" Polk now saw his blunder. "I will show you who I am," he shouted; "cease firing." Then he called to the men to cease firing, and cantering down the line, reached a copse, put spurs to his horse, and was soon back in his own lines. *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. III, p. 602.

soon after Perryville he informed Buell, through Halleck, that he must lead his army into that region before winter and live off the country. Buell knew this to be impossible, as east Tennessee had already been partially stripped by the Confederates; and he knew it to be bad policy, as any army subsisting off the country will become demoralized by foraging and theft. He therefore suggested to the President that if it were the intention to change the command, now would be a suitable time to do it.¹ Mr. Lincoln thereupon relieved Buell and appointed General William S. Rosecrans commander of the Army of the Ohio.

The parallel between Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and Lee's invasion of Maryland is striking. Both occurred in the early autumn of 1862; both failed to awaken much border-state enthusiasm for the southern cause. Both ended in failure, the one at the great battle of Antietam, the other at the moderate battle of Perryville three weeks later. In each case the Confederate commander withdrew after the battle, at night, and abandoned the expedition. The parallel is notable also between the two Union commanders — McClellan and Buell. Both were good disciplinarians, but lacking in the fire and dash necessary to an offensive campaign. Both were sincerely devoted to the Union, but were conservative on the slavery question. Both were Democrats in politics. Both were successful, without a great victory, in driving the Confederates from border-state soil. Both were removed by the President at the close of their respective campaigns, ostensibly because they were too slow to satisfy the great impatient public of the North.

Now we turn to Rosecrans. His laurels had been recently won — at Iuka and Corinth in Mississippi. When Bragg moved into Kentucky he left Generals Van Dorn and Price with a large army in northern Mississippi. Price seized Iuka in September, and Grant sent Rosecrans against him. A sharp battle ensued, with a loss of some eight hundred on each side. Two weeks later Van Dorn, now joined by Price, made a desperate assault on Corinth, in which an enormous amount of supplies were stored under the guardianship of Rosecrans with twenty-three thousand men. Here Rosecrans displayed remarkable powers. About the middle of the forenoon a vast column of gleaming bayonets

¹ Buell had been threatened with removal for some weeks. Before he left Louisville an order was sent to displace him and to put General Thomas in his place; but it was recalled. Military critics pronounce Buell one of the ablest commanders of the war, and agree that the administration was wholly at fault in removing him.

flashed out from the woods and made directly for the heart of the town. It came in the form of a monstrous wedge, which presently spread out in two great wings. On these Rosecrans opened his artillery, which mowed down the men with merciless slaughter. As the column advanced the whole line of Federal infantry opened on it from their intrenchments; but the Confederates with desperate valor came on, averting their heads like men striving to protect themselves against a storm of hail.¹ When the Federal line at length gave way at one point, Rosecrans rode between the lines in the midst of the fire of both sides, rallied his men, brought in his reserves, and won a complete victory. Corinth, with all its stores, was saved. The victory was regarded by the North as the most important of the season, next to Antietam. Van Dorn was soon replaced by General John C. Pemberton; Rosecrans was made a major-general and was promoted to the chief command of the Army of the Ohio, thenceforth called the Army of the Cumberland.

**Battle of
Corinth, Oc-
tober 4, 1862**

Rosecrans displayed his independent spirit by refusing to attempt the impossible task of marching into east Tennessee, and the administration axe was soon swinging over his head. On December 4 Halleck telegraphed him, "If you remain one more week at Nashville, I cannot prevent your removal;" to which Rosecrans made the manly reply, that he was trying to do his whole duty, and that he was insensible to threats of removal. Halleck rejoined apologetically that no threat was meant, and Rosecrans remained three weeks longer at Nashville, waiting for supplies.

On the day after Christmas Rosecrans moved his army, forty seven thousand strong, in three divisions under Thomas, McCook, and Crittenden, to Murfreesborough, a town forty miles from Nashville, in which Bragg had taken up his winter quarters. Bragg's army of thirty-eight thousand men was divided into three corps under Hardee, Polk, and Kirby Smith. On December 30 the two armies lay on the banks of Stone River near Murfreesborough, within cannon shot of each other. Rosecrans's plan of battle for the next day was perfect; but it was frustrated by Bragg, who took the initiative. By noon the Union forces seemed on the verge of defeat; but the great skill and the prodigious efforts of Rosecrans during the afternoon — galloping from one division to another and rearranging his lines — saved the day,

**Battle of
Murfrees-
borough or
Stone River**

¹ See Greeley, Vol. II, p. 227.

and the honors at nightfall were about even between the two armies. Next day, the first of the year, 1863, both armies rested, but on the second, the battle was renewed with great fury. When darkness settled over the field of carnage the Union army had advanced far enough to throw shells into Murfreesborough. Bragg then abandoned all thought of victory, and sought only to save his army; and before the morning of the 4th he had stolen away with his army, leaving his dead and wounded to the enemy. Stone River, or Murfreesborough, was one of the most fiercely fought battles of the war. It was a clear victory for Rosecrans, for although he had lost more heavily than the Confederates,¹ he drove Bragg from his winter quarters and opened the way to a large portion of central Tennessee. Coming within a few weeks after the disaster at Fredericksburg, this battle infused new courage into the dispirited North and gave a new meaning to the Emancipation Proclamation, which had just gone into operation. It made Rosecrans, for a season, the most conspicuous figure in the field; and it brought also into prominence a superb young commander from Ohio — Philip Henry Sheridan.

**Bragg's
retreat**

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FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

Again our scene must be shifted to the East. Ambrose E. Burnside, like many of our commanders, was a graduate of West Point, and had seen service in Mexico. Personally he was an admirable character, but he was quite right in believing that he was not competent to command a great army. He divided the army, now swelled by reënforcements to 120,000 men, into three grand divisions, to be commanded respectively by Sumner, Hooker, and Franklin. By the end of November he confronted Lee near Fredericksburg, a town on the Rappahannock River, about halfway between Washington and Richmond. Lee had placed his whole army, now almost 80,000 men, in a strong position on the heights just south of the town. Here Burnside determined to make an attack. After infinite trouble he succeeded in crossing the river by December 12, and next day came the dreadful slaughter of Fredericksburg. Burnside seemed bewildered, and he would listen to no advice of his subordinates. He decided to attack Lee's center, occupying Maryes Heights, at the base of which there was a stone wall and a trench. The

**Battle of
Fredericks-
burg, De-
cember 13,
1862**

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¹ The battle cost Rosecrans about 13,000 men and Bragg nearly 12,000.

hill was crowned with lines of cannon, the sides were covered with rifle pits filled with sharpshooters, and several regiments of Confederate infantry crouched behind the stone wall. In the face of all this the foolhardy attack was to be made. Sumner's grand division was put to the awful work. General French made the first assault, but he was driven back with great slaughter. Then went General Hancock with 5000 men; but in a few minutes he, too, fell back leaving 2000 men stretched upon the fatal field. Three other divisions were then successively sent forward, but the result was the same — dreadful slaughter, with no impression on the enemy's works. "Oh, great God!" cried General Couch, "see how our men, our poor fellows, are falling; it is only murder now."¹ Burnside now became frantic. He called upon Hooker to lead his men to the assault. Hooker protested that it was useless, that the works could not be carried. Burnside would listen to nothing; he sternly declared that his orders must be obeyed. Hooker then sent 4500 men with fixed bayonets into the death trap. As they came within range of the muskets the top of the stone wall became a sheet of flame. The brave men fell by hundreds, and in a few minutes the division fell back, leaving a third of its number on the ground. Now it was night, and the battle of Fredericksburg was over.

Great was the carnage at Fredericksburg, and it brought mourning to many a fireside in the North. The sadder it seemed from the fact that it might have been prevented. The Union loss exceeded 12,000 men, the Confederate loss was slightly more than 5000. Burnside was wild with anguish at what he had done. "Oh, those men, those men over there, I am thinking of them all the time," he wailed, pointing to his army of dead and dying across the river. In his desperation he decided to storm the heights next day and to lead the assault in person, but he yielded to the dissuasion of his generals.

Seldom during the war were Confederate hopes so high as in the days that followed Fredericksburg.² The correspondent of the *London Times* wrote from Lee's headquarters that December 13 would be a memorable day to the historian of the Decline and Fall of the American Republic. He might have written that no braver army ever wielded the sword than the Union army, whose legions dashed six times, in the face of that murderous fire, against

¹ *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. III, p. 173.

² This feeling was heightened by the capture of Grant's immense stores at Holly Springs, Mississippi, by General Van Dorn, just a week after the battle of Fredericksburg, and by Sherman's bloody repulse before Vicksburg a little later.

Maryes Heights at Fredericksburg. Burnside decided on another general engagement a few days later, but he was overruled by the President. The morale of the army was destroyed; officers and men lost confidence in their leader. Burnside offered his resignation, which was at length accepted by the President, who then appointed Hooker to the command of the army. In the same order he also relieved Sumner at his own request, on account of advancing age, and Franklin, because he was accused of not properly supporting Meade against Jackson at Fredericksburg.

General Joseph Hooker, known among the soldiers as "Fighting Joe Hooker," took control of the Army of the Potomac late in January, 1863. He found it greatly disorganized and discouraged; but he was a good organizer, and in two months the army was restored to an excellent condition for active service. The entire army numbered at least 125,000, and a better army never trod American soil. It spent the winter at Falmouth, across the Rappahannock from Fredericksburg, while the army of Lee, now reduced to 60,000 by the detachment of Longstreet's corps, occupied the heights beyond the river whence it had dealt such fearful blows to Burnside in December.

Nothing serious was attempted till the middle of April. Hooker then broke camp and marched to Chancellorsville, a country tavern bearing the name of a town, about ten miles west of Fredericksburg. Hooker boasted that the enemy must now ingloriously fly or come out from his defenses and give battle "where certain destruction awaits him." Lee chose the latter alternative; he came out from his defenses to give battle — but not to meet certain destruction.

On the first day of May, 1863, the two armies lay near Chancellorsville, on the edge of the Wilderness which became the scene of a great battle a year later, and the series of battles of the next few days are known collectively as the battle of Chancellorsville. Hooker enjoyed every advantage — a strong position, the larger army, and the eager confidence of his troops. But at this moment Hooker seems to have lost his judgment. To the astonishment of the enemy and of his subordinates he ordered his army to fall back from its elevated position to a lower one nearer the Wilderness. "My God!" exclaimed Meade, "if we cannot hold the top of a hill, we certainly cannot hold the bottom of it." On the 2d the storm broke forth with fury. Stonewall Jackson now made one

**Hooker in
command**

**Battle of
Chancel-
lorsville**

(and this was his last) of the rapid, stealthy, flanking marches of which he was such a master. With a force of thirty thousand he marched fifteen miles around the Union right to attack the corps under General O. O. Howard. Hooker and Howard believed that the enemy was in retreat; but they were soon undeceived. At six in the evening, while Howard's men were resting, preparing supper, or playing cards — all unconscious of danger — a sudden rush into camp of wild animals, deer and rabbits, from the near-by forest, apprised them of the coming foe. They seized their arms and attempted to form in battle line — but it was too late. In a few minutes the Confederates were upon them. Howard's men fought nobly, but they had no chance of success. In an hour the corps was cut to pieces and almost annihilated, the survivors fleeing like mad men. As night fell the corps of Sickles and the cavalry of Pleasanton planted themselves in the way of the on-rushing Confederates and stopped their advance. In this wild desperate charge on the evening of May 2 the Confederates had slain thousands, and had won a brilliant victory. But it was a dear victory for the South: it cost the life of Stonewall Jackson. It was after nightfall, when the hush after the battle was broken only by the wails of the dying and by a stray shot here and there, that Jackson rode out with his staff to view the ground in front of his lines. On their return the Confederates mistook them for Union horsemen and fired on them. Jackson received a mortal wound.

Sickles renewed the battle by night, and the firing did not cease till midnight. Next morning the conflict was renewed at an early hour. Lee had brought his own immediate command to the aid of the corps of Jackson. Hooker became bewildered and knew not what to do. Nothing was plainer than that he, like Burnside, was not competent to command a great army in battle. The Confederates dashed upon Sickles again and again, and were driven back. Sickles might have gained a great victory but for the fact that Hooker held back in idleness probably thirty thousand men. All was confusion in the Union ranks, and the enemy soon gained the high ground for which it fought, the Federals being pressed back to the river bank.

Thus ended Sunday, the 3d of May, with another Confederate victory. Next day another engagement took place between General Sedgwick, who had been left at Fredericksburg with twenty thousand men, and a portion of Lee's army under Early. All day the fight continued, and at night Sedgwick recrossed the Rappahannock. Two days later Hooker did the same, and the

battles at Chancellorsville were ended, both armies now occupying the respective positions they had held during the winter. The campaign had cost Hooker more than seventeen thousand men. The southern loss was over twelve thousand — and Stonewall Jackson.

In some respects this man was the most remarkable character brought into prominence by the Civil War. There is a glamour of romance around the name of Jackson. As a schoolboy he dragged far behind his class. He was a graduate of West Point; but, disliking warfare, he resigned from the army and became a college professor and a teacher in a squalid negro Sunday School. He was rather slow-moving, silent, distant, had few friends, and was not generally popular. There was something unfathomable in his nature, but no one dreamed that he was a genius. The war brought out his powers and proved him one of the great commanders of modern times. The popular notion that his attacks were impulsive and only accidentally successful was erroneous. His plans were well laid and almost faultless. Jackson was intensely religious, and his men said that when he remained long on his knees in his tent they knew that a great battle was impending. Lee's estimate of Jackson is shown in a note sent him as he lay wounded. In this note Lee stated that he would have chosen for the good of the country to be disabled in Jackson's stead. Jackson died on May 10, and there was none to fill his place. During his last moments he seemed to have forgotten the great war. He lived now with his God and with his family, who could never forget the tender beauty of his final words, "Let us cross over the river and lie down amid the shade of the trees."

DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION — VALLANDIGHAM

As noticed in a former chapter, the firing on Fort Sumter welded the North into a unit for the saving of the Union. The voice of the politician was hushed in the presence of the national danger. But this condition could not continue. The old party that had ruled the country for half a century, that had been defeated by the new-born Republican party and was now in a state of eclipse, could not long remain in quiet. It might agree with its great rival in military matters, but in the field of politics new issues must be found, the administration must be attacked, as usual, by the party out of power. The Democrats soon found a plausible issue in the suspending of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*

and the arbitrary arrests that followed it. As early as April, 1861, Mr. Lincoln authorized General Scott to suspend the writ between Philadelphia and Washington. Congress afterward gave the President full power in the matter, and he extended the suspension from time to time till it covered the entire country for the period of the war.¹

This was a dangerous reach of power. To the President's constitutional power as commander of the army and navy of the United States it added the power of a dictator, of an absolute monarch, the control of the whole fabric of civil government. He could arrest any man in civil life, from a Cabinet officer or the governor of a state to the common laborer, throw him into prison and retain him indefinitely without giving him a trial or informing him why he was arrested. What a power for evil this would have been in the hands of a tyrant! But Mr. Lincoln was not a tyrant. Nevertheless he caused thousands of men to be arrested and cast into prison on such charges as "disloyal practice," "discouraging enlistments," and the like.² Justice of the United States Supreme Court Benjamin R. Curtis, who had given the opinion adverse to Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case, came out in a pamphlet against the President. He stated that to the rights of the President as commander were added the powers of a usurper, and this he pronounced military despotism. Other prominent Republicans, as, for instance, Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, protested loudly against the arbitrary acts of the government. Above all, these acts became a powerful weapon in the hands of the Democrats, who were unsparing in their criticisms. Some of the more rabid Democratic journals were suppressed by the government; but this action only awakened a louder demand for freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, and there is little doubt that the result was a weakening of the administration party. The same may be said of the arbitrary arrests. In some cases the result was doubtless beneficial; in others great injustice was done. On the whole it may be safely asserted that more harm than good came of the suspending of

Arbitrary
arrests

¹ On September 24, 1862, the suspension was made general as affecting arrests by military authority for disloyal practices. In March, 1863, Congress sustained the President and again authorized the suspension, and on September 15, 1862, the President issued another proclamation limiting the suspension to prisoners of war, deserters, and abettors of the enemy.

² Alexander Johnston in Lalor's *Cyclopedia* gives thirty-eight thousand as the whole number of military arrests; but this number is no doubt too large. See discussion in Rhodes, Vol. IV, pp. 231, 232.

the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, especially in the states not occupied by the armies, and that it weakened rather than strengthened the Union party. The civil authorities should not have been superseded by the military, except in the armies and the territory occupied by them. The only reason that the people did not rise against the government for its usurpations was the same that prevents a sick man from rising against the surgeon that operates on him with the knife. Every man, Democrat or Republican, knew in his heart, whether he acknowledged it or not, that the administration did not mean to abolish our free institutions or to overturn our form of government, but that the purpose was simply to win the war. The people, regardless of party, also knew that Abraham Lincoln, from the rugged honesty of his soul and the breadth of his human sympathy, was not and could not be a tyrant; that whatever he did, and however many his mistakes, his ultimate aim was to save the country and to serve the people.¹

But the Democrats must oppose the administration. Why not? Such is the chief business of the party out of power in the United States, and a good, wholesome business for the country it is. The Civil War period was no exception. There was much to criticise aside from what has been mentioned — corruption in the giving out of government contracts, extravagant expenditure of money, and political favoritism in military appointments. The Democrats certainly made a profound impression on the country, as shown by their carrying so many of the great states of the North in the autumn elections of 1862. To the end of the war there was a strong, fearless Democratic minority in Congress. Many of its issues were well chosen. Its influence was often wholesome, and it had far more weight in shaping legislation than is generally believed. There were other issues, however, concerning which we have less sympathy with the Democrats. They — many of them, not the party as a whole — opposed emancipation, and, still worse, they opposed the draft. They had at first heartily joined the administration to save the Union; but they were set against making the war a war for abolition also.

At the opening of the war there were more volunteers than could be used. But the enthusiasm subsided. The reports of the frightful slaughter on the battlefield, of the hard life and small pay of the soldier, contrasted with the good times and opportunities to make money at home, led

**Democratic
opposition**

The draft

¹ This thought is brought out by Rhodes; see Vol. IV, p. 171.

men to prefer staying at home. Volunteering almost ceased, and the government followed the example of the Confederacy and resorted to conscription. In March, 1863, Congress passed an act authorizing the President to make drafts on the national forces at his discretion, after the first of the ensuing July. By this act he could replenish the armies by force. Men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years were subject to the draft;¹ they were to be chosen by lot, and any one drafted who did not report was to be treated as a deserter. One might, however, hire a substitute, or be excused on the payment of \$300. This practice raised an outcry from many, chiefly, but not exclusively Democrats. The supreme courts of New York and Pennsylvania pronounced the draft unconstitutional and void.² The opposition broke into open rebellion in the city of New York. Most of the newspapers of that city denounced the draft as an outrage on individual liberty and state rights. When the enrollment began in that city (at 46th Street and Third Avenue), a mob broke into the enrollment office, drove the officials out and set the building on fire. For three days thereafter the streets of the city were filled with a drunken, furious, bellowing mob numbering many thousands. The rioters, many of them foreign born, attacked the *Tribune* office, fell upon negroes on the streets, killing several, burned the colored orphan asylum on Fifth Avenue, and indeed held the city wholly in their grasp for several days.³ Meantime the newly elected Democratic governor, Horatio Seymour, addressed the crowd, begging them to return to their homes and to keep the peace until he heard from Washington, as he had sent his adjutant-general thither to have the draft suspended. A body of troops soon arrived in the city, fired on the mob, killing several, and at length restored order. Similar outbreaks on a smaller scale took place in Jersey City, Boston, and other places. In the end, however, the people submitted to the government, and the depleted armies were replenished by means of the draft.

Let us once more advert to the subject of arbitrary arrests and note the most conspicuous case in the history of the war — that of Clement Laird Vallandigham, a member of Congress

¹ There were many exemptions from the draft. Certain high officials of the government or of the state, the only son of a widow or of an aged father dependent on that son, the father of motherless children under twelve years of age, the residue of a family which had two members in the service, and others, were exempt from the draft.

² This was afterward reversed by circuit and district courts, but the matter never came before the Supreme Court of the United States.

³ See *New York Tribune*, July, 1863.

from Ohio until defeated for reelection in 1862 by Robert C. Schenck. He was the leader of the radical element of the Democrats in the West, often called "Butternuts" or "Copperheads," and he lost no occasion to denounce the administration. Referring to arbitrary arrests, he declared that Lincoln, Stanton, and Halleck should be arrested. Ohio was to elect a governor in 1863, and Vallandigham was an aspirant for the Democratic nomination. He went about over the state making speeches bitterly denouncing the conduct of the war. He was a strong and able leader, a successful orator, a dashing politician of the Douglas type, but, there is reason to believe, without the deep sincerity of soul that characterized Douglas. The last and most violent of his speeches in this canvass was made at a great Democratic meeting at Mt. Vernon.

General A. E. Burnside, after his disaster at Fredericksburg, was assigned to the Department of Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati. Soon after he was installed in the new position he issued a war order stating that declaring sympathy for the enemy would not be allowed. Burnside soon had his eye on Vallandigham, and sent agents in citizen's clothes to hear his speeches. These agents declared the speech at Mt. Vernon incendiary, and Burnside determined to arrest the speaker. On May 5, at two o'clock in the morning, a band of soldiers beat upon the door of Vallandigham's home in Dayton, and, being refused admittance, they burst in the door, seized Mr. Vallandigham in his bedchamber, and carried him to Cincinnati.

In a few days the distinguished prisoner was tried by a military court, before which he refused to plead and whose jurisdiction he denied. But the trial went on, and Mr. Vallandigham was found guilty of "declaring disloyal sentiments," and was sentenced to close confinement during the remainder of the war. Burnside approved the decision, but Mr. Lincoln commuted the sentence to banishment to the southern Confederacy, the sentence of the court to be carried out only in case of his return. The banishment was duly executed by General Rosecrans.

There was a vigorous Democratic protest from all sides against the summary dealing with Vallandigham. A great meeting at Albany, New York, strongly condemned the proceedings, and sent a set of resolutions to the President requesting, almost demanding, a reversal in the case of the Ohio statesman. Mr. Lincoln answered in a long argument for the necessity and the constitutional warrant for the system of arbitrary arrests. He

touched a popular chord when, in speaking of the universal rule of inflicting the death penalty for army desertions, he said, "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert?"

Vallandigham did not remain long in the South. He escaped in a blockade runner and repaired to Canada. While there he was nominated by the Democrats for governor of Ohio, and the convention that made the nomination appointed a committee of eminent citizens to address the President in favor of a revocation of the order of banishment. Lincoln made a most ingenious, if not a very dignified, answer. He offered to revoke the order if they, the members of the committee, would sign a paper promising to do all in their power to aid and encourage the army and navy in suppressing the rebellion. The committee replied that they would not enter into any bargains or contracts with the President for the return of Mr. Vallandigham, that they asked it as a right and not as a favor.

He escapes
to Canada

The Ohio canvass went on, and the Democrats declared that if their candidate were elected they would meet him at the state line and conduct him to the capital in such numbers as to protect him from attack. But the news from Gettysburg, from Vicksburg, and from Port Hudson was so favorable to the Union cause that the war party took new courage and swept the state, electing their candidate, John Brough, over Vallandigham by a majority exceeding a hundred thousand.¹

DOINGS OF CONGRESS

During the war period Congress attracted less attention than usual, for the reason that the eyes of the country were directed to the armies in the field and to the President, whose "war powers" led him to trench greatly on the power of Congress. To the ordinary legislation necessary to support the war it is needless to devote our space; but a few of the extraordinary acts

¹ Burnside soon after this affair suppressed the *Chicago Times* for disloyal utterances. But the people rose in great numbers, Republicans as well as Democrats, and demanded that the right of a free press should not be infringed, and President Lincoln revoked the order of Burnside. By a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (*The Milligan Case*, 1866, 4 Wallace 128) such proceedings as that against Vallandigham, as also the suspending the writ of *Habeas Corpus* away from the seat of war, were virtually pronounced unconstitutional. Vallandigham returned to Ohio in June, 1864, and went about unmolested by the government. He died in 1871 by a pistol shot fired by himself accidentally, while explaining a murder case to a jury.

must be noted. We have referred to the scheme for internal taxation and to the Confiscation Act, and also to the action of Congress concerning the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. In May, 1862, the Homestead Act was passed, which proved a wonderful boon to the settlement of the great West. By this law any citizen was given the right to settle on one hundred and sixty acres of public land, and at the end of five years to own it by paying \$1.25 an acre. An act of July, 1862, to be noticed later, provided for a railway to the Pacific Coast.

No legislation during the war was of greater importance than that which concerned the national finances. The public debt, less than \$70,000,000 at the opening of the war, shot upward with surprising rapidity, and within two years it had reached \$500,000,000. In December, 1861, the government and the banks agreed to suspend specie payments. To meet the new conditions Congress passed the Legal Tender Act, which became a law on February 25, 1862. By this law an issue of \$150,000,000 in treasury notes was made legal tender for all private debts and public dues, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt. The issues were afterward increased till they reached \$450,000,000, popularly known as "greenbacks" because of their color. The act authorizing the first issue of greenbacks provided also for funding them in six per cent bonds, payable in coin, and known as "fifties." ¹ The great problem was, how to keep the legal tender notes from depreciating in value. The fact that they could be used in the purchase of government bonds while the interest on these bonds was payable in coin was a tower of strength. But the government preferred to sell its bonds for coin, as coin had the greater purchasing power. And yet, if the government refused its own notes in the sale of bonds, the value of the notes would fall in an alarming degree. How to prevent this was the question; and its solution in part was found in the establishing of the National Banking system.

The act creating the National Bank was passed in February, 1863,² and was based on the state bank system of New York. Under this law a company of five or more persons might found a bank with a capital not to fall below a certain amount. The company was then obliged to deposit with the United States treasurer government bonds to

¹ Because payable after five years and due in twenty years from date. This loan became a very popular one.

² This act was amended and improved by act of June 3, 1864.

the amount of one third of its capital stock paid in. These bonds were then held to secure the notes issued by the banking company, and such notes were not to exceed ninety per cent of the bonds held by the government. The government thus became responsible for the bank's notes, made them legal tender, and secured the holder from loss by the bank's failure. In March, 1865, Congress passed a law taxing state banks so heavily that they had to go out of business or become national banks. This admirable system relieved the people from keeping track of the standing of any bank of issue, as the nation was security for its notes. Some object to the national banking system because it precluded the full payment of a national debt; but, as I have stated elsewhere, a moderate national debt is not a burden, and it may be a benefit, to any country. This system inspired confidence on all sides; it became a power in drawing from the people the necessary support of the war, and in later years it aided the government greatly in resuming specie payments. The banking system was the crowning achievement of Secretary Chase.

It will be observed that congressional legislation during the war encroached seriously upon the powers granted by the Constitution. This was especially true in the case of the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, of the Revenue Act, and of the restriction of the press. The Constitution expressly provides for liberty of speech and of the press. In spite of this fact, many newspapers were suppressed, issues of others were seized by United States officials, and the use of the mail service was denied them; and many men were seized and imprisoned merely for criticising the government's conduct of the war. In time of peace such a procedure would be alarming to a free people. But a state of war changes the whole aspect of the government. The nation was struggling for its life. Why should it not use every means necessary to preserve that life? The government made many mistakes; but there is no reason to believe that there was any intention to encroach permanently on American personal liberty. Nor did it so result; our personal liberty and local self-government are as sacred to-day and as fully enjoyed by the people as before the war.

VICKSBURG

At the close of the year 1862 the military situation was not very favorable to the Union cause. In the East the mistake had been made of withdrawing McClellan from the peninsula,

and, after Antietam, of superseding him with a much weaker man. This had resulted in the great disaster of Fredericksburg, and, the following spring, in that of Chancellorsville. In the West, Corinth had been saved, Bragg had been driven from Kentucky and defeated in early January at Murfreesborough, but he had not been disabled — only put on the defensive. Meantime the Federals had lost a grand opportunity to seize Vicksburg before it was fortified by the Confederates.

We have stated that Grant did little for a year after the battle of Shiloh, but the fault lay far more with Halleck than with him. After Shiloh Halleck had assumed command of the Army of Tennessee, which had swelled to a hundred thousand men. He moved southward and occupied Corinth the last of May, the Confederates having abandoned the place without a battle.

A week later the Federal fleet on the Mississippi captured Memphis, after a fierce fight of the gunboats. Farragut, after the capture of New Orleans in April, had proceeded up the river, had passed Vicksburg, and had joined with Commodore Davis, the successor of Commodore Foote, whose wound had obliged him to retire. Farragut repeatedly asked Halleck for a portion of his army to occupy Vicksburg, and thus to secure the whole course of the great river. Vicksburg, situated on a bluff opposite a sharp bend in the river halfway between Memphis and New Orleans, was the greatest stronghold, and, next to Richmond, the most strategic point, in the South. Its occupation by the Federals at this time would have been easy; and its possession would have given them control of the whole course of the Mississippi and would have severed Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy. But Halleck's mind was not large enough to grasp so great a subject; ¹ he refused to send Farragut any aid, and meantime Van Dorn hastened to Vicksburg with a few thousand men and worked them day and night till the place was well fortified and mounted with cannon. Farragut returned to New Orleans, and Van Dorn went down the river to Port Hudson, two hundred miles below Vicksburg, fortified it, and held the river between the two points. At any time before the middle of July 1862, Halleck, coöperating with Farragut and Davis, could have secured Vicksburg with a small portion of his army; but the opportunity was lost, and the blunder cost a year of weary warfare and thousands of human lives.

Again, Halleck might have seized Chattanooga, the key to

¹ See Fiske, *Mississippi Valley in the Civil War*, p. 141.

eastern Tennessee and the chief railroad center between Virginia and the Southwest. But he failed also to do this. In the midst of this series of blunders by this opinionated western commander, President Lincoln committed a still more serious blunder — he appointed Halleck commander in chief of all the armies of the United States.

This promotion of Halleck left Grant in superior command in the West, and he immediately began planning the capture of the great Confederate stronghold, Vicksburg. The Mississippi River in its lower course winds like a mighty serpent from side to side of an alluvial bottom averaging forty miles in width. On the eastern side these great coils here and there sweep up to the bluffs of the highlands of Tennessee and Mississippi. On such bluffs are situated Vicksburg, Memphis, and Port Hudson, and these strategic points were necessary to the military occupation of the river. Memphis had fallen from the Confederate grasp, and Grant saw that the capture of Vicksburg would occasion the fall of Port Hudson and would sever the three trans-Mississippi states from the Confederacy, which drew from that section much of its food supply, thousands of its soldiers, and even munitions of war from Europe through the ports of Mexico. But Vicksburg was almost impregnable. Situated two hundred feet above the waves that break upon the base of the cliff, its cannon could destroy any hostile fleet that might approach from above or from below, while the obstacles in the way of a land approach were almost equally insurmountable. The capture of Vicksburg was therefore a work of unknown peril to an army.

Grant, with an army of fifty thousand men, made several unsuccessful attempts in the autumn of 1862, and the northern public grew impatient at his failure and clamored loudly for his removal. Halleck, Stanton, Chase, and others joined in the general demand that Grant be superseded; but President Lincoln determined to “try him a little longer,” and thus in some degree he counteracted his mistake in making Halleck commander in chief. Grant’s first attempt consisted in moving his army down into the interior of Mississippi in the hope of forcing the evacuation of Vicksburg without attacking it. In this way — by his great flanking movement up the Tennessee by way of Donelson to Shiloh — he had caused the evacuation of Columbus, Fort Pillow, and Memphis; but in the case of Vicksburg he had to leave his base of supplies so far behind that the plan was found impracticable, and it was abandoned.

First attempt
on Vicksburg

The next plan was to divide the army: Grant was to remain in Mississippi with a portion, while Sherman was to return with the rest to Memphis and embark on the fleet of Admiral Porter, who had succeeded Davis, for a point just north of Vicksburg, and thence to coöperate with Grant. This plan was carried out in December, and might have promised success but for the fearful ravages of the Confederate cavalry.

Van Dorn captures Holly Springs, December 20, 1862

On the same day that Sherman embarked at Memphis, Van Dorn with thirty-five hundred cavalry swooped down like an eagle upon Holly Springs, where Grant had stored a million and a half dollars' worth of supplies, destroyed the stores, and captured the garrison. At the same time General Nathan Forrest made a cavalry raid across Tennessee, destroyed the telegraph and sixty miles of railroad, cutting Grant off for nearly two weeks from all communication with the rest of the world. With his stores destroyed and no railroad left by which to secure more, Grant could only retreat and live off the country while doing so.¹ While Grant was making this retreat of eighty miles, Sherman with thirty-two thousand men was floating down the river. Reaching the mouth of the Yazoo just above Vicksburg, he ascended

Sherman on the Yazoo

that river for a few miles, made a desperate attack on the enemy's works at Chickasaw Bayou, and suffered a stinging defeat, losing eighteen hundred men to two hundred by the enemy. Sherman's command was then turned over to General John A. McClernand, who had come down the river with an independent command. McClernand, after fighting in Grant's army at Donelson and Shiloh, had raised an army in the West, boasting that he was tired furnishing brains for Grant, and had persuaded the President to send him down the river on his own account. He and Sherman then made a raid up the Arkansas River, captured Arkansas Post (January 11, 1863), and were about to make an expedition far into the Red River country when Grant made serious complaint against taking so large a force from the main object of the campaign; whereupon Grant was given the command over McClernand, with the option of giving that general the conduct of the movement against Vicksburg, or of assuming it himself; and he chose the latter.

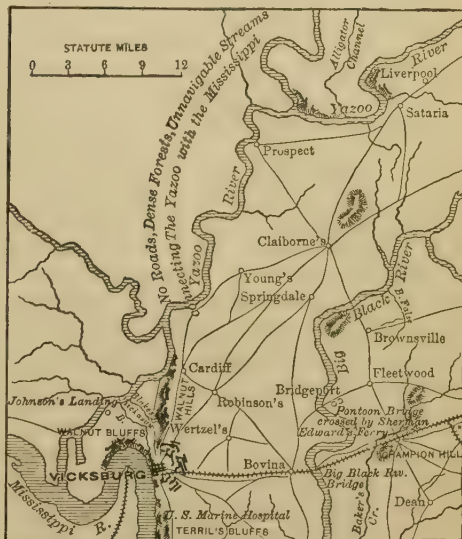
Grant now went down the river, collected his army in four

¹ Some southern ladies tauntingly asked Grant from what source he could now feed his army, and he quietly remarked that their barns seemed to be well stocked. "What," they exclaimed in alarm, "you surely would not lay hands on private property!" Grant regretted the necessity, but informed them that they could not expect him to starve his army. Fiske, p. 200.

corps under Sherman, McClelland, Hurlburt, and McPherson, and spent the winter in making various unsuccessful experiments. March had passed, and Grant had made no progress whatever toward investing Vicksburg. It was at this time that the cry in the North became loudest that Grant should be dismissed, and that Lincoln decided to try him a little longer.

General Grant now at last conceived the plan that was destined to succeed; **Running the batteries,** namely, to **send the April 16**

army to a point below Vicksburg by an overland route west of the river and to run the batteries at Vicksburg with the supply boats under the protection of Porter's ironclads. Silently in the darkness a fleet floated down the river. For an hour the darkness and silence were



VICKSBURG AND VICINITY

unbroken, and the crews began to believe they would pass unnoticed, when suddenly the heavens were lighted by burning powder, and the roar of artillery burst forth from the tiers of batteries that crowned the bluff in front of the city. "The sight was magnificent, but terrible," said Grant. Porter opened his guns from the fleet and threw many shells into the streets of the city. All the vessels were struck, but all escaped destruction save one of the steamers, which, being set on fire, burned to the water's edge. A week later another fleet of supply boats ran the batteries in safety, and on the last day of April the fleet met the army, which had been struggling for a month through the swamps west of the river.¹ The army was now on the west side of the river opposite Grand Gulf, another bluff in the hands of the Confederates and twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. A crossing was effected some miles below, and on the 3d of May,

¹ Sherman's corps was still above Vicksburg, but came down and joined the main army early in May. Hurlburt was still at Memphis.

Grand Gulf was captured after a sharp battle with eight thousand of the enemy.

The Federal army had secured a footing below Vicksburg, but its tenure was uncertain. It was in the midst of a hostile country, far from any base of supplies, and every day would increase its perils. Grant knew that he must strike without delay. He came to a resolution that would have done credit to the great Napoleon for its audacity. Grant had about forty-five thousand men. Before Vicksburg sat Pemberton with an army of about the same size. Near Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, fifty miles from Vicksburg, was another Confederate army, fifteen thousand strong, soon to be commanded by Joseph E. Johnston, who was hastening from Chattanooga. Grant determined to cut himself off from his base at Grand Gulf, to march against Johnston's army and destroy it, then to turn upon Pemberton, beat him in battle and drive him within the defenses of Vicksburg. The daring campaign was begun on the 7th of May.¹ On the 12th the battle of Raymond was fought between McPherson and five thousand Confederates. Two days later Johnston's army was again routed, and the city of Jackson was captured. Leaving a body of troops to burn the arsenals and military factories at Jackson and to tear up the railroad for twenty miles around, Grant turned his face toward Vicksburg. Pemberton had come out to meet him, and they came face to face at a place called Champion Hill. Here a terrific battle of eight hours was fought, in which Pemberton lost all his artillery and four thousand men, including prisoners, while four thousand others became detached from his army and fled into the interior of Mississippi. The remainder hastened toward Vicksburg, but on the next day they were overtaken at the Big Black River, and were again defeated.² The Confederates then took refuge in the defenses of Vicksburg. On the 18th of May Grant's army was safely lodged on the heights around Vicksburg, and he had also opened his communications with the North. This was without exception the most brilliant campaign of the Civil War. It is true that Grant fought against inferior numbers in every battle; but this was largely because of his skill in preventing the two armies of the enemy from uniting. In eleven days from the time he left Grand Gulf, Grant had

¹ The Confederates of central Mississippi had been demoralized by a daring raid, April 17-May 2, around Jackson by one thousand cavalymen under Colonel Grierson. This raid was a great aid to Grant.

² But the enemy succeeded in burning the bridge over the Big Black. Otherwise Grant would doubtless have beaten him in reaching Vicksburg.

marched about one hundred and fifty miles in the enemy's country without a base of supplies, had fought and won four battles, had destroyed or captured twelve thousand of the enemy with a loss of less than five thousand, and had captured a state capital. He had moved with a celerity never surpassed by Stonewall Jackson, and he was now ready to invest this great Gibraltar of the South. On the morning of the 19th, as Grant and Sherman rode out on the bluff, the latter burst forth in praise and admiration of his chief and of the great campaign that he had planned and carried through. Grant lighted a fresh cigar, smiled, and said never a word.¹

The Union army was flushed with victory, and the troops believed they could carry the works of the city by storm. A grand assault was made by the whole Union army.

But the enemy fought like a wild beast at bay, and the Federals lost three thousand men and won

Grand
assault,
May 22

nothing. Grant has been censured for this waste of men; but he believed that his army would be impatient of a long siege unless first convinced that to carry the works by storm was impossible. After the assault the army was content to settle down to a regular siege.

Johnston was raising a large army to attempt the rescue of Pemberton. Grant saw the danger, and called for reënforcements from the North. The response was prompt, and within a few weeks his army was almost doubled.

Siege of
Vicksburg

He placed nearly half the army under Sherman some miles in the interior to watch Johnston, who hung in the rear like a gathering cloud. The siege went on for six weeks. The men worked like marmots in the trenches, approaching nearer and nearer, tightening the coils about the doomed city. Porter's fleet lay in the river, from which the bombardment was incessant day and night. The shrieking shells rose in grand parabolic curves, bursting in midair, or on the streets of the city, spreading havoc in all directions. The people of the city found safety by burrowing in the ground. Whole families lived for weeks in safety in these dismal homes, with their walls of clay shaken at intervals by the roar of battle that raged above them.

Vicksburg was shut out from the world. Food soon began to run low. At length almost nothing could be had except mule meat and a mixture of dried peas and cornmeal, and these were becoming exhausted. Many had perished, both of the garrison and the residents, from the bursting of shells, from sickness and

¹ Fiske, *The Mississippi Valley*, p. 241.

exhaustion; and at length starvation stalked among the remnant like a devouring monster. Such was Vicksburg at the opening of July, 1863. Further resistance was suicidal. Nothing was left but to surrender, and at ten o'clock on the morning of the 3d, white flags were seen waving above the parapet. The cannon instantly ceased to roar, and that afternoon Grant met Pemberton to arrange terms of surrender. Next day, the glorious 4th, the surrender was accomplished, and this powerful citadel of the South fell into the possession of the Union army.

With Vicksburg were surrendered 37,000 prisoners of war, 172 cannon, and 60,000 muskets. Port Hudson could not stand after the fall of Vicksburg; on the 9th of July it surrendered to General Banks,¹ and the whole course of the Mississippi was in the hands of the Union armies. In the vigorous language of Mr. Lincoln, "The Father of Waters rolled unvexed to the sea."

GETTYSBURG

During the last days of the siege of Vicksburg still greater events were taking place in the East. Here was fought at this time the greatest battle of the Civil War — the battle of Gettysburg. Most of the fighting in the war took place south of Mason and Dixon's line, but this terrific clash of arms occurred on the soil of the old Keystone state, which had given birth to the Declaration of Independence and to the Constitution of the United States. We left Lee's army flushed with victory at Chancellorsville and strengthened by the memory of Fredericksburg. Southern hopes were high after Chancellorsville, and public opinion was unanimous in demanding an invasion of northern soil. On the other hand, the Army of the Potomac, under its many masters, had met with one discouragement after another, and, with all its patriotism and valor, its two years' warfare showed but few bright pages to cheer the heart of the war-broken soldier, and to inspire the hopes of an anxious public.

Leaving General Stuart with ten thousand cavalry and a part of Hill's corps to prevent Hooker from pursuing, Lee crossed the Potomac early in June, concentrated his army at Hagerstown, Maryland, and prepared for a campaign in Pennsylvania, with Harrisburg as the objective point. His army was divided into three corps under the

¹ Grant paroled his prisoners. Port Hudson was surrendered by General Gardner with over 6000 men and 7500 muskets. It could not have withstood the siege much longer, even if Vicksburg had not surrendered.

respective commands of Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill. Lee had divided his army so as to approach Harrisburg by different routes and to assess the towns along the way for large sums of money, when, late in June, he received the startling intelligence that Stuart and Hill had failed to detain Hooker, that the Federal army had crossed the Potomac and was in hot pursuit.

Lee was quick to see that his programme must be changed. He knew that to continue his march he must keep his army together to watch his pursuing antagonist, and that such a course in this hostile country would mean starvation, while the willing hands of the surrounding populace would minister to the wants of his enemy. Again, if he should scatter his forces that they might secure the necessary supplies, the parts would be attacked singly and destroyed. Lee saw, therefore, that he must abandon his invasion of the North or turn upon his pursuing foe and smite and disable him, in order to continue his march. But that foe was a giant of strength and courage equal to his own; and the coming together of two such forces in a final, mighty death struggle meant that a great battle must be fought — a greater battle than this western world had hitherto known.

The Army of the Potomac had again changed hands, and George Gordon Meade was now its master. Hooker, after a dispute with Halleck, had resigned the leadership, and Meade, the strongest of the corps commanders, was appointed in his place. The two great armies were scattered over portions of Maryland and southern Pennsylvania, moving each toward the other, and it was plain that they must soon come together in a contest more terrific than they had yet experienced in their two years' struggle; but just where the shock of battle would take place was yet unknown. Meade had ordered a general movement toward Harrisburg, and he sent General Buford with four thousand cavalry to intercept the advance guard of the enemy. On the night of June 30 Buford encamped on a low hill a mile west of Gettysburg, and here on the following morning the famous battle had its beginning.

Gettysburg was a quiet hamlet of fifteen hundred people, in Adams County, Pennsylvania, and some twelve miles east of the South Mountain range. West of the village is situated on a ridge running north and south a Lutheran Theological Seminary, and this ridge is called Seminary Ridge. Just south of the town, about a mile from Seminary Ridge and parallel to it, is Cemetery Ridge, which, curving eastward at the village, culminates in Culp's Hill on the bank of Rock Creek.

On the morning of July 1 the two armies were still scattered, the extremes being forty miles apart. But General Reynolds, with three corps of the Union army, was but a few miles away, and was hastening to Gettysburg, while Longstreet and Hill were approaching the town from the west. Buford had opened the battle with Hill's corps. Reynolds soon joined Buford, Longstreet joined Hill, and three hours before noon the battle was on in full force on Seminary Ridge. Reynolds rode out to his fighting lines on the ridge, and here, about ten o'clock, a sharpshooter's bullet laid him dead upon the ground. John F. Reynolds, who had been promoted for gallantry at Buena Vista, was one of the bravest and ablest generals of the army. No casualty of the war brought more widespread mourning in the North than the death of Reynolds.

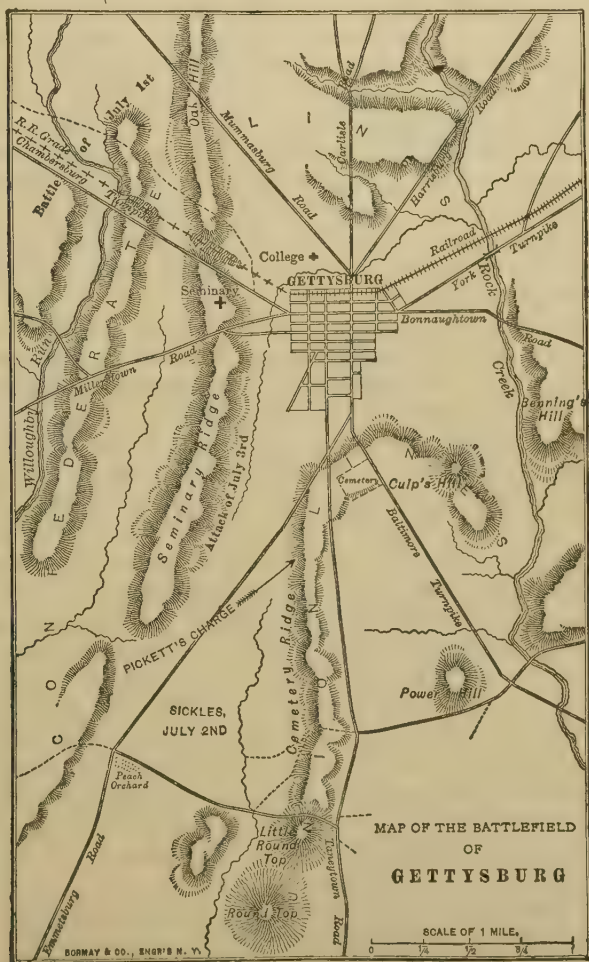
**Opening of
the battle**

But even this calamity could not stay the fury of the battle. By one o'clock both sides had been greatly reënforced, and the battle line extended north of the town from Seminary Ridge to the banks of Rock Creek. Here for hours the roar of the battle was unceasing. About the middle of the afternoon a breeze lifted the smoke that had enveloped the whole battle line in darkness, and revealed the fact that the Federals were being pressed back toward Gettysburg. General Carl Schurz, who commanded the right wing near Rock Creek, leaving nearly half his men dead or wounded on the field, retreated into the town, where the enemy pursued him and captured five thousand of the remainder. The left wing was also forced back, and it took refuge on Cemetery Ridge, which had been selected by General O. O. Howard; and the first day's fight was over. It was some hours yet till night, and had the Confederates known of the disorganized condition of the Union troops, they might have pursued and captured a large part of the army. Meade, who was still some miles from the field, hearing of the death of Reynolds, sent General W. S. Hancock to take general charge until he himself should arrive.

Hancock rode at full speed and arrived on the field at four o'clock. His presence soon brought order out of chaos. His superb bearing, his air of confidence, his promise of heavy reënforcements during the night, all tended to inspire confidence and to renew hope in the defeated army. Had this day ended the affair at Gettysburg, the usual story of the defeat of the Army of the Potomac would have gone forth to the world. Only the advance portions of both armies had been engaged; and yet the battle had been a formidable one. The Union loss was severe.

A great commander had fallen, and the rank and file had suffered the enormous loss of ten thousand men.

Meade reached the field late in the night, and chose to make this field, on which the advance of both armies had accidentally



met, the place of a general engagement. Lee had come to the same decision, and both called on their outlying legions to make all possible speed to Gettysburg. Before morning nearly all the troops of both armies had reached the field. The Union army rested with its center on Cemetery Ridge, with its right thrown

round to Culp's Hill and its left extending southward to a rocky peak called Round Top. The Confederate army with its center on Seminary Ridge, extending its great wings from Rock Creek on the north to a point opposite Round Top on the south, lay in a grand semicircle half surrounding the Army of the Potomac. But Lee was at a disadvantage. First, Stonewall Jackson was gone, and second, Stuart was absent with his ten thousand cavalry. Furthermore, Meade was on the defensive, and had the advantage of occupying the inner ring of the huge half-circle. Thus lay the two armies — each nearly a hundred thousand strong — awaiting the morning and the dreadful carnage that the day was to bring.¹ It seemed that the fate of the Republic was here to be decided, and the people of the North and of the South awaited with breathless eagerness the decision now about to be made at Gettysburg.

The sky was clear on July 2, and the dawn betokened a beautiful day in southern Pennsylvania. The two armies hesitated, as they were loth to begin the fearful work of slaughter and bloodshed. The hours passed, with a stray shot here and there, till four in the afternoon. General Sickles held the Union left wing at the base of Round Top, and opposite him was Longstreet. At this point occurred the chief fighting of the day. Sickles moved forward half a mile without orders, and found himself face to face with nearly half the Confederate army. Longstreet advanced in a magnificent battle line and opened fire with his batteries. Sickles answered, and presently the musketry was opened, at first a few shots, then more and faster, till there was a continuous roll, and no ear could distinguish one shot from another. Sickles was pressed slowly back to the position he had occupied in the morning, and might have been routed but for the arrival of Sykes to his rescue. His lines were still in good order; but of his brave men, thousands lay in the fateful valley, and among them lay the Confederate dead and wounded in almost equal numbers. This valley has been called the Valley of Death.

Meantime General Early made a desperate attack on the Union center from the north, and was repulsed only after a hand-to-hand encounter in which clubs and stones, as well as muskets and bayonets, were used. An attack on Culp's Hill was more successful. Ewell in a fierce encounter of half an hour gained possession of the hill and held it during the night. On this second

¹ Livermore gives the fighting strength of Meade's army at 88,289 and of Lee's at 75,000.

day of the battle the Confederates had gained an apparent advantage in forcing Sickles back and a real advantage in gaining possession of Culp's Hill. Otherwise the situation was not greatly changed — except that each army had lost about ten thousand men.

On the morning of the third day the people of Gettysburg, which lay between the two armies, were awakened from sleep by the roar of artillery. At daybreak the Union guns were opened on Culp's Hill, and after a bombardment of four hours the hill was carried and the Union lines were reestablished where they had been the day before. But the most famous onset of the three days' battle was yet to come — Pickett's Charge on Cemetery Ridge — preceded by the heaviest cannonading ever known on the American continent.

After the contest at Culp's Hill and a cavalry fight east of Rock Creek, there was a lull, almost a deep silence, over the whole field. It was the calm that precedes the storm. Lee had been massing artillery on Seminary Ridge, and for two miles the hill bristled with cannon. Lee had determined on a great final charge on the Union center. Longstreet strongly opposed it, believing that it could not succeed; but he protested in vain.

At one o'clock the silence was broken by a terrific outburst from one hundred and fifty guns, and the whole crest of Seminary Ridge was a line of fire. The Union guns were soon in operation, and cannon answered cannon until the hills shook to their foundations.¹ After an hour and a half the firing gradually slackened and ceased, and the Union army prepared for the more deadly charge of infantry that was sure to follow.

They had not long to wait. Fifteen thousand of Longstreet's corps, the flower of the Confederate army, under the command of General Pickett, emerged in a grand double column from the wooded crest of Seminary Ridge. Longstreet foresaw the fate of his brave men; he had opposed their going, but Lee overruled him, and when he was asked for final permission, he could not speak, he only nodded his head and burst into tears.

The charge was one of the most daring in the history of warfare. The distance to the Federal lines was a mile. For half the distance the troops marched gayly, with flying banners and glittering bayonets. Then came the burst of Federal cannon, and their ranks were torn with exploding shells; but the lines re-formed and swept on. When they came within musket range

¹ See Elson, *Side Lights*, Series II, Chap. V. In this account I have drawn freely on that chapter.

Hancock's infantry opened a terrific fire, but Pickett's valiant band only quickened their pace and returned the fire with volley after volley. They rushed to the very mouths of the cannon. The Union line fell back from the shelter of a stone wall, and it seemed for a moment that the Confederates would reach their goal — would capture the works on Cemetery Ridge and split the Army of the Potomac in twain. General Armistead leaped upon the stone wall and waved the Confederate banner in frenzied, momentary triumph. Next instant he fell mortally wounded, and with him fell the hopes of the southern cause — not yet slain, but mortally wounded.

This was the supreme moment of the war. The tide of war could rise no higher; from this point the ebb must begin. Not only here, but in the West the southern cause took a downward turn; for at this very hour of Pickett's Charge, Grant and Pemberton, a thousand miles away, stood under an oak tree on the heights above the rolling tide of the Mississippi and arranged for the surrender of Vicksburg.

Pickett had entered a death trap. Thousands of musket shots at close range were poured into his ranks every minute. The tempest of lead was beyond human endurance. Great numbers fell on the gory field, many surrendered, and the remnant fled, bloodstained and weary, to the waiting lines on Seminary Ridge. The battle of Gettysburg was over. The cost in men was frightful. The losses of the two armies reached fifty thousand, about half perhaps on either side. More than seven thousand men had fallen dead on the field of battle.

Lee could do nothing but lead his army back to Virginia. The Federals pursued but feebly. The Union victory was not a very decisive one, but being powerfully supported by the fall of Vicksburg, the moral effect on the nation and the world was great. The period of uncertainty was ended. It required but little prophetic vision now to foresee that the Republic would survive the dreadful shock of arms, and that secession and slavery must perish.

Morgan's Raid.—Of the many cavalry raids during the war the most famous and daring was that of John H. Morgan with four thousand men, in July, 1863. He crossed the Ohio River into Indiana below Louisville. The Indiana militia, called out by the governor, swarmed after Morgan in such numbers that he left the state and entered Ohio. Sweeping past Cincinnati he traversed the southern part of the state, burning bridges and buildings, stealing horses, and plundering the towns and farms. But there was a band of men in hot pursuit, and the farmers obstructed Morgan's path with felled trees. Attempting to cross the Ohio near Pomeroy, his way was obstructed by gunboats and militia. A sharp battle ensued; Morgan was defeated and fled up the river, leaving six hundred of his men, wounded and prisoners, behind. A few miles further up the raiders again attempted to cross, but

here were the pursuers and the gunboats. Morgan lost a thousand of his men and all his heavy guns. Many of his men had perished in attempting to swim the river. Again Morgan, with the remnant, struck the river above Marietta, but he was again prevented from crossing. At length (July 26) he was captured near New Lisbon. Only about four hundred of his band escaped death or capture. Morgan was taken to Columbus and confined in the penitentiary, whence he escaped in November by burrowing under the walls, and found his way back to the South. The following year he was killed in Tennessee. In one of the fights with Morgan the venerable Daniel McCook lost his life. He had given eight sons to the Union armies, four of whom became generals. They were known as "The Fighting McCooks."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Same as that given under Chapter XXIII.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CIVIL WAR: THE GREAT FINAL DOUBLE MOVEMENT

THE grand twofold movement which ended the war was that carried on by Grant in Virginia and by Sherman farther south. But before treating of this, we must notice some very important preliminary movements.

CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA

After the battle of Stone River at the beginning of January, 1863, Rosecrans and Bragg lay for many months near Murfreesborough, each sending out bands of cavalry on destructive raids, but both avoiding a general engagement. Meantime Grant was preparing to invest Vicksburg, as we have seen, and Hooker was battling with Lee in Virginia. Rosecrans's immediate object was to prevent Bragg from joining the forces against Grant near Vicksburg. Near midsummer he began to move his army toward the vicinity of Chattanooga. Bragg's army was also soon in motion. Chattanooga is situated on the east bank of the Tennessee River in the midst of a vast amphitheater of mountains. Rosecrans passed through the mountain passes south of the town, as if to invade Georgia. Bragg followed him, and here on the banks of a mountain stream, whose Indian name, Chickamauga, is said to signify "River of Death," was fought the most destructive battle of the war thus far, except Gettysburg. The Federal army held two passes through Missionary Ridge, which lay between the combatants and Chattanooga. Bragg's aim was to defeat Rosecrans, seize these passes, and beat the Federals back to Chattanooga. And he had every hope of success, for Longstreet arrived from Virginia on the evening of the 18th with two of the best divisions of Lee's army. Buckner had come from Knoxville, and Bragg had now nearly seventy thousand men, while Rosecrans had but sixty thousand.

The first day began with heavy skirmishing that grew into a battle, which continued till nightfall. The battle was renewed next morning. The Federals might have held their own but

for a sad blunder. Rosecrans sent an order to General Wood which was misunderstood, and in consequence Wood moved his division in such a way as to leave a wide gap in the center of the Union lines. Longstreet, quickly seeing this, poured an overwhelming mass of Confederate troops into the opening. By this movement the entire Union right wing was torn from the rest of the army and swept from the field, and Rosecrans and two of his corps commanders, McCook and Crittenden, were carried away in the mad rush.

Battle of
Chickamauga,
September
19-20, 1863

But this did not end the day's work. The Union left, about twenty-five thousand men, was commanded by one of the ablest generals of the war, George H. Thomas. On a curving ridge called the Horseshoe he planted his guns and formed his lines. The Confederates, now sure of winning a great victory, swarmed up the slope in great numbers; but Thomas hurled them back with fearful slaughter. Again and again they came, almost the whole Confederate army; but Thomas stood like a wall, and against him the surging enemy dashed in vain. For six long hours the assaults continued, but the Union forces stood their ground till night, at the cost of ten thousand of their number. The spectacle was one of the grandest in the annals of warfare.¹ Thomas was afterward known as "The Rock of Chickamauga." He withdrew to the mountains during the night, and soon joined Rosecrans in Chattanooga. In this battle the Union army lost about sixteen thousand men and the Confederates above eighteen thousand. It is usually considered a Confederate victory; but Bragg lost the greater number, and failed to gain the passes to Chattanooga.

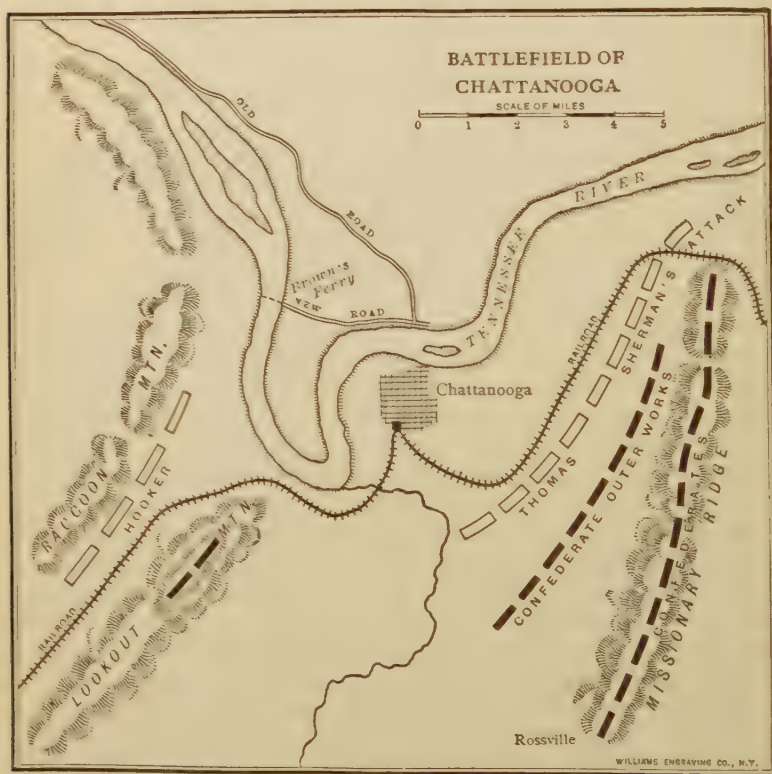
Rock of
Chickamauga

South of Chattanooga lies Missionary Ridge, a few hundred feet high, extending north and south, while west of this ridge rises Lookout Mountain, a bold spur three thousand feet above the sea, extending to a great bend of the river. These heights were soon occupied by Bragg, and Rosecrans found himself cooped up in Chattanooga with but one rough mountain road over which to bring his supplies. The situation was growing critical; ten thousand mules and horses died within a few weeks from want of food. The government saw that Rosecrans must be rescued or his army would perish. General Grant was now placed in command of all the forces between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. He chose to go to Chattanooga and take personal charge, while, at his sug-

Grant
arrives at
Chattanooga

¹ See Fiske, p. 275.

gestion. General Thomas succeeded Rosecrans. Grant arrived before the close of October; but before he reached his new command Thomas had begun to act on a new plan which proved in the end to be a brilliant conception.¹ This was to seize a low range of hills on the peninsula, made by the bend of the river,



opposite Lookout Mountain, and thus to establish a wagon road to a point farther down the river to which supplies could be brought by boat. This line was soon secured, and henceforth the army received all the supplies it needed. But not only supplies: by this same route came General Sherman with the army that had captured Vicksburg, and joined the army under Grant. At the same time Bragg made the unpardonable blunder of weakening his army by sending Longstreet with twenty thousand men to attack Burnside at Knoxville.

¹ Thomas was indebted for this plan to his chief engineer, General W. F. Smith, who first suggested it.

Grant sent Sherman with the left wing to make an attack on Missionary Ridge, while Thomas held the center and "Fighting Jo Hooker," who had come from the east, with the Union right approached Lookout Mountain. Sherman encountered unexpected obstacles in the nature of the ground, and his success was not what he had expected; Thomas pressed forward upon Bragg's center and captured Orchard Knob, between Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge, and this became Grant's headquarters next day; while Hooker did the most famous day's work of all.

Hooker had been sent to the base of Lookout Mountain; and he led his men up the rugged slopes, attacked the enemy on the summit, and won a complete victory. During the action the mountain was enveloped in a dense mist and was invisible from the valley below. It has been called "The Battle above the Clouds." The roar of the battle rolling from the invisible summit of the mountain seemed literally to indicate a battle in the sky. Nobly here did Hooker retrieve the prestige he had lost at Chancellorsville.

Battle of
Lookout
Mountain,
November
24

Next day witnessed the battle of Missionary Ridge. The whole Union army centered its attention upon this last Confederate stronghold. Hooker hastened from Lookout Mountain to the support of Sherman. Thomas's corps moved against the Confederate center on the ridge overlooking Orchard Knob. The task of carrying the place seemed an impossible one. Along the crest of the ridge stood fifteen thousand veteran soldiers with fifty cannon. But the Union troops ran across the plain and up the slope with a courage equal to that of Pickett's men at Gettysburg — and with a different result. In the face of a galling fire — grape and canister and shell — they rushed on and on, without orders, it is said, leaving hundreds of their number dead and dying on the hillside. But they reached the goal, and a few minutes later the Confederates fled in wild disorder, and the guns they had left behind were turned against them.

Thus ended the campaign of Chattanooga. Bragg's army had been wholly defeated, and, after being pursued for some days by Hooker, it found a resting place at Dalton among the mountains of Georgia.¹ It is a notable fact that this was the only battle in which the four leading Union generals of the war were engaged, — Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas.²

¹ Grant lost about six thousand in killed and wounded. The Confederate loss was over seven thousand, more than half of whom were prisoners.

² Fiske, p. 315.

The Chattanooga campaign secured to the Union the remainder of the Mississippi Valley. Of the four chief strongholds of the South — Richmond, New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga — three were now in possession of the Union armies.

GRANT IN THE WILDERNESS

During the winter that followed the defeat of Bragg at Chattanooga, the country was comparatively quiet. The armies lay in winter quarters ready for active operations in the spring. That the Confederacy would collapse within the coming year was the general belief, and this feeling was strengthened by the further belief that the "coming man," the "great general," had at last been discovered. The hopes of the country were first centered in McClellan, then in Halleck; but now the steady gaze of the great public turned upon the hero of Donelson and Vicksburg. In February, 1864, Congress revived the grade of lieutenant general, hitherto held only by George Washington and Winfield Scott.¹ As every one knew, it was meant for Grant; and the President promptly sent his name to the Senate, and it was confirmed. Grant came east to receive his new commission, and early in March he was made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States. This would insure the concerted action of the western with the eastern armies. Halleck was nominal commander in chief up to this time; but he was incompetent, and his orders often prevented the armies from winning victories. This was now changed, and the armies were henceforth to move at the dictation of one master mind.

Grant was now by far the most popular man in the country, not excepting the President. Crowds followed him about the streets of Washington wherever he went. He is described by one² who saw him at the time as a "short, round-shouldered man in a very tarnished major-general's uniform. . . . He had no gait, no station, no manner, rough, light-brown whiskers, a blue eye, and a rather scrubby look withal . . . a rather seedy appearance . . . but he had . . . a look of resolution, as if he could not be trifled with, and an entire indifference to the crowd about him."

Grant soon decided on the great twofold movement — the campaign against Lee in Virginia, led by himself, with Richmond

¹ Scott, however, held it only by brevet. The still higher grade of "general" was conferred on Grant in 1866, later on Sherman, then Sheridan, and in the World War on Pershing. These four alone have held this highest military grade in the United States.

² Richard H. Dana. See Adams, *Dana*, Vol. II, p. 271.

as his goal; and a simultaneous campaign against Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg, led by Sherman, with Atlanta as his goal. It was understood that Sherman on capturing Atlanta should lead his army to the Atlantic Coast and then move northward and join Grant in Virginia. Sherman would thus cut off from the rest of the Confederacy a section even greater than that which had been cut off by gaining control of the Mississippi. It was believed that if either Grant or Sherman were successful in reaching his goal, the downfall of the Confederacy would be assured.

The Army of the Potomac, now almost one hundred and fifty thousand strong,¹ was divided into three corps under Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick, with Meade in immediate command, and Grant in superior command. Sheridan was at the head of the cavalry. Lee's army, in three corps under Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill, with Stuart as cavalry leader, is said to have numbered sixty thousand. These were the actual bearers of arms; but by the method of counting employed by the Union side (which included teamsters, cooks, musicians, etc., as well as soldiers), these figures must be increased to about seventy-five thousand. These two great armies now entered upon a month's campaign, — the bloodiest and most murderous campaign of the war, — which brought no apparent advantage to either side.

On the 4th of May, 1864, Grant's army crossed the Rapidan, and entered that dreary region of tangled underbrush near Chancellorsville known as the Wilderness.² The battle of the Wilderness proper, as generally understood, continued but two days. Grant had no thought of offering battle in this jungle; but Lee considered this his opportunity, and moved his army upon the Federals. Ewell attacked Warren's corps on the morning of the 5th and pressed it back; but it made a stand and joined the Federal left wing under Hancock, and thus, with almost the whole of both armies in action the fight continued till night. Next morning the battle was renewed at an early hour, as both Grant and Lee had determined to take the offensive. Hancock attacked Hill with great fury. Hill was driven back, but Longstreet, who had not been present on the 5th, came to his rescue, and the Federals in turn were driven back. At this point General Wadsworth was killed and Longstreet was dangerously wounded. All along

**Battle of the
Wilderness,
May 5 and 6,
1864**

¹ This included a division of thirty thousand under Butler on the James River, and Burnside's command, which had been brought from Knoxville.

² See map on p. 666.

the line the battle raged during the day. Saplings by thousands were cut down, and even large trees were felled by the flying missiles. The Federal loss in the two days' battle was more than seventeen thousand; the Confederate loss, not accurately known, was much less, probably twelve thousand.

Four days after the close of this fight in the Wilderness the great battle of Spottsylvania was fought. Grant began his movement toward Spottsylvania Court House, between the enemy and Richmond, on the night of the 6th. It is said that the soldiers, not knowing whether they had suffered defeat or won a victory, as is often true of the rank and file, feared that the movement was to be a retreat back across the Rapidan; but when they found that they were marching toward Richmond, they sent up cheer after cheer. Under McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, in turn, this army had made an attempt on Richmond; but in each case it had retreated after encountering the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee believed that Grant also was now in retreat, but he was soon undeceived. On learning of Grant's destination he made a forced march and reached Spottsylvania before him. Every day there was heavy skirmishing, and on the 9th the brave General Sedgwick, one of the ablest of the corps commanders, was struck in the face by a sharpshooter's bullet and fell dead. Sheridan on the 8th began a cavalry raid around the Confederate army, and in a terrific fight within seven miles of Richmond the ablest cavalry leader of the South, General J. E. B. Stuart, was killed.

The battle of Spottsylvania was fought on the 10th and the 12th of May, both armies resting on the intervening day; and it was on this day that Grant sent his famous dispatch to Washington, declaring his purpose to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The chief feature of the action on the 12th was the attack by Hancock on a weak position of the enemy called a "salient." He succeeded, and captured four thousand men after great slaughter on each side. Five desperate, fruitless efforts the Confederates made to retake the position. One of these General Lee started to lead in person, but his men refused to advance till he went back beyond the danger line. At a point known as the "death angle" the hand-to-hand fighting, which continued till midnight, was equal to any ever known in war. Men fought from the top of heaps of dead men till their own bodies were added to the pile and others came to take their places. Not a tree or a sapling was left alive and standing.

Spottsylvania

The battle of Spottsylvania was one of the most tremendous of the war. Had it continued another day, it would have surpassed Gettysburg. Neither side won. The losses, about the same on each side, footed up the frightful total of thirty-six thousand men.¹

For a week now the two armies remained inactive. Lee took up a strong position on the North Anna River; but Grant, refraining from an attack, moved toward Richmond. Lee followed. At length they reached the old battle-ground where McClellan had fought two years before. Lee, on the first days of June, took up a very strong position at Cold Harbor. The only chance to attack him was in front. Grant determined to make an assault. His troops knew that it would be hopeless, that it would mean wholesale murder, and many of them tacked labels to their clothes, giving their names and addresses that their friends at home might learn where and when they died. The result was as expected: the Union men were mowed down in thousands. Not even at Spottsylvania or at Gettysburg was the slaughter more terrible than here. The main assault lasted but half an hour, and it was the bloodiest half hour in American history. About twelve thousand Union men lay dead or writhing on the ground.² Ordering this charge was the greatest military error in the life of General Grant, and he frankly acknowledges in his "Memoirs" that he never ceased to regret it.

Battle of
Cold Harbor,
June 3, 1864

Grant now determined on a change of base. He decided to cross the Chickahominy and the James to a point below Petersburg, and to approach Richmond from the south. It was exactly this move that Halleck had prevented McClellan from making two years before. Grant made the transfer with consummate skill, but he suffered great losses in attempting to carry Petersburg by storm. By the 20th of June his army was joined by that of Butler on the James.

Grant
crosses the
James

The Union loss in this campaign, from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, reached the appalling total of nearly sixty thousand men. The Confederate loss was something less than forty thousand.³ Why this wide difference in numbers? The fact that Lee knew

¹ *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, p. 182; Burgess, Vol. II, p. 252.

² Livermore gives this number as an estimate (p. 114). Swinton says that Grant's loss was twenty times greater than Lee's in this engagement. *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*, p. 494.

³ These figures represent the men rendered *hors de combat*, many of whom were captives and were eventually restored to their homes. Neither army had decreased greatly, as both were reinforced from time to time.

the ground well and Grant did not, may account for it in part, but not in full. Indeed, this may be balanced by the further facts that Grant's generals, if not himself, were familiar with the country and that while his army was well fed the Confederates were in a half-starved condition.¹ If we can rise above all sectional or partisan bias, we must agree with the military critics that Grant was no match for Lee as a strategist. Grant himself practically admits this in his statement that his plan was to keep hammering away and to reduce the enemy's force by mere attrition. Grant, however, grasped the great purpose of the campaign — to destroy the Confederate army and bring the war to a close.² If this could not be done by strategy, by outwitting the enemy, there was just one way left — to pound him to death by superior numbers; and this Grant proceeded to do. We deplore the costly mistake at Cold Harbor;³ we deplore the making desolate of so many thousand homes; but we must not overlook the main object of the war — to save the country even at the sacrifice of the armies. This campaign, however, with all its vast sacrifice of men, had thus far failed. The country was much dissatisfied with Grant, and some urged that McClellan be recalled. During the long period of inaction that followed, Grant's dispatches did not bear the air of confidence that marked them before he entered the Wilderness. He now settled down to a long siege, and his army did little active field work till the following spring.

Closely associated with this campaign, or, rather, a continuation of it, was that of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. In the hope of relieving Richmond and Petersburg, Lee sent Jubal A. Early with fifteen thousand veterans to threaten Washington. On July 10 and 11 he was but a few miles from the city and in sight of the Capitol dome. The excitement in the city was great. The President was composed, and made no provision for his personal safety; but a vessel lay waiting in the river, without his knowledge, to take him away in case of the city's capture. Washington was then garrisoned by some twenty thousand raw troops, and there is little doubt that Early could have defeated them and captured

¹ Major Eggleston (Confederate) relates in *Battles and Leaders* (Vol. IV, p. 231) that his men marched fifty hours from the North Anna without food, when they received each three hard biscuits and a very small slice of fat pork. Two days later they received each a single cracker without meat.

² Rhodes, Vol. IV, p. 447.

³ Though it was scarcely a greater mistake than that of Lee in sending Pickett to Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg.

the city on the 11th. But for some unknown cause he hesitated, and before night of that day his great opportunity was gone; for in the afternoon two corps sent by Grant had arrived, and the capital was safe. Early then turned up the valley and sent General McCausland into Pennsylvania. McCausland occupied Chambersburg, July 30, 1864, and demanded a large sum of money on pain of burning the town. The money was not forthcoming, and he carried out his threat. Grant at length appointed Sheridan in command in the Shenandoah Valley. That the Confederate raids along the Shenandoah be prevented in future, Sheridan was instructed to lay waste the valley and destroy everything that would support an army. Sheridan had shown the mettle of which he was made at Murfreesborough, at Chickamauga, and at Missionary Ridge; and no one doubted that he would do the work assigned him. With nearly forty thousand men he entered the valley, and first met Early at Opequan Creek near Winchester, and a sharp battle ensued. Some weeks then passed with little action, when Lee recalled some of Early's troops, leaving his army scarcely half the size of Sheridan's, and Sheridan saw his chance. The two armies met again on nearly the same spot, and a terrific battle ensued. Sheridan won a clear victory, driving Early through the streets of Winchester. Three days later the two armies met again at Fisher's Hill, and Early was again defeated. These battles saved Maryland and Pennsylvania from further invasion.

Battle of
Opequan, or
Winchester,
September
19

Sheridan's famous raid down the valley began on October 5. He destroyed everything that an enemy might use. He spared the dwellings, but he burned two thousand well-filled barns and seventy mills filled with wheat and flour, and drove before him four thousand head of cattle. Early had meantime been reinforced and was following the Federals, who had encamped at Cedar Creek. The troops were not expecting an attack when, in the misty dawn of the morning, the Confederates crept by stealth upon the sleeping enemy. The Federals sprang to arms, but they had little time to form in line, and in a short time they were defeated. Sheridan had gone to Washington and was then at Winchester, some miles away. Hearing the cannonade, he galloped to the battlefield. Meeting his men in flight, he stopped them, saying, "Face the other way, boys; we will go and recover our camps!"¹ With marvelous skill Sheridan went about re-forming his lines

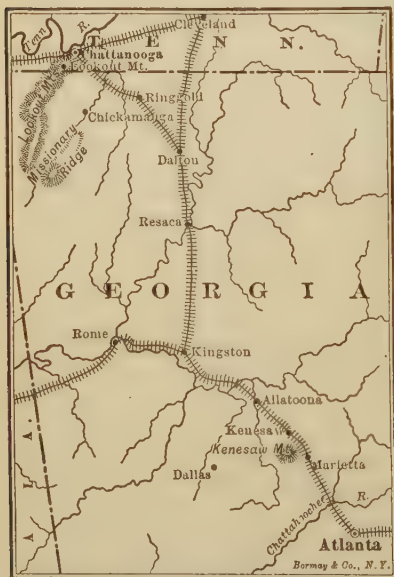
Battle of
Cedar
Creek, Octo-
ber 19, 1864

¹ Sheridan, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 81.

and infusing his own spirit into the army. From the moment of Sheridan's arrival the whole current of the movement was changed. The men threw up their hats and leaped and danced for joy.¹ In a few hours Sheridan had the troops again in fighting trim, and in the afternoon he led them against the enemy. Early was not only defeated, but thoroughly routed, and his army was practically destroyed; and thus ended the war in the Shenandoah Valley.

THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN — MOBILE

General Grant, on assuming command in the east, had planned for Sherman a campaign against Atlanta, Georgia, an important railroad center and base of military supplies. To carry out this plan Sherman had to penetrate the heart of the Confederacy and cope with the army of J. E. Johnston, which had spent the winter at Dalton. Preliminary to this great move, a portion of Sherman's army joined with that of Banks and with the fleet of Admiral Porter in an expedition up the Red River. Several severe battles were fought on this expedition, but in the end it played only a small part in the general plan.



CHATTANOOGA AND ATLANTA

The direct line from Chattanooga to Atlanta is only a hundred miles, but the country is rugged, and Johnston was a vigilant, able commander and had sixty-five thousand men in his army.

Sherman's army numbered over one hundred thousand, and was in three parts under Thomas, J. B. McPherson, and John M. Schofield.² Of this force Sherman, as he progressed, had to leave many to guard his line of supplies to Nashville. Johnston, on

¹ Davies, *Life of Sheridan*, p. 185.

² It was the three armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio combined.

the other hand, could keep his entire army with him and use the whole when needed in battle. Sherman began this great march from Chattanooga on the day after Grant entered the Wilderness. Johnston came out of Dalton and intrenched his army at Resaca. Sherman's maneuvers were such as to force Johnston to abandon his position and retreat southward. Sherman followed, and by the end of May each army had lost about ten thousand men. Sherman was nearing his goal; but he found in Johnston a master strategist. There was now heavy skirmishing and artillery firing nearly every day. On the 14th of June General Polk was killed. While standing with Generals Johnston and Hardee on the crest of Pine Mountain, viewing the field through a glass, he was struck squarely in the breast by a cannon ball, and his body was torn to pieces. As a youth, Polk had graduated at West Point; he then studied theology, and for twenty years before the war he was Episcopal bishop of Louisiana.

The last week of June found Johnston strongly intrenched on Kenesaw Mountain, and here, for the first time in the campaign, Sherman decided to make a front attack on his works. The attempt was a foolish one and must be classed with Pickett's charge at Gettysburg and Grant's at Cold Harbor. And the result was the same: Sherman

**Kenesaw
Mountain,
June 27,
1864**

lost over two thousand men and won nothing. General Daniel McCook was among the killed. Sherman made no more such blunders. He again resorted to his flanking tactics. On the 17th of July he led his army across the Chattahoochee River within a few miles of Atlanta, and on the same day Jefferson Davis made the great mistake of dismissing Johnston because he had "failed to check the advance of the enemy," and placing General John B. Hood in command. Hood, though a bold and fearless fighter, was no match as a tactician to the masterly Johnston. Three days after receiving the command Hood offered battle in the open field at Peachtree Creek, and was defeated. On the 22d Hood again made an attack, and on this day the battle became general all along the lines. Hood was thoroughly defeated, losing probably eight thousand men, while Sherman lost less than half that number. But the Union loss was very great, nevertheless, for General McPherson was killed. He

**Hood
succeeds
Johnston**

**Battle near
Atlanta**

was riding through a wood almost alone when a sharpshooter's bullet pierced his brain and his horse galloped back riderless. McPherson was one of the ablest commanders in the army. He

was the only man whom Grant on going east placed in the same class with Sherman.

Another battle, known as the battle of Ezra Church, took place on the 28th of July, and Hood was again defeated, with a loss six times as great as that of Sherman. A month more was spent in maneuvering, in raiding with cavalry, and in tightening the coils about Atlanta, where Hood had taken refuge. Finding that he could hold the city no longer, Hood escaped with his army on the night of September 1, and next day Sherman entered and took possession. The campaign had been four months in duration, and the Federal loss in killed, wounded, and missing was about thirty-two thousand. The Confederate loss was probably thirty-five thousand.

While Sherman was maneuvering around Atlanta, Farragut won his famous naval victory in Mobile Bay. This was the most important harbor on the gulf coast, and next to **Mobile Bay, August, 1864** Charleston,¹ the most important on the entire Confederate coast. Here the Confederate blockade runners found a retreat when nearly all other ports were closed to them. The closing of this port was determined on, and Admiral Farragut was intrusted with the perilous task. The naval battle took place on August 5. Two forts, Gaines and Morgan, guarded the main entrance of the bay, while within the bay lay a line of sunken torpedoes and beyond these a Confederate fleet of gunboats and the powerful ram *Tennessee*, commanded by Admiral Buchanan. Farragut had a fleet of four ironclads and some other vessels. That he might not fall to the deck, if shot, Farragut had himself tied to the mast of his flagship, the *Hartford*, and the fleet steamed into the harbor amid a storm of shot and shell from the two forts and the opposing fleet. One of the Union vessels, the *Tecumseh*, was wrecked by a torpedo, and sank with one hundred and thirteen men on board.² The forts were soon silenced, and the battle with the Confederate fleet was short and furious. Two of the Confederate gunboats were soon destroyed,

¹ The summer before had witnessed a determined but unsuccessful effort to capture Charleston, South Carolina, guarded by General Beauregard. General Gilmore and Admiral Dahlgren led the expedition. They captured Fort Wagner on Morris Island, after a long and terrific siege, and reduced Fort Sumter to ruins, but they failed to capture Charleston.

² A remarkable incident occurred at the sinking of the *Tecumseh*. There was a narrow ladder, the only possible means of escape. When the vessel was about to sink, Captain Craven, her commander, and his pilot met at the foot of this ladder. The pilot stepped aside that the captain might go up first; but the captain said, "After you, pilot," and stepped back. The pilot then ran up the ladder to the deck, and was saved. But he was the last; the ship sank, and the chivalrous Captain Craven went down with his crew and was lost.

a third fled into shallow water and escaped. The *Tennessee* made a brave fight against the whole Union fleet, but at last a fifteen-inch solid shot pierced her armor, and she surrendered. The two forts soon afterward surrendered and thus ended the career of the blockade runners in Mobile Bay. The city of Mobile at the head of the bay, however, with its guarding forts, remained in the hands of the Confederates for many months longer. It was surrendered to a Union army of forty thousand men under General Canby in April, 1865.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Politics, like the poor, is always with us. In the midst of the great war came a presidential election. The risk of changing the whole policy of the government at such a time, when ultimate military victory seemed in sight, was not relished by the friends of the Union and the enemies of slavery. But the civic campaign had its compensations; it was some relief for the great public for a season to take its eyes from the scenes of carnage, and to witness the familiar scene of the battle of the ballots. In view of the world's present estimate of Abraham Lincoln it seems strange that within his own party there was a powerful opposition to his renomination to the presidency in 1864. But such was the case. Among Lincoln's opposers were such leaders as Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant, Henry Ward Beecher, Thaddeus Stevens, and no doubt a majority of the senators and representatives in Congress. The choice of the opposing faction was Mr. Chase, the secretary of the treasury. Chase was an all-round leader and had proved himself an able financier. In January, 1864, a committee of prominent Republicans issued a circular, known as the "Pomeroy Circular," named from the chairman, Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, attempting to show that it were better for the country if Chase instead of Lincoln be chosen President. The ground of objection to Lincoln was that he was too slow and too conservative in dealing with the rebellion and with the slavery question, nor was his plan of reconstruction, to be noticed later, pleasing to the leaders in Congress. No doubt the President was disturbed by this movement, but his outward calm was unbroken. With admirable magnanimity he said concerning the Chase movement: "I have determined to shut my eyes, so far as possible, to everything of the sort. . . . If he (Chase) becomes President, all right. I hope we may never have a worse man."¹ Lin-

¹ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. VIII, p. 316.

coln's strength lay with the masses of the people, who had learned to trust him and to recognize his great ability in managing the war. Chase was anxious for the nomination, and, with well-feigned reluctance and with the usual coyness, gave his name to the movement. When, however, the Republicans of the legislature of his own state, Ohio, held a caucus and declared for Lincoln, Chase thought it wise to withdraw from the canvass, and did so. Other states followed the example of Ohio, and long before the convention it was a foregone conclusion that Lincoln would be renominated.

But there was in the Republican party an extremely radical faction that refused to abandon its hostility to Lincoln, and when his nomination was seen to be assured, this faction called a convention to meet at Cleveland, Ohio, to name its own candidate. It nominated John C. Frémont, who a few days later came out with his letter of acceptance, in which he denounced the administration, and hinted that he would retire from the contest if the coming Republican convention would select any candidate other than Lincoln.

The Republican convention met in Baltimore on the 7th of June, and the name "Union" was substituted for "Republican" to accommodate the war Democrats that were acting with the party. The platform pronounced in favor of putting down the rebellion without compromise, and of an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery forever in the United States. It also approved the administration of Lincoln in vigorous terms, and pledged the national faith for the payment of the public debt. Lincoln was nominated on the first ballot amid great enthusiasm. He received the votes of all the delegates except those from Missouri, who voted for General Grant.

The choosing of a candidate for the vice presidency brought a contest. It was generally conceded that a war Democrat should be selected, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was chosen, for two reasons: First, the choice would "nationalize" the Republican party, which had hitherto been considered sectional, and second, it would have a salutary effect on the nations of Europe. By thus choosing the second highest official in the land from the heart of the Confederacy, an impression would be made on foreigners that the country was simply dealing with a revolt and was not in reality divided.

The weeks that followed the Republican convention were marked by great discontent throughout the country. The people

were weary of the long war, which seemed less hopeful now than the year before after the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Two attempts at reconciliation had been made, without success. President Davis, approached on the subject, declared that he would listen to no overtures for peace except on the ground of southern independence. Lincoln had said with equal decision that the war could end only on the ground of a restored Union and the abolition of slavery. The gloom of the northern people was great. The public mind dwelt on the failure of Grant's campaign before Richmond, the awful slaughter at Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor, the defeat at Kenesaw Mountain, the death of the noble McPherson, and the threatening of Washington by the army of Early.

There was, furthermore, great dissatisfaction with Lincoln. Nearly all the leaders of the party believed that the convention had made a serious mistake in renominating him, and there was a loud cry for a new convention and a new ticket.¹ "Mr. Lincoln is already beaten. . . . He cannot be elected," wrote Greeley. Thurlow Weed wrote Seward that the election of Lincoln was impossible. The chairman of the Republican national committee, Henry J. Raymond, informed the President that there was but one voice from all sides, "the tide is setting strongly against us." Lincoln fully believed that he would be defeated, and his unselfish soul was shown by a private memorandum stating that it would be his "duty to so coöperate with the President elect to save the Union between the election and the inauguration."²

All this convulsion took place in Republican ranks before the meeting of the Democratic convention. This convention met in Chicago on August 29. Governor Seymour of New York was its permanent chairman, and Vallandigham one of its leading spirits and the writer of its platform. The platform in substance pronounced the war a failure and demanded that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, that a convention of all the states be held, to the end that peace be restored on the basis of a restoration of the Union. On the first ballot General McClellan was nominated for President, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio was nominated for Vice President.

**Nomination
of McClellan**

¹ "Lincoln . . . is too much a border statesman in his opinions. . . . Public opinion has bayoneted him up to his present position. . . . I oppose Lincoln's reelection; prominent Republicans dread it . . . leaders are making an effort to induce Lincoln to withdraw and unite all earnest men on a better candidate." Letter of Wendell Phillips to Alexander M. Ross, Sept. 4, 1864, Ross, p. 170.

² See Nicolay and Hay, Vol. IX, p. 251.

The Democratic platform was very weak in its two main points: its pronouncing the war a failure,¹ and its call for a conference with the Southern states to treat for peace on the basis of a restored Union. The first did not take account of the sentiment of the vast number of northern families from which a father, a husband, or a brother was serving in the ranks or had filled a soldier's grave. How could these admit that the war had been a failure and that their loved ones had fought and died in vain? The second did not take account of the fact that the South was still defiant and hostile, that it had recently declared through its President that it would treat for peace on no ground except that of separation. And yet, on these two points the Democrats had laid down the gage of battle, and on these the people must decide the election.

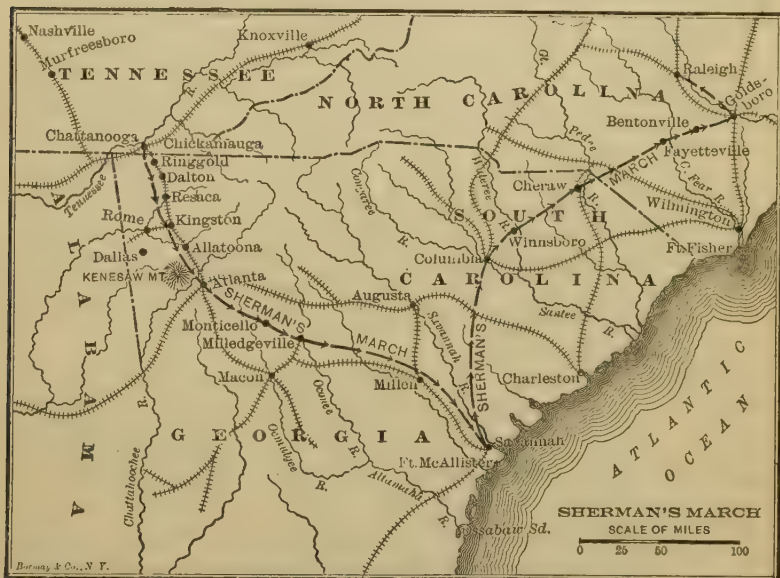
Scarcely had the Chicago convention completed its work when a reaction set in in favor of Lincoln. Frémont withdrew from the contest in his favor, and the leaders were inspired to renewed efforts. The pithy phrase of Lincoln that it was "not best to swap horses when crossing a stream" touched a popular chord. But this was not all. The news from the front was suddenly changed in complexion. First came the report of Farragut's great victory in Mobile Bay, followed early in September by the news of Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and a few weeks later by the thrilling account of Sheridan's terrible devastation in the Shenandoah Valley, which insured henceforth the safety of the capital. "Is the war a failure?" tauntingly asked the Republicans; and the Democrats could make no satisfactory answer. The autumn state elections added another to the unerring signs that pointed to a victory for Lincoln. The election was held on November 8, and Lincoln electors were chosen in all the states except three, New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky; he received 212 electoral votes to 21 for McClellan. The meaning of this voice of the people was twofold — that the Union must be restored at all hazards, and that slavery in the United States must be no longer.

FINAL WORK OF THE ARMIES

We left Sherman at Atlanta, where he remained for six weeks, sending the residents out of the city and making it a purely military center. Hood hovered around with his army for some weeks, fighting several small engagements, and then determined

¹ This item of the platform McClellan practically set aside in his letter of acceptance; but the letter had little effect on the campaign.

to move northward into Tennessee. By this move he expected to draw Sherman after him and thus to force him to abandon all he had gained in the campaign against Atlanta; or, in case Sherman did not follow, Hood felt that he would defeat any force that he might encounter, after which he would march into Kentucky and then deflect eastward and join Lee against Grant in Virginia.¹ But Sherman, after pursuing Hood as far as



Gaylesville, Alabama, left Thomas with an army to take care of him, and returned and prepared for his great march from Atlanta to the sea.

Receiving permission from General Grant to do as he thought best, Sherman, after destroying the machine shops and other public property in Atlanta, set out, November 15, Sherman's on his historic march. The army was sixty-two thousand strong, with General O. O. Howard in command of the right wing and General Henry W. Slocum of the left, while Judson Kilpatrick was at the head of the cavalry. There were sixty-five heavy guns, six hundred ambulances, and twenty-five hundred wagons, each drawn by six mules. The army was instructed to march by four roads as nearly parallel

¹ See *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, p. 426.

as could be found, to begin marching at seven o'clock each morning, and to cover fifteen miles each day. The soldiers were permitted to forage freely, but not to enter private houses. All railroads and public property that might aid the Confederate armies were to be destroyed. The distance to the sea was about three hundred miles; the swath cut by the army was from forty to sixty miles wide. But little opposition was encountered in the march, and it was play compared with the campaign of the past summer against Atlanta. By the middle of December the army came in sight of the sea, opened communication with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet, and made ready to besiege Savannah. General Hardee, who held the city, evacuated it by night, and Sherman entered it on the 21st of December. He then sent President Lincoln the well-known dispatch, "I beg to present to you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." Thus after nearly four years in the possession of the Confederates, this old historic city of the Revolution, where Pulaski had fallen, came again into the hands of the Federal government.

General Thomas, as we have noticed, had been sent to Tennessee to deal with Hood. Sherman left Thomas but twenty-seven thousand men, retaining to himself more than twice that number for the easier task of marching to the sea. Hood's force consisted of forty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry under Forrest. Had Thomas been beaten by Hood the blame would have fallen on Sherman, and the country would have severely condemned him for leaving Thomas with an insufficient force. Thus the status of Sherman's name in history rested with Thomas. With many a commander the risk would have been greater, but Thomas was the Rock of Chickamauga. He occupied Nashville, where he was joined the last of November by General A. J. Smith with fourteen thousand men from Missouri, and by some nine thousand stragglers and colored troops, raising his army to over fifty thousand men. But this did not excuse Sherman, for if Hood had not been delayed three weeks in Alabama, waiting for supplies, he would have struck the Union army before it had been reënforced. A detachment of Thomas's army under Schofield met and defeated Hood at Franklin, Tennessee, after which both armies hastened to Nashville. Hood was soon in front of that city with his challenge to battle. Thomas waited, and two weeks passed. Lincoln and Grant became very impatient lest Hood escape, and

**Battle of
Franklin**

they threatened to remove Thomas if he did not strike. Strange that they did not know the man better. Thomas replied that he could not get ready sooner, and, if relieved, he would "submit without a murmur." On December 9 he was ready; but then came a freezing rain and he decided to wait for a thaw. Grant now lost patience and determined to go to Nashville in person. Arriving at Washington, he received a dispatch from Thomas stating that he would attack the next day.

Thomas's tactics at Nashville were perfect. The city, situated within a great double curve of the Cumberland River, is inclosed on the south by a chain of low hills. On these Thomas planted his army facing the enemy. His plan was to threaten and hold the enemy's right, and swing his own right, as on a pivot, and overwhelm the enemy's entire left wing. The plan was eminently successful. Hood was pressed back with heavy losses. The next day the battle was renewed, and before nightfall the Confederate army was utterly demoralized, routed, and in full flight. Hood escaped across the Tennessee with scarcely half his force. He could not rally; his army was practically destroyed. The defeat was the most decisive one suffered by any army in a general engagement in the whole war. And it is said that the plan of Thomas is the only one of the Civil War that is now studied as a model in the military schools of Europe.¹ The power of the Confederacy was now destroyed west of the Alleghany Mountains.

Battle of
Nashville,
December
15 and 16

The opening of the year 1865 found General Grant in the trenches before Petersburg and Sherman at Savannah. The next plan was that Sherman should move northward through the Carolinas to the aid of Grant in crushing Lee and ending the war. He had already marched four hundred miles from Chattanooga, and a greater distance yet lay before him. Before this march began, however, and preliminary to it, the capture of Wilmington, North Carolina, was decided on. This was the last opening the Confederacy had to the outside world, and it was guarded by Fort Fisher. About the middle of December, 1864, Admiral Porter approached this fort with a strong fleet, and soon reduced it to ruins; but the garrison was overpowered only after a desperate assault by a land force under General Terry, whom Grant had sent to the aid of Porter. This closed the mouth of the Cape Fear River, shut the Southern states out from the world, and thus completed the blockade proclaimed by Lincoln in April, 1861.

Capture of
Fort Fisher,
January 15,
1865

¹ McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War Times*,

Sherman's march from Savannah was far more difficult than his more famous march from Atlanta to the sea; for now he had to cross the rivers instead of following their courses, and most of the bridges were destroyed. There were also vast swamps and marshes to be crossed, and above all, a vigilant foe to be encountered. General Wade Hampton with a small army met the invading enemy. A battle was fought before Columbia; but the city could not be successfully defended. Hampton escaped with his army and the Federal hosts took possession on February 17. From some cause unknown the city of Columbia caught fire and the flames spread until a large part of the city was in ashes. Charleston was also abandoned by the Confederates, who, on leaving, set fire to the great stores of cotton. The flames spread until the greater part of the city was consumed. Sherman moved on, without touching Charleston, toward Goldsboro. The opposing forces were again in command of Johnston,¹ who was defeated in a sharp battle at Bentonville. Sherman was then in a position to cooperate with Grant. Meanwhile Stoneman was sent with his cavalry to destroy the railroad from Virginia to Tennessee, and thus cut off from Lee an important source of supplies.

Another attempt had been made to bring about peace. A. H. Stephens and others met Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Fortress Monroe, February 3, in a long conference. But as Lincoln refused all overtures except on the basis of a restored Union and the abolition of slavery, the conference came to nothing. He declined absolutely to treat with the Confederacy as a government, and the Southerners went back and did everything in their power to "fire the southern heart."²

The days of the Confederacy were almost run. Atropos was ready to cut the thread. The coils of the Union army were tightening around Petersburg and Richmond. Lee had been empowered to treat for peace, using his own discretion, and on March 3 he made overtures to Grant. But Grant, after receiving instructions from Washington, answered that this power belonged to the President alone. Lee then informed

¹ Lee had been made commander in chief by act of the Confederate Congress (January 19), and it was he that reappointed Johnston, against the wishes of President Davis, who greatly disliked Johnston.

² Mr. Stephens, in trying to induce Lincoln to treat with the Confederacy, cited the case of Charles I of England treating with his rebellious subjects. Lincoln answered: "I am not strong on history. I depend mainly on Secretary Seward for that. All I remember about Charles is that he lost his head."

Davis that Richmond could hold out but a little time, and it was decided that Lee should lead his army toward Danville and make a junction with Johnston.

Grant's object was to prevent the escape of Lee southward. He sent Sheridan with his cavalry to Five Forks, a few miles from Petersburg, to try to gain the Confederate rear. Here Sheridan met a strong force and he was pressed back to Dinwiddie Court House. But Grant sent Warren to his aid, and a desperate battle followed, resulting in the utter rout of the Confederates, five thousand of whom were captured. Never did Sheridan display his powers better than at Five Forks.

**Five Forks,
April 1**

It is sad to relate that the war continued another day after Five Forks. Why should another life have been sacrificed when the outcome was so easy to foresee? It is no credit to Lee¹ and Davis that they again pitted this faithful, obedient army against an antagonist now three times its size. Grant had ordered a general assault at Petersburg all along the line, to begin at day-break on Sunday, April 2. The Confederates met it as only brave men could. Hundreds were slain on each side. Long before night the battle was over and Grant had taken twelve thousand prisoners.

On that Sunday morning, as Jefferson Davis sat in his pew at church, an officer walked up the aisle and handed him a telegram from Lee. Davis opened it and read, "Richmond must be evacuated this evening." Concealing his feelings, he rose and left the church. Calling his Cabinet together, he hastened to pack the archives of the government and to board a train for the southward. The fatal news spread through the city and the scene during that afternoon, the coming night, and the next day was such as no pen can describe. All social order was destroyed to its foundations. Many left the city, but the great majority could not do so. The nine ships building in the river were set on fire, and so were the bridges and the great tobacco and cotton warehouses. The arsenal was also fired, and the thousands of bursting shells sounded like an artillery battle. Barrels of liquor were emptied into the streets, and hundreds of the rabble became intoxicated; and these, joined by the convicts from the penitentiary, ran howling like demons through the streets. The fire spread to the city, and seven hun-

**Fall of
Richmond**

¹ And yet the calm letter that Lee wrote Davis on April 2, discussing the methods of recruiting the army, etc., would indicate that he had no thought that the end was near. See Nicolay and Hay, Vol. X, p. 183.

dred buildings were soon in flames, and the crash of falling walls was added to the general pandemonium. The people rushed from their homes to the streets and to Capitol Square with the few effects they could carry. Such was the condition of Richmond on the 2d and 3d of April, 1865 – the proud city on the James that had defied the Union armies for four years. On the 3d the Union troops entered the city, and within a few days order was in some degree restored.¹

Lee thought only of escape with his army, but at every turn he found Grant's troops planted in the way. Grant denied him-

**Surrender of
Lee at Appo-
mattox, April
9, 1865**

self the pleasure of entering the conquered city.

He determined to capture Lee's army then and there.

Lee reached Amelia Court House, some thirty miles from Richmond; but here he found that his expected

train of supplies had gone on to Richmond; and his starving army had to stop a day to forage. This enabled Sheridan to pass around him and gain his front. Lee then attempted to march around the Federal left toward Lynchburg. Grant divided his army into three parts, placing one part north of Lee, another south, a third in direct pursuit, while Sheridan with the cavalry was sent to his front. Ewell's corps and Pickett's division were soon cut off and forced to surrender. Lee's army, now cut down to thirty-five thousand men, was in a deplorable condition; but it fought a fierce battle to gain the bridge across the Appomattox, succeeded, and hurried on toward Lynchburg. But Sheridan's cavalry and Ord's infantry were again in the way. There was nothing left but surrender, and the despairing Confederates raised the white flag. This was the 9th of April. Grant had demanded a surrender on the 7th. Lee offered to treat for peace, but Grant had no authority to do this. The great commanders met at the house of one Mr. McLean at Appomattox Court House, and Grant wrote out the terms of surrender: the army, officers and men, were to be released on parole, not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged; the officers were to retain their side arms, baggage, and horses. To this Lee agreed, and Grant then generously added that the private soldiers might also retain their horses, as "they would need them in their spring plowing." Grant refused to permit his army to fire a salute in honor of their victory. Lee informed Grant that his men were in a starving condition, and Grant ordered that they be fed from his supplies. The number

¹ President Lincoln visited Richmond on April 4, while the fires were yet burning.

of men surrendered was 28,231, not counting the thousands who had deserted or had been captured during the preceding weeks.

When Johnston learned that Lee had surrendered, he saw that his hour had come. He therefore sought Sherman, and the two agreed on terms of surrender; but Sherman exceeded his authority in attempting to arrange the future relations between the seceded states and the national government.¹ His action was disapproved at Washington; he so informed Johnston, and prepared for further hostilities. But Johnston was willing to accept the terms granted Lee at Appomattox. The two generals met again on April 26, and the surrender was effected.² A week later all the remaining Confederate forces east of the Mississippi were surrendered by General Richard Taylor, and on May 26, E. Kirby Smith surrendered the last Confederate army west of the Mississippi — and the great tragedy of the Civil War was at an end.

Surrender of
Johnston,
April 26

A grand review of the Union armies took place in Washington on May 24 and 25, when sixty-five thousand men marched through the streets. The parade was viewed by the highest civil and military officials of the nation. But the one on whom, above all men, the marching veterans would have loved to cast their eyes — the one who, more than any of the commanders in the field or on the sea, had attracted the world's notice and the nation's love — this one was not there.

DEATH OF LINCOLN

The most atrocious murder in American annals was committed on the night of April 14, 1865, in the city of Washington, when the great war President suffered death at the hands of an assassin. It was the fourth anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter. A great celebration had taken place at Charleston, and General Robert Anderson had raised over the ruined walls of the fort the identical flag that he had been forced to haul down four years before. The day had been one of rejoicing throughout the land over the coming of peace, and none was happier than the President, who looked forward to four years of peace in his

¹ Grant had also exceeded his authority in granting full amnesty to all of Lee's army. But in the general rejoicing this was overlooked. Sherman acted in perfect good faith, nor did he deserve the abuse heaped upon him by Stanton and others on account of his mistake.

² Johnston's surrender, made at Durham's Station, Virginia, included all his military department, some thirty-seven thousand men.

great office. But his duties were still arduous, and on the 14th, after a long session of the Cabinet, meeting many officials and doing much business, he sought diversion by attending the theater. He was a little late, and the play had begun, but when the President entered a private box, the acting stopped for the moment and the audience rose and cheered. The play was then resumed, and it continued till a few minutes after ten o'clock, when the audience was startled by the sharp report of a pistol. The President was shot by an assassin, who then leaped from the private box to the stage, dramatically brandished a dagger before the audience, cried, "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*,"¹ ran down the back stairway, leaped upon a horse held in waiting, and galloped away in the darkness. The assassin was John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was at the head of a plot to murder the chief officials of the government. At the moment he entered the theater one of his accomplices, Lewis Payne, entered the chamber of Secretary Seward, who had been seriously hurt by being thrown from his carriage, and, after a desperate fight with Mr. Seward's son and other attendants, stabbed the secretary several times and then made his escape, after having inflicted terrible wounds on five persons.²

Mr. Lincoln was shot through the brain. His head fell forward, his eyes closed, and he uttered no sound. The audience was stupefied with horror at the appalling tragedy, and few thought of attempting to apprehend the murderer till he had made his escape.³ The President was carried to a house across the street, and physicians were summoned. He continued to breathe through the night, but he did not recover consciousness. At a few minutes past seven o'clock on the morning of the 15th, as the physicians and members of the Cabinet were standing about the bed, the breathing ceased and the great life was over. Stanton first broke the silence by saying, "Now he belongs to the ages."⁴ The people mourned their great dead as never before in American history. The funeral train passed through the chief cities of the East, taking nearly the same route by which Mr. Lincoln had come to Washington in 1861. At every stopping place the remains were viewed by silent, mourning thousands, many of whom had come hundreds of miles to

¹ The state motto of Virginia.

² All recovered. Mr. Seward's son, Frederick, did not recover consciousness for several weeks.

³ Colonel Rathbone, who sat by the President's side, leaped to catch the assassin, and was terribly slashed in the arm with the dagger.

⁴ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. X, p. 302.

pay their last respects to their beloved President. The body was carried to Springfield, Illinois, the President's home, and there on the 4th of May it was laid to rest.

From the time of Lincoln's death until the present his fame has been rising. He is at this day considered, not only America's ablest President, but also one of the most powerful world figures in history. His name alone stands with that of Washington in the history of his country. His achievements were two, — either of which would perpetuate his name forever in history, — the destruction of slavery and the preservation of the Union. His motives in striking at the evil of slavery were the same as those held by millions of his countrymen, — the belief that no man has a right to enslave his fellow-man, and that slavery was a political evil and a drawback to civilization. But his motives in saving the Union were higher than those of most men. Others of the North rushed to arms in 1861 because they loved the Union and would not have it divided. Lincoln grasped the subject in its larger sense. He saw that the principle of democracy, of self-government, was at stake, that the welfare of the "whole family of man" was wrapped up in the issue. These two great ends could not have been achieved by Lincoln but for the powerful and loyal nation at his back, and millions must share the honors of the victory; but as he was at the helm of the ship when the breakers came, as it was his masterly skill that guided the vessel and kept the crew, each at his post of duty, it is only just that the chief glory of weathering the storm should be his.

No one now questions that Lincoln was a very great man; but it is not easy to point out the qualities in which he was great. Certainly he did not generally impress his immediate associates with his powers, and it is a strange fact that his own Cabinet was longer in discovering those powers than were the masses of the people. Not until after he was gone did the consummate skill with which he had managed affairs in that critical period fully appear, and to this day the deeper one studies into the words and acts of Lincoln the greater he seems. His greatest quality was perhaps his ability to read public opinion, and few public men have ever enjoyed a fuller confidence of the masses. He not only led the people to believe in his sincerity of purpose and his wisdom, but he had a profound belief in the correctness of his own judgment.¹ He was a man of infinite tact and patience, and

Character of
Lincoln

¹ Blaine, Vol. I, p. 547.

his great kindness of heart impressed itself upon all who were about him.¹

No one attempts to explain the origin of the genius of Lincoln. No character in history has proved a greater surprise to the world. "Only America has produced his like," says a British historian.² Born among the lowliest of the lowly, trained in the merciless school of adversity and penury, he rose in public life and became the leading American of his time. Entering upon his great office at the moment when the forces of freedom and of slavery were ready to grapple in deadly conflict, he grasped the reins of government with a master hand; and but for his consummate ability, many believe the Union could not have been saved.

In the life of Lincoln we find a series of contradictions. He was untrained in the art of oratory, yet an audience would listen unwearied as long as he chose to speak. He never studied logic nor the arts of casuistry, yet his speeches on the slavery question were the most concise, logical, and unanswerable produced by that generation of eloquence. In literature he was unversed, yet in his Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural address are literary gems that will live as long as the language in which he spoke or the nation that he served. Apparently confiding with his friends, his inmost soul was fathomless and was veiled from every eye. Awkward and ungainly in appearance, there was something so deeply impressive in his face that none who ever saw him could forget it. Always ready with a witty answer or a droll story, there was yet a strange vein of sadness that pervaded his whole life, and was always visible in his countenance.

Lincoln was the Providential instrument in guiding the nation through the wilderness of threatened disunion, and it seemed sad that when the wanderings were at an end, and, like Moses, he could ascend the mountain and view the promised land, he was not permitted to enter. But perhaps Lincoln's work was done. He was probably less fitted for the arduous work of reconstruction than for the great work that was assigned him. Many who are not in sympathy with the harsh measures of Congress that characterized the reconstruction period, believe that Lincoln would have swung too far in the opposite direction; that he was too great-hearted, that his soul was too generous and forgiving, for him to have been the proper one to adjust the legal

¹ While not devoted to any particular creed, Lincoln was deeply religious at heart, and his reverence for God is shown in almost every state paper that he wrote.

² Goldwin Smith.

relations between the emancipated slave and his former taskmaster, and that in the death of the great President, as well as in his life, we can see the hand of God.¹

FOREIGN RELATIONS — THE *ALABAMA*

Aside from the Trent Affair and the recognition with undue haste of the belligerency of the South by the European nations, there were two items in our foreign relations during the war that became serious. One was the building in British waters of Confederate cruisers to prey on United States shipping; the other was the attempt of France to set up a monarchy in Mexico. The one was a palpable violation of neutrality, the other an infraction of the Monroe Doctrine.

The English Foreign Enlistment Act, passed in the reign of George III, forbade the equipping, furnishing, fitting out, or arming within the British dominions of any vessel to be used against any state with whom his Majesty should then be at peace. This was construed to mean that a vessel could be built for such a purpose in British waters if fitted out elsewhere. Mr. J. D. Bullock, the Confederate naval agent in England, soon found, therefore, that the English shipyards were open to him. The first vessel to be so built was the *Florida*; but the most notorious was the *Alabama*, to which, as an example of all, may be given more particular attention. The *Alabama* was built on the Mersey under the direction of Captain J. D. Bullock, by Laird and Sons, the senior member of the firm being a member of Parliament. The ship, known while building as "290," was a vessel of about a thousand tons, her engines representing three hundred horse power. It was generally understood that she was intended for the Confederate service, and our minister at London, Mr. Adams, procured the necessary evidence, and called on the British government to detain her. But the matter was delayed, owing to the illness of the chief advocate, and the "290," under pretext of making her "trial trip," escaped. She steamed to the Azores, where she was equipped by two British vessels, and was placed in command of Raphael Semmes. She then unfurled the Confederate banner, and on August 24, came out in her true colors as a privateer, and took the name *Alabama*.

¹ Others believe that Lincoln, with his tact, his firmness, and his great popularity, would have won Congress to his plan of reconstruction, and would have thereby left far less bitterness between the sections than was actually the case. See next chapter.

After capturing a few American vessels near the British coast, the *Alabama* started on her wonderful tour of the oceans. She swept across the Atlantic to within two hundred miles of New York, thence turning southward to the West Indies. By the 1st of November she had captured twenty-two Federal vessels. In the early spring of 1862 the *Alabama* made another grand detour, touching the coast of Brazil, and proceeding thence eastward to South Africa and to the Bay of Bengal, where she spent the following winter, making prize of every American vessel that came within her reach. In June, 1864, we find her in the harbor of Cherbourg, France. Here also was the United States war vessel, the *Kearsarge*, commanded by Captain John A. Winslow.

Semmes had been twitted with being a pirate, and to prove the *Alabama* a legitimate war vessel, and to revive, if possible, the expiring question of the recognition of his new-born nation by the European powers, he challenged Captain Winslow to a naval duel. The challenge was accepted; and the two vessels, about the same in size and force, steamed out to neutral waters and began their death duel.

People gathered in thousands on the shore to witness the strange, unnatural spectacle—the mortal strife between the estranged brethren of the same household. The two vessels began circling round and round, lessening the distance between them and pouring in their broadsides. One shell from the *Kearsarge* exploded on the *Alabama* and killed or wounded eighteen men. The *Alabama* was soon disabled, and after an hour of conflict she raised the white flag; but before her crew could all be rescued she sank beneath the waves. For two years she had plowed the main unhindered on her mission of destruction. She had destroyed sixty-nine vessels,¹ ten million dollars' worth of property. But at last her meteoric course was ended, and, with many of her devoted crew, she found a final home on the bottom of the ocean, on whose bosom she had reigned, a queen without a rival, until her too-sanguine master made this hapless challenge to fight a duel with the *Kearsarge*.²

Nearly a score of Confederate vessels, built in English waters, preyed on American vessels. The most destructive, next to the

¹ Bullock, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, p. 815.

² See *Side Lights*, Series II, p. 224. Most of the survivors of the *Alabama* became prisoners of Captain Winslow; but Semmes was rescued by a British vessel and given his freedom.

Alabama, was the *Shenandoah*, which made thirty-six captures; the *Florida* made thirty-seven and the *Tallahassee* twenty-nine. The subject gave rise to a serious international dispute, to be noticed on a later page.

The occupation of Mexico by France also came near bringing international trouble. Mexico had suffered a revolution almost every year, and sometimes oftener, from the time she had won her independence in 1824, to 1858.

Mexico

The country was usually in a state of anarchy, and was unable to protect the lives and property of foreign residents and sojourners within her bounds. In 1861 the foreign debt amounted to nearly \$100,000,000, but the treasury was bankrupt, and the Mexican Congress decided that no foreign obligation should be paid for two years. This was done under President Benita Juarez, a full-blooded Indian, a highly educated and honorable man. The intention was, not to repudiate the debts, but to recuperate the treasury.

France, England, and Spain, however, had grown impatient and they decided to make a joint demand for immediate payment of their claims on Mexico. But as Mexico was utterly unable to pay, they sent a fleet to take possession of Vera Cruz and collect the customs of that port until the claims were settled. This was in the spring of 1862. In a short time the Mexican government made arrangements by which England and Spain were satisfied, and they withdrew their vessels. But France refused to accept the same terms, and then it developed that she had ulterior motives — nothing less than the seizure of the Mexican government and the setting up of a monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. As a pretext the French espoused the famous Jecker bond swindle. A few years before this a revolutionary government in Mexico had issued \$15,000,000 in bonds, and these were purchased by the Swiss banker, Jecker, at five cents on the dollar. France now demanded full payment of this fraudulent debt, and as Mexico could not pay, determined on the conquest of the country. This was accomplished by midsummer, 1863, and Maximilian, archduke of Austria, was invited to become the emperor of Mexico. A year later Maximilian, who was doubtless a sincere man, but not a statesman, assumed the government, the Mexicans at the same time making a pretense of being content with the new order. The French army, however, remained, and on it rested the security of the throne.

France in
Mexico

All this was galling to the people of the United States. It was

the most radical infraction of the Monroe Doctrine yet attempted. But as it occurred during the darkest period of the

Civil War, Mr. Seward managed the matter with admirable tact, lest the life of the nation be endangered.

Execution of Maximilian

Not until after the battle of Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg did he inform the French that the proceedings in Mexico were distasteful to the United States government. After the war had closed, Seward came out boldly and demanded of the Emperor Napoleon that the French armies be withdrawn from Mexico; and to emphasize this demand General Sheridan was sent into Texas with fifty thousand veteran troops. The Emperor of France now clearly understood, and ere long he withdrew his armies. Maximilian, however, remained, in the belief that he had won the Mexican people, and that they would willingly remain his subjects. But in this he was sadly in error. The deposed President Juarez marched upon the capital with an army. The unhappy Maximilian was easily overpowered and captured. He was executed in 1867, and Mexico again became a republic.

It is a pleasure to turn to our relations with Germany and Russia during the war. Not only was the German Confederation in full sympathy with the Union cause, but thousands of German-Americans gave their lives in defense of that cause. But Russia was the most conspicuous foreign friend we had in war times. Not long after the war opened, the Czar revealed to the United States that some of the powers were contemplating concerted action against the Union. In the spring of 1863 a fleet of Russian war vessels was stationed in New York harbor and another at San Francisco, where they remained for many months. The admiral of the fleet at New York, being asked why he was here, answered that he did not know, that his orders were sealed and were not to be broken, except in a certain contingency which had not occurred. It was afterward learned at St. Petersburg that the orders were, that in case of war between the United States and England or France, the Russian fleets were to report to the President for duty. Various motives for the action of Russia are given, the most plausible of which is that the Crimean War had left with her bitterness toward France and England. The fact is, Seward had secretly arranged for this maneuver and had offered to pay the expenses of the voyage out of contingent funds. The purpose was to impress France and Great Britain.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR

The magnitude of the Civil War may be realized by contrasting it with the Revolution. The army of McClellan in 1862 or that of Grant in 1865 was at least seven times greater than any ever commanded by Washington. When Lee surrendered at Appomattox his army was less than half its usual size, and yet he surrendered twice as many men as Burgoyne at Saratoga and Cornwallis at Yorktown combined.¹ There were cavalry raids in the Civil War that are scarcely mentioned in history, any one of which in one month destroyed more property and took more captives than did any British army of the Revolution in a whole year.

The cost of the Civil War in life and treasure was enormous. Of the northern armies one hundred and ten thousand men were shot dead or mortally wounded in battle, while two hundred and fifty thousand died of disease or accident. If the losses to the South were proportionally great, as they probably were, the war cost the nation at least half a million lives, to say nothing of thousands who returned to their homes with broken health or maimed bodies. President Lincoln issued twelve calls for volunteers, and the whole number of men enlisted was 2,773,400,² many of whom were reënlistments. The highest number of northern men in the field at one time (April, 1865) slightly exceeded one million. The whole number of enlistments in the South probably reached a million.³

Loss of life

The cost in treasure was equally astonishing. The expense to the government reached an average of nearly \$3,000,000 a day, and there was a public debt in August, 1865, of \$2,845,000,000. These figures take no account of the separate expenditures of the states and cities, amounting to nearly \$500,000,000, nor of the expense to the South, nor of the incalculable destruction of property. To all this must be added the interest on the public debt and the pensions paid to the soldiers, to the widows, and the orphans. The total cost of the war no doubt exceeded \$10,000,000,000. And yet the country increased in wealth and resources during the war and the period following it. The South, it is true, was ruined and exhausted; but the North was stronger and better equipped in 1865 than in 1861.

Cost in
treasure

¹ Johnson, p. 321.

² This does not include one hundred and twenty thousand emergency men who were not in active service.

³ *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. IV, p. 768. Livermore makes a higher estimate based on the census of 1860; but no accurate records of Confederate enlistments were kept.

A great movement will always bring before the public gaze great characters who might otherwise have died unknown. In the Civil War several commanders in the field achieved fame of the first order; while in civil life the fame of only one, Abraham Lincoln, was greatly enhanced by the war. The reverse was true of the Revolution. Of the half dozen who achieved great fame in that period, only one was a commander of armies.¹

The Civil War brought out no commanders of the very highest grade — certainly no Napoleons or Hannibals. The first place among the commanders is usually awarded to Grant. He has been severely criticised. It is often stated that his army always outnumbered the army of his enemy, that he was simply a bull-dog fighter, was no tactician, and won his victories by brute force. It cannot be denied that Lee out-generaled him in the Virginia campaign. Much of the criticism of Grant is just and it is also true that he was wanting in that essential to a great commander — personal magnetism, the ability to electrify an army with his own spirit. But with all this, the facts remain that Grant did at times display great power as a tactician, and that the three great surrenders, at Donelson, Vicksburg, and Appomattox, were all made to him.

Next to Grant stands Sherman and then Sheridan. Sherman displayed extraordinary talents at Shiloh and in the Atlanta campaign, as did Sheridan at Cedar Creek and at Five Forks. Sheridan possessed the power above all men in the war, except Stonewall Jackson, to infuse the fire of his own soul into an army. Next to these we would place Thomas. There was nothing more grandly heroic in the war than the stand made by Thomas at Chickamauga, and there was no battle more perfectly planned than the battle of Nashville. But Thomas never received the honor he deserved. Why the name of Thomas was not mentioned in the congratulatory order to the officers and men who fought at Mill Spring; why he, instead of Rosecrans, did not succeed Buell after Perryville; and why General Grant in his "Memoirs" persistently withholds from Thomas the credit he deserves, are among the war

Great military leaders ¹ Washington stands without a rival as the military leader of the Revolution. Greene, who comes next, must be classed below him. But Franklin, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and John and Samuel Adams are all among the first-rank heroes in the popular mind. The Civil War gave us Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Farragut, closely seconded by Meade and Thomas: and, if we include the other side, Lee and Jackson. But outside the battle field Lincoln stands grandly alone. Other great names we have: Seward, Sumner, Chase, Fessenden, Wade, and Stevens; but most of them had reached the acme of their fame before the war, and none of the galaxy is classed in popular fancy as a star of the first magnitude. — Note from *Side Lights*, Series II, p. 48.

mysteries not yet revealed. Rosecrans gave much promise for a time, but he never recovered from his unfortunate disaster at Chickamauga. McClellan, it must be said, would no doubt have measured up with our strongest commanders, had he been given an opportunity to develop to his best.

On the southern side there were at least four able commanders — Lee, Jackson, and the two Johnstons. The fact that two of these were slain in battle before the issue of the war was decided may have had much to do, if not with the ultimate result, certainly with the duration of the war. Albert Sidney Johnston was at first believed to be the ablest commander in the South, and Jefferson Davis declared that when Johnston fell at Pittsburg Landing, the cause of the South was lost. The worth of Jackson is well known. Lee declared that he would have won a mighty victory at Gettysburg had Jackson still been with him, and it is possible that he would have done so. Bishop Polk ranked next in importance among the southern slain, but his death did not perceptibly affect the outcome.

On the northern side at least four prominent men were killed — Baker, Reynolds, Sedgwick, and McPherson; but the death of none of these is believed to have affected the general result. One of the southern generals of some prominence was born in the North — Pemberton, a native of Connecticut — while two of the strongest northern commanders — Farragut and Thomas — were of southern birth. It will be noticed that all the generals who achieved the highest success were graduates of West Point. A few volunteers, however, such as John A. Logan, N. P. Banks, Lew Wallace, Butler, Phil Kearny, Nelson A. Miles, Sigel, and Carl Schurz, made most creditable records. It is notable that no well-known commander of the war, except General Hunter, had reached the age of fifty years at the close of the war, and many of them were under forty.¹

In addition to the causes of northern success given on a preceding page, another must be mentioned — the great superiority of Lincoln over Jefferson Davis. These two opposing chieftains were born in the same state, Kentucky, but a year apart. Both left their native state in early life, the one drifting northward absorbed the free-soil sentiment of his adopted section, until it became the guiding star of his life; the other, migrating to the cotton belt, espoused the cause of the slaveholder and became the leader of the far-famed aristocracy of the South. It is curious to speculate what might have been the his-

¹ See Blaine, Vol. II, p. 29.

tory of our country had the direction of the migration of these two been reversed.

The most remarkable fact concerning the Civil War is that, aside from the changes pertaining to the colored race, it wrought no permanent change in our civic institutions, that it left no trace upon the people as regards local government, personal liberty, or freedom of speech, and that it did not change our character as a peace-loving people. For four years the President wielded almost imperial power, but the functions of his office were not permanently affected. No President since Lincoln has enjoyed greater power than those who preceded him. The thousands of arbitrary arrests and the suppression of many newspapers have left not a trace on our personal liberty and freedom of the press. At the close of the war the armies melted away like magic, the soldiers returned to the pursuits of peace, and the relative importance of the civil and military authorities was left absolutely the same as before the war. These facts we look upon with pardonable pride, as they prove our great steadiness and conservatism as a people.

What then were the results of the Civil War? It readjusted the relations between the nation and the individual states, and established the nation on a permanent basis by eliminating from American politics the idea of state sovereignty and of secession; it transferred the primary allegiance of the citizen from the state to the nation;¹ and, by removing slavery, the war opened the way for a feeling of common brotherhood between the two great sections of the country, and led to the development of the vast resources of the South. The war was a surgical operation, severe indeed, but necessary to restore the normal health of the nation, and with all its cost it brought untold blessings to the United States. Never before the war was the development of the country so marvelous as it has been since; never was there a feeling of oneness in all sections of our broad land as at present, and never in history was the theory of self-government so firmly established as a practical and enduring thing as to-day in the United States.

Negro Soldiery. — During the early period of the war while the ranks were kept filled by volunteers, there was little disposition to enlist black men in the service. In July, 1862, however, Congress passed an act for the employment of negroes in camp service, and on intrenchment constructing, and another a year later for their enlistment as volunteers. In February, 1864, an act was passed to include the blacks in the national enrollment, and if a slave was

¹ This was accomplished by the Civil War and was put into permanent form by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

drafted, his master received a bounty from the government. Negro soldiery awakened some race prejudice at the North, and much more at the South; but as the war progressed this was largely overcome even at the South. Toward the close of the war many black regiments were raised for the northern armies, and they were conspicuous in the fighting at Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, Mobile, and other places. The South also accepted military service from negroes. The legislature of Tennessee authorized the governor (June 28, 1861) to enlist blacks in the service. The legislature of Virginia discussed a similar bill in February, 1862. In November, 1862, a regiment of fourteen hundred free black troops entered the Confederate service, while in March, 1865, the Confederate Congress passed an act for arming the slaves. See Greeley, *American Conflict*, Vol. II, p. 522.

Indians in the Civil War. — At the close of Buchanan's administration nearly all the United States Indian agents were secessionists, and they did all in their power to lead the Indians to favor the South. Agents were sent among the Indians to organize them against the Federal government; but they were not always successful. An aged chief of the Creeks of the Indian Territory, for example, took strong ground for the Union, and he had many followers. Against this chief, Colonel Douglas Cooper, a white man, organized a force in the autumn of 1861, and the Indians, after being defeated in two minor battles, fled in midwinter to Kansas for refuge. There were various other small engagements among the Indians, usually under white leaders. Many of the Indians preferred to occupy a neutral position, but they found this difficult to do. On the whole, more of them sympathized with the South than with the North; but only at Pea Ridge were they engaged in battle on a large scale. The Indians made poor soldiers as compared with white men. They clung to their ancient methods of warfare, and failed wholly to grasp modern scientific methods.

Fate of Lincoln's Assassins. — John Wilkes Booth was found to be at the head of a few conspirators, whose headquarters had been at Washington for several months. Their intention was to abduct President Lincoln and carry him to Richmond; but as no opportunity offered, and as the surrender of Lee maddened their brains, already insanely devoted to the southern cause, they resolved to kill the President, the Vice President, Mr. Seward, and General Grant. But Grant went to Baltimore on the afternoon of the 14th, and thus escaped.

After the assassination, Booth escaped across the navy-yard bridge and, joined by an accomplice named Herold, rode almost till morning, and came to the house of Dr. Mudd, a sympathizer, who set the bone of Booth's broken leg. They were aided by sympathizers along the way, remaining a whole week with a Mr. Jones near Port Tobacco. At length they were rowed across the Potomac into Virginia; but the government detectives were scouring the country, and escape was impossible. Booth was greatly disappointed. He expected the whole South to rise up and call him a hero. On the night of the 25th of April, Booth and his companion were found sleeping in the barn of a Mr. Garrett near Port Royal, by a searching party under Lieutenant Doherty. Herold came out and surrendered, but Booth refused to do so, and the barn was fired. While it was burning, Booth was shot in the neck by Boston Corbett, and died three hours later.

Payne, who had attempted the life of Secretary Seward, left his hat when he escaped. This led to his capture. Hiding a few days near Washington, he stole into the city, hatless, in search of food, and was arrested. He and Herold, Mrs. Surrat, at whose house the conspiracy was hatched, and an accomplice named Atzerodt, were hanged, while Dr. Mudd and a few others were imprisoned for life, but were afterward released. The common belief at first, that Jefferson Davis was connected with the conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln, was proved to be wholly without foundation.

The Finances. — The government met its war expenses by laying an income tax of 3 per cent on all incomes over \$800, by tariff duties, by internal revenue, and by issuing interest-bearing bonds to the extent of \$1,100,000,000, and non interest-bearing notes called "greenbacks" to the extent of \$450,000,000, as noted in the text. By the close of the year 1861, all banks had suspended specie payments, and the government soon did the same. All coin soon disappeared from circulation, and gold rose rapidly in value, reaching 285, its highest point, in July, 1864. A soldier's pay was \$13 per month with food and clothes. It cost the

government about \$1000 a year to keep each soldier in the field. The Confederate notes depreciated until, in the spring of 1865, it required \$100 to purchase one dollar in gold, and \$1000 to purchase a barrel of flour, while a spool of thread cost \$20, and a pound of sugar \$75. This money, of course, had no purchasing power on the collapse of the Confederate government.

Capture of Jefferson Davis. The Confederate President, on escaping from Richmond, April 2, went with his Cabinet to Danville, where they obtained rooms, set up the departments of the government, and issued an address to "fire the southern heart." Learning of Lee's surrender and of the approach of Federal cavalry, he hastened to move to Greensboro, North Carolina. Here he had an interview with Johnston and Beauregard, who declared that the cause was hopeless, and advised a surrender; but Davis refused to give up. From here the party moved in all sorts of vehicles to Charlotte, North Carolina, thence to Abbeville, South Carolina, and thence to Washington, Georgia. On leaving Charlotte the company consisted of some two thousand persons, mostly cavalry from Johnston's army, but it rapidly melted away until few were left except the fallen President, his family, one member of his Cabinet, and a few servants. The aim was to move westward and join with the army of Kirby Smith west of the Mississippi; but this was now given up, and it was decided that Davis leave his family and proceed on horseback to the coast of Florida and thence embark for Texas. The party encamped on the night of May 6 in a pine forest near Irwinville, in southern Georgia, and here at daybreak next morning they were captured by a band of Federal cavalry under Colonel Pritchard of Michigan. Davis was defiant and sullen, though he was well treated by his captors. He was carried northward, and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe. For some months Davis was not well treated in prison. His ankles were riveted in iron fetters; his cell was dark and damp, and he was denied visits of friends. He remained for two years, when he was indicted for treason and released on bail, his bondsmen being Horace Greeley, Gerrit Smith, and Cornelius Vanderbilt. On Christmas day, 1868, President Johnson proclaimed a pardon for all hitherto unpardoned participants in the rebellion. This included Davis, who thus became a free man. He returned to his former home in Mississippi, where he lived for a quarter of a century in retirement, writing, meantime, his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, in two large volumes. Various members of Davis's Cabinet and other Confederate leaders were apprehended and held for a time in prison; others escaped to foreign lands. Robert Toombs spent several years in France. Judah P. Benjamin went to England and never returned. He became a prominent member of the London bar.

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CHAPTER XXVII

ANDREW JOHNSON AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE surrender of the Confederate armies marked the end of bloodshed, but did not bring rest and peace to the American people. As at the close of the Revolution the great problem of self-government remained to be solved, so with the close of the Civil War came the serious task of restoring the seceded states to their normal relations in the Union.

THE NEW PROBLEM

Long before the war had closed, the subject of how to get the seceding states back into the Union began to occupy the attention of the President and Congress. The problem was a new one and had no precedent in history, nor was it provided for in the Constitution. Much eloquence was wasted on the subject of the relations the seceded states bore to the Union during the war. Some took the ground that they had lost all standing as members of the Union; others, including President Lincoln, contended that the relations of the seceded states to the government were only suspended and could not be severed.¹

But the practical question was, how to reinstate the straying sisters in the family. On this subject the Republican party came to be seriously divided. One faction took the position that when the war was over and the Southern states had accepted the great two-fold result — the restoration of the Union and the removal of slavery — they should be readily forgiven and should be readmitted with as little further humiliation as possible. To this class belonged President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, Generals Grant and Sherman, and many of the leading men of the North who had done all in their power to put down the rebellion. The opposing faction was far more radical. It comprised the majority of the mem-

The President and Congress at variance

¹ This position was sustained in a Supreme Court decision (*Texas vs. White*, 1868), in which our country is pronounced "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible states."

bers of Congress, led by Charles Sumner in the Senate and by Thaddeus Stevens in the House. These men and their followers were ready to humiliate the people of the South still further after defeating them in battle, and to grant them forgiveness only when they abjectly begged it and acknowledged themselves utterly in the wrong. This was asking too much. If it be granted that the southern people were sincere in warring against the Union, how could they be expected, on their defeat, instantly to denounce the cause in which their fathers and brethren had died as a false one? Time alone can bring such changes; matters of the heart and conscience are wholly beyond the powers of legislative coercion. The South has come to see that a division of the Union would have been a disaster, and that slavery was an evil; but such a condition could not have been expected in 1865.

Early in the war Stevens took the ground that the seceded states had forfeited all rights under the Constitution, and should be dealt with as conquered territory. As the war drew to a close, he and his followers became more fierce in their attitude toward the South; they displayed an utter want of magnanimity, and they failed also to realize that their course was bad public policy. Many of the leading southerners would have been of great service, had they been given an opportunity, in leading their countrymen to accept in good faith the results of the war and to become citizens. "I perceived that we had the unbounded respect," said General Sherman, "of our armed enemies." . . . I am sure that at the close of the Civil War the Confederate army embraced the best governed, the best disposed, the most reliable men of the South; and I would have used them in reconstruction instead of driving them into a hopeless opposition." This was also the view of President Lincoln; but not so with the leaders in Congress, and the result was a serious breach between the legislative and executive branches of the government.

Mr. Lincoln believed that as the pardoning power in the case of an individual rested with the Executive, the same should extend to the states. In December, 1863, he set forth a plan of reconstruction by which he offered pardon to those who had been in rebellion, with certain exceptions, on condition that they take an oath to support and defend the Constitution and the Union, and to abide by the laws and proclamations relating to slavery. He also declared that a state might resume its place in the Union when one tenth of the number of the voters of 1860 had taken this oath and had set up a state government. At the same time Mr. Lincoln con-

Lincoln's
plan of re-
construction

ceded that the question of the admission of representatives from the seceded states to Congress must be decided by the respective houses. It was not long before Louisiana and Arkansas took advantage of this offer, framed and adopted constitutions in which slavery was forever forbidden, and set up state governments under them. A little more than one tenth of the presidential vote of 1860 was cast in these two states. The element of weakness in these governments lay in the fact that they could exist only when protected by national arms.

Mr. Lincoln acted in good faith. He bore no malice toward the people of the South. But his plan was not carefully wrought out in detail, and he had not taken sufficient care to win Congress to his way of thinking. The opposition in Congress to the President's plan was at first feeble; but due to a growing jealousy of the executive department, to a distrust of the ex-Confederates, and to a belief that Mr. Lincoln would be too lenient in his dealings with them, the majority came to be openly hostile to the "ten per cent" plan. Accordingly, when the newly elected members from Arkansas presented themselves, they were uncerectionously rejected by both House and Senate.

Congress then passed a reconstruction bill differing widely from the views of the President. By this bill the President was directed to appoint a provisional governor for each rebellious state, and this governor should, on the cessation of hostilities, make an enrollment of all the white male citizens; and if a majority of these should take an oath to support the Federal Constitution, a convention should be called to frame a state Constitution. This should abolish slavery, disfranchise the leaders of the rebellion, and repudiate the payment of all Confederate debts. This Constitution must then be submitted to a popular vote; and if supported by a majority within the state, the governor was to report the fact to the President, who should recognize the state government after obtaining the consent of Congress.¹

This measure was a severe rebuke to the President. It was sent to him for his signature on July 4, 1864, the last day of the session, and he quietly disposed of it by a pocket veto.² Congress was wrong in rebuking the President so sharply in this bill;

¹ Even this bill was too mild for Stevens, the House leader, who denied all constitutional rights to the South, and favored confiscating the property of the leaders of the rebellion.

² The Constitution provides that a bill of Congress must be signed or vetoed by the President within ten days after its passage. If he does neither, it will become a law without his signature. This, however, does not apply when Congress adjourns within the ten days. If in that case the President withholds his signature, the bill fails to become law. This is called a pocket veto.

but Mr. Lincoln no doubt made a serious mistake in not signing it. In a private conversation with Sumner he expressed his regret at not having done so. The bill was far milder than the reconstruction bill adopted three years later.

A few days after the session closed he issued a proclamation declaring that he was "unprepared . . . to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration," or to declare the governments in Louisiana and Arkansas set aside, thereby repelling the loyal citizens of these states. Had Congress been in session, a fierce conflict would doubtless have been precipitated. But the members had gone to their homes and would not again assemble for some months; and further, the country was in the midst of a presidential campaign, and any party schism at that time might have proved disastrous. Most of the leaders therefore smothered their resentment and continued to work for Mr. Lincoln's reelection.

But there were two notable exceptions — Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio and Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, chairmen of the respective committees on rebellious states, came out in a most caustic paper against the President. This paper was published widely over the signatures of the two statesmen. It arraigned Mr. Lincoln in the severest language, declaring that the Union men in Congress "would not submit to be impeached of rash and unconstitutional legislation," that the President "must confine himself to executive duties — to obey and execute, and not to make the laws." This remarkable paper only served to rouse Lincoln's friends, and it doubtless contributed to his great majority at the polls in November. So fully had Lincoln won the hearts of the people, even in Maryland, that Mr. Davis, who had written this paper, was denied a renomination to Congress. When Congress assembled in December, the President wisely refrained, in his message, from making any reference to reconstruction, and the winter passed without further progress. But Congress was still defiant; and an open rupture with the President, when the great subject should again be reached, seemed inevitable. Lincoln adhered to his "Louisiana plan" with unexpected tenacity. In a speech made on April 11, 1865, the last public speech of his life, he reviewed his plan of reconstruction, stating what he had done and why he did it. He explained how unwise it would be to reject and spurn the loyal people of the South in their endeavors to aid in bringing back the erring states into the Union. "It

The Wade-Davis manifesto

Lincoln's last speech

may be my duty," were his final words, "to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper." What Mr. Lincoln meant by the "new announcement" was never known. Four days after making this speech the great President was dead.

THE NEW PRESIDENT AND THE OLD PLAN

Of all our Presidents who rose from the humbler walks of life, the most notable example was Andrew Johnson. He was the third accidental President, the third also to be born in North Carolina and elected from Tennessee. As a youth Johnson belonged to the class of "poor whites" in the South, a class whose social standing was scarcely above that of the slave. Besides having this disadvantage, Johnson was illiterate. A tailor by trade, he worked industriously and picked up the little knowledge within his reach. When married, he was scarcely able to read; his wife became his first and only teacher, and he soon acquired a fair working education. He was a coarse, honest, powerful personality. After becoming interested in politics, he served successively as member of the Tennessee state legislature, member of the United States House of Representatives (1843-53), governor of Tennessee, and member of the United States Senate. Here we find him at the outbreak of the war; and he alone, of the twenty-two senators from the seceded states, remained true to the Union. Thus Johnson attracted the attention of the country and especially of Lincoln, who made him military governor of Tennessee.

Johnson's patriotism was unquestioned, and at times his courage rose to the heroic. But to discretion, the better part of valor, he was a stranger. He was pugnacious and egotistical; "he seemed to enjoy combat and continued to fight after he was beaten without knowing he was beaten."¹ In ordinary times Johnson might have made a good President. But the times were inauspicious. The agitation of the people over reconstruction was scarcely less marked than during the war, and, moreover, the machinery of government had been thrown out of balance by the death of Lincoln. Among public men of the time, it would have been difficult to find a man less fitted for the ponderous duties of the great office than was this belligerent, egotistical, tactless man from Tennessee.

Early life of
Andrew
Johnson

His
character

¹ *Side Lights*, Series II, p. 186.

Now in the midst of the strife over reconstruction Andrew Johnson became President of the United States. Twice before had the Vice President succeeded to the chief office, and in each case the policy of the government had been radically changed. That the same would again occur seemed evident from the earliest utterances of the new President. In the first weeks of his presidency he breathed out threatenings against the leaders of the rebellion. What a contrast with the attitude of the humane Lincoln! The great Republican newspapers of the North, the *Philadelphia Press*, the *New York Tribune*, and many others, lauded the new President to the skies. One senator said, "Lincoln would have dealt with the rebels as an indulgent father . . . Johnson will deal with them more like a stern and incorruptible judge . . . the scepter has passed from a hand of flesh to a hand of iron."¹

But a change came over the mind of the newly installed President. Only a few weeks passed before he veered about in his attitude toward the South, and seemed ready to go as far as Lincoln had ever gone in his efforts at conciliation. The change in Johnson is supposed to have been wrought by the influence of Seward, whom he retained as secretary of state. The wounds received by Mr. Seward on the night of the assassination of Lincoln were at first thought to be fatal. For days he hovered between life and death. Then he began to improve, and so rapid was his recovery that in a few weeks he again took his place in the Cabinet. Seward did not favor the harsh measures toward the South implied in the threats of Johnson. In magnanimity of soul he was comparable with his fallen chieftain. Johnson came under the subtle power of Seward's mind, and the less yielded to the greater.² The outcome of this coalition was unhappy; but neither foresaw this, and Seward, judged alone from his motives, was never greater in all his great life, never more heroic and admirable.

It must be remembered that for many years before the war, Seward, as champion of the cause of the slave, as the unrelenting political foe of the slaveholders, as the father of Republicanism, was despised from one end of the South to the other. But as the war neared its ending he became an advocate of mild measures toward the South,

Greatness of
Seward

¹ Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War*, I, 23.

² This view was strongly advocated by Mr. Blaine and is doubtless the correct one, though it is quite probable that Johnson's change was partly due to the reasserting of his democratic views.

and he labored with Lincoln for months to make the pathway of the seceded states easy to retrace. While thus engaged, he was attacked on the bed of sickness by a half-crazed sympathizer with disunion, and stabbed and gashed till life was almost gone. Had there been a grain of littleness in Seward's soul, it would now have gained the mastery. But instead of showing resentment, he resumed his place in the Cabinet and advocated the same mild reconstruction plan for which he had labored before. Johnson now took up the thread of reconstruction where it had been broken by the death of Lincoln, and henceforth his attitude was one of conciliation toward the South.

Congress was not in session, and Johnson was easily persuaded to believe that he had power to restore the Southern states to the Union without the aid of Congress.

On the 29th of May, 1865, he issued his great amnesty proclamation extending pardon to almost the entire South, with the exception of the leaders in the rebellion who were designated under thirteen different headings; and most of these exceptions were promised pardon on the condition that they personally seek it.

Johnson's
amnesty

On this same day, May 29, the President issued a second proclamation appointing a provisional governor of North Carolina, who was to reestablish the machinery of government in that state on the basis of the vote of the white citizens who should take the oath required by the amnesty proclamation. In a short time, similar action was taken with regard to other states. By the middle of July all the seceded states except four had taken steps toward setting up governments by the authority of Johnson, and each soon had its legislature at work and everything moving in apparent harmony. It will be remembered that in four states — Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia — "ten per cent governments" had been established under Lincoln's authority; these were now recognized.

What a marvelous achievement! This great problem of reconstruction for which the history of the ages furnished no precedent, which had puzzled the brain of the wisest statesmen, — this vast problem had been completely solved and disposed of in a few weeks by this accidental President who had scarcely learned to read when he reached adult life. Johnson had asked no advice of Congress. He seemed to have forgotten that President Lincoln had found a powerful obstacle to his method of reconstruction in the opposition of the legislative branch. Johnson's egotism led him to

His plan of
reconstruction

believe that he could do what Lincoln had failed to do, and that he was quite competent to perform the work; and he was led to believe that it came within his duty and authority to readmit the seceded states single-handed. He probably expected opposition from the legislative branch, but there is little reason to believe that Johnson meant to defy or to offend Congress, or to alienate the party that had elected him.

It cannot be denied that there was much merit in the plan of Johnson, of which, however, Lincoln and Seward, rather than he, were the authors. John Sherman in his *Recollections* declares the scheme "wise and judicious." Johnson's plan was based on Lincoln's Louisiana plan, but it also contained many features of the congressional bill that Lincoln had refused to sign the year before. By this plan a state was to be restored to the Union, after it had abolished slavery, repudiated any debt incurred in aid of rebellion, and ratified the thirteenth amendment. Johnson's patriotism and sincerity could not be questioned, and there is every reason to believe that he expected that the country would accept the work he had done, in spite of some opposition and criticism that might arise in Congress. Through Secretary Seward he relieved the provisional governors of their duties and turned the states over to their elected officials. Johnson was now lauded in the South as he had been at the North a few months earlier in the year. One southern governor declared that his policy would bind the South to the Union with cords stronger than triple steel. The ratifying of the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment came through Johnson's efforts at reconstruction.¹

THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

For more than sixty years the Supreme Law of the land had remained unchanged. So slow to change were we, and so tenaciously did we cling to our organic law, that in those sixty-one years every proposed amendment, and they were many, fell to the ground.² Nothing short of a great national upheaval could bring about constitutional changes, and this was furnished by the Civil War, whose permanent results are registered in three amendments to the Constitution. The first of these, the Thirteenth, is very short and deals only with removing slavery forever

¹ *New York Tribune*, December 8, 1865.

² See Ames, *Proposed Amendments*. Another reason for our infrequent amendment of Constitution is, that some features have been changed by custom and others by the decisions of the Federal court in accordance with broad construction. Furthermore, the machinery of amendment is very cumbersome.

from the United States. In sketching the progress of the emancipation idea, we shall go back once more to the years of the Civil War during the life of President Lincoln.

When he issued his Emancipation Proclamation, he intended it only as a preliminary measure, and it applied only to slaves of disloyal masters. He knew that to be effective and nationwide it must be followed by an amendment to the Constitution. When the saving of the Union seemed assured, the great purpose in the mind of the President was that of removing slavery. His messages contain numerous references to this problem. In his annual message of December, 1864, referring to the blacks who had been set free by the proclamation of 1863, or by acts of Congress, he declared that if the people should make it an "executive duty to reënslave such persons, another and not I must be their instrument to perform it." This was a notice that he would resign his office rather than become an instrument in reënsaving the blacks already set free.

As early as April, 1864, the Senate adopted an emancipation amendment; but it failed in the House. As the summer and autumn passed, the Union armies made notable progress; Lincoln was reëlected and the Republican majority was increased in Congress. Arkansas, Louisiana, and Maryland had abolished slavery since the beginning of the year 1864 and Tennessee and Missouri were soon to follow their example. It seemed certain that if the Thirty-eighth Congress refused to reconsider and pass the amendment, the Thirty-ninth would pass it. But the Thirty-eighth did not wait. After some weeks' debate, the measure was passed (119 to 56) amid the greatest excitement. The members of the House then sang the doxology and adjourned. The amendment was then sent to the states and, being ratified by the necessary three fourths, was proclaimed, on December 18, 1865, a part of the Supreme Law of the land.¹ Now came the meeting of the new Congress and the beginning of the greatest political storm in American history.

The Thirty-ninth Congress, meeting December 4, 1865, utterly ignored the work of Johnson. The House, after electing a speaker, entertained a motion made by Thaddeus Stevens, that a joint committee of House and Senate be appointed to inquire into the condition of the seceded states, and passed it without

¹ Among the states ratifying were a few that had seceded and had not yet been readmitted by Congress. These were necessary to make the three fourths. This fact forced the country to one of two conclusions: that the amendment was not legally adopted, or that the restoration of states by Lincoln and Johnson was valid.

debate, before the annual message of the President had been received.¹ The seceded states, whose representatives waited outside for admission, were not even mentioned in the roll call. The Senate, led by Sumner, was equally defiant, and the President soon found himself out of harmony with both houses. Admitting that the Johnson plan of reconstruction was wise in many respects, as is now generally agreed, two reasons are apparent for this action of Congress. The first was ignoble and unworthy the lawmakers of a great nation. It was a feeling of malice toward the people of the South, coupled with a feeling of pique that the President had attempted this great work without consulting them. The second reason, a commendable one which justified their revising of Johnson's work, but not their wantonly offending him, was the fact that some of the southern legislatures, assembled under the Johnson plan, had already passed unjust laws discriminating against the black man. To these may be added a third reason, namely, a fear that the Democrats of the North would join their political fortunes with the South, and at an early day take control of the government. It must be remembered that, in the future, southern representation would be greatly increased through the counting of all the negroes in the census instead of the three-fifths, as provided in the Constitution.

Ruined by the war, the South had won the sympathy of the world, and there were many in the North ready to follow the lead of Lincoln, Seward, and Grant, and deal gently with the fallen foe. During the summer of 1865 the South had a great opportunity to show its appreciation of this and to increase the rising sympathy by dealing gently with the negro. But various Southern states took the opposite course. It is true that the problem of the southern whites was a hard one. The government of millions of illiterate freedmen, ignorant, lazy, and often vicious, required special legislation; but such legislation, instead of being humane, was in some cases harsh and unjust, and this fact threw a chill over the rising sympathy of the North, and gave color to the harsh measures of Congress that were soon to be enacted.

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

With the meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December, 1865, began the most violent political contest the country had yet witnessed. Congress, as stated, ignored the work of the

¹ The annual message, read later to both houses, a temperate and able state paper, made no impression on either house. The message was written by George Bancroft, the historian. The original manuscript in his handwriting is in the Library of Congress.

President and formulated its own plan of reconstruction. The President, whose chief characteristic was pugnacity, refused to bow to the will of Congress; and he made personal attacks in public speeches on the leading men in Congress, implying that they were desirous of having him assassinated.¹ Such a radical departure was this from the usual presidential dignity that it shocked and antagonized the country and served only to unite the President's enemies against him.

The great debates on reconstruction, covering many months, began on December 18, 1865. On that day Thaddeus Stevens, who was henceforth to the end of his life dictator of the House, made a radical, not to say violent, speech, in which he pronounced the South conquered territory whose future condition must depend on the will of the conquerors.² The Senate, led by Charles Sumner and his colleague, Henry Wilson, was equally radical. The Freedmen's Bureau Bill was passed in February, vetoed by the President, but failed to pass over the veto. The act provided for selling land to the freedmen at a very low rate, reserved the property of the late Confederate government for their education, and ordered the President to protect them when necessary.³ A few days after the failure to pass this bill over the veto, President Johnson made a violent speech from the steps of the White House in which he pronounced Congress an irresponsible body and denounced its leaders unsparingly. This speech tended to solidify Congress against him, and when in March he vetoed the Civil Rights Bill, it readily passed over his veto. This law was intended to give the negro the rights of a citizen before the law; but its principles

The Fourteenth Amendment

¹ See McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens*, p. 253.

² **Thaddeus Stevens.** — During the last years of his life, Stevens was not only the leader in Congress, but also the leader of his party throughout the country, and congressional reconstruction was an embodiment of his ideas. So radical and relentless was he that at first Congress was unwilling to follow him, but at length came to do so, except as to his desire to confiscate the property of Confederates. Stevens's attitude toward the South arose less from a malicious feeling than from his extreme principles of democracy, almost approaching the John Brown type; though, unlike Brown, he shrank from bloodshed. His love for the black man seemed to reach an abnormal state, and just before his death he requested that his body be buried in an obscure private cemetery, because the public cemeteries excluded negroes by their charters. Stevens was a man of unusual wit. On one occasion, while speaking in the House, a certain very loquacious member, who always affected great humility and put a low estimate on his own ideas, desired Stevens to yield him the floor for a time. Stevens did so, saying "Now I yield the floor to Mr. —, who will make a few feeble remarks." (McCall, *Stevens*, p. 314.) During the last months of his life, Stevens was so weak that he had to be carried about in a chair. One day he said to the two stalwart men who were carrying him, "Who will carry me when you two strong men are dead and gone?"

³ The Freedmen's Bureau Bill came up again and was passed over the executive veto in July.

were soon embodied in a more permanent form by the passing in June, 1866, of the Fourteenth Amendment. It was believed that merely giving to the black man his freedom would not insure his rights before the law. He must have other safeguards or his freedom would amount to little. The Fourteenth Amendment, therefore, in its first section, defined citizenship in such a way as to make the negro a citizen, and to place him exactly on a footing with the white man in his relation to the Federal government. It also denied to any state the right to abridge the privileges of the citizens of the United States, to deprive them of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or to deprive any within its jurisdiction of equal protection of the law. The second section declared that if any state denies the elective franchise to any portion of its male citizens above twenty-one years of age, its representation in the Lower House of Congress should be reduced in like proportion. The third section excluded from the right to hold office under the government all who, having held a national or state office, had entered into rebellion against the government. The fourth section pronounced on the validity of the public debt, and forbade any state from paying any debt incurred in rebellion, or for any of the emancipated slaves. This left in the power of the state the colored man's right to vote, and any state might disfranchise him if it were willing to pay the penalty of a reduced representation in Congress.

The adoption by the Southern states of this amendment was now made a condition of their readmission to the Union. One of the eleven, Tennessee, took advantage of the opportunity and came back into the Union fold. The other ten held aloof. The summer of 1866 passed, and the autumn brought the election of a new Congress. Never before had there been such a bitter fight during a non-presidential election. Both parties held great national conventions in various cities. The Johnson party consisted of the Democrats and a considerable section of the Republican party led by Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*. President Johnson at this time made his famous tour, which he described as "swinging round the circle," ostensibly to the laying of the corner stone of the Douglas monument in Chicago. But it became a campaigning tour, and the partisan speeches of the President were so violent and so unbecoming the exalted office that he filled as to make every true American blush. He attacked Congress with great fury, declared he would stick

August-
September,
1866

to his "policy," nor be turned from his purpose "though the powers of hell and Thad Stevens and his gang were by," that Stevens and Wendell Phillips should be hanged, and the like. But Johnson's policy was very much discredited at the election. The opposition won a great victory and had a majority of nearly three to one in the next House.

Had Johnson, on learning the result of the election, bowed himself to his master, the people, with "Thy will be done," he might have regained much that he had lost, and his name might now have a meaning in history that it can never have. But Johnson still showed fight; he clung to his plan, and the Southern states took courage. They seemed to think that he would win in the end, and the entire ten deliberately rejected the Fourteenth Amendment.

Congress regarded this as a defiance of its power and a challenge to battle. The recent election was looked upon as an approval by the people of its plans, and henceforth its dealings with the South were drastic and merciless. It was now evident that the radicals meant to reconstruct the South over again under the supervision of the army directed by Congress and to build up a Republican party in the South by enfranchising the negro. That this was the aim of Congress was acknowledged by such leaders as Sumner, Stevens, and Wade.¹ In February, 1867, Stevens moved in the House the "Great Reconstruction Act" which provided that the ten states not yet admitted be divided into five military districts, into each of which should be sent an officer with an army to supplant the civil government. The bill was passed over the President's veto on the 2d of March and two days later the Thirty-ninth Congress expired. But instead of taking the usual recess of nine months, the new Congress met at the moment the old expired, in the fear that the President, if left alone, would not properly carry out its desires.

This reconstruction act, with a supplementary one passed later in March, provided that the military governor of each district make a registration of all the male citizens of each state, submit to them a test oath, and call for a constitutional convention, the delegates to be elected by those who should take the oath, both white and black. If a state constitution so framed should conform with the national Constitution, should be ratified by a majority of the voters of the state, and be approved by Congress, the state would thereupon be readmitted to the

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, p. 633.

Union, after its legislature had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.

Thus the Southern states were placed under military rule.¹ order was again restored, and most of them at length proceeded to comply with the exactions of Congress. Within a year and a half after the military occupation of the South seven of the ten states had complied with the conditions and were readmitted to representation in Congress, each having ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, which became a part of the Constitution in July, 1868. Three states, however, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, still held aloof and thereby denied themselves the privilege of taking part in the presidential election of 1868.

The Southern states that ratified the Fourteenth Amendment had done so through the newly built-up Republican party, composed chiefly of negroes in those states. But the northern radicals, fearing that the Republican party in the South, which depended on the negro vote, would be insecure when the whites again gained control, and believing that the ballot would be a permanent means of protection in the hands of the blacks, now determined that the right of the negro to vote should not be left with the states at all. This idea took shape in the Fifteenth Amendment, which denied to Congress or to any state the power to disfranchise a man on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This amendment passed both houses in February, 1869, and the three states that had not yet been admitted were now required to ratify it, as well as the Fourteenth, as a condition of their admission. This they eventually did, and before the close of the year 1870 all had been reinstated, and the Fifteenth Amendment was part of the Constitution.²

THE CARPETBAGGERS — THE RACE QUESTION

Congressional reconstruction was thorough, drastic, merciless; a study of it enlists our sympathies with the South. The governments it set up were all temporary, and during their short existence the most corrupt in the annals of the United States. Had it not been for the summary negro laws made by some of the

¹ The five districts were put under the respective commands of Generals Schofield, Sickles, Pope, Ord, and Sheridan (who was soon supplanted by Hancock). They were appointed by the President with the advice of General Grant.

² Georgia, however, had forfeited its rights by pronouncing the negro ineligible to hold office. The state was obliged to repeal this law, and it was January, 1871, before it was finally readmitted.

Southern states in 1865, and the abusive violence of President Johnson, public opinion at the North would not have sustained Congress in its methods of procedure. It is true that something more was necessary to be done for the black man than merely to set him free. It seemed needful that he be protected, for a time at least, by the national arm. This was effected by congressional reconstruction, and the result was a series of milder negro laws in the Southern states and the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the national Constitution. Aside from this, congressional reconstruction left no permanent results, and the expediency of adopting the two amendments is at this day seriously questioned,¹ and, whatever their merits, they have practically ceased to be operative in the South. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, it will be remembered, deal only with the states and do not protect the individual voter from local violence while casting his ballot. For such protection the negro must still depend solely on the state in which he resides. If it refuses to protect him, he has no redress.

The governments set up during those days were scandalous beyond precedent. The old political leaders were not yet permitted to take part in the state governments. The newly enfranchised freedmen were utterly unfit to take the lead,² and the result was that a class of unscrupulous adventurers from the North, packing up their goods in a carpetbag, as it was said, went to the South, won the negro voters by their blandishments, and soon had the state governments under their control. The state treasuries were plundered and bonds were issued increasing the state debts to an alarming degree. In Louisiana the public debt rose from ten to fifty million dollars in the few years of carpet-bag government; in Alabama it increased over thirty million; in Georgia nearly fifty million.³ These are but samples of all. The increase indicated no public improvements — only theft. Taxes rose to a point beyond the ability of the people to pay. In Mississippi six hundred and forty thousand acres, one fifth of the state, were forfeited for taxes. In South Carolina twenty-

¹ Mr. Blaine, Mr. John Sherman, and most of the leading Republicans of the period following the war agree that the Fifteenth Amendment was an unwise measure. See Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, p. 418, and Sherman, *Recollections*, Vol. I, p. 450.

² The ignorance of great numbers of the negroes was truly pathetic. Many of them were astonished to discover that they would still be obliged to work for a living; misled by northern whites, great numbers wandered about expecting the government to give each family "forty acres and a mule." Sharpers sold them painted sticks for a few dollars each, making them believe that by presenting these to the government agents they would make good their claims.

³ Curry, *The South*, p. 231.

six hundred pieces of land were sold for taxes in one county in a single year.¹ The negro voters were easily led into the corrupt business, but the carpetbagger always managed to get the lion's share.² Here and there an ex-Confederate would join the thieving gang for the plunder there was in it. Such were called "scalawags."

The better class of whites stood aghast and helpless at the further impoverishment of their already bankrupt states. Many kept a sullen, bitter silence; but the more vicious class formed a secret organization known as the "Ku Klux Klan," with the object of intimidating the black voter. These governments were sustained by the military arm. The Republican party as a whole received the blame. There were many thousands of whites in the South at the close of the war who were in sympathy with the Republican party; but now, almost to a man, they turned against it and joined the Democrats. For many years thereafter the South was known as the "solid" South. Before the war the South was scarcely more Democratic than Whig; and it was not the war that made it solidly Democratic, — it was preëminently the carpetbag governments.³

The carpetbag governments disappeared with the withdrawal of the troops, and the state governments immediately passed again into the hands of the white men.⁴ And this was most natural. Nothing else could possibly have been expected. The white race had labored for centuries to attain self-government. It paid more than 99 per cent of the taxes. Could it be possible that the government of these great communities should be turned over to a landless, penniless, homeless, illiterate race that knew not the first principles of self-government? Such a spectacle is unknown in the world's history. Where the brains and property are on the one side and most of the ignorance and poverty on the other, the former will rule at any cost. The cost in this case was too often violence and fraud; but under the same conditions the same results must have followed in the North, or anywhere else.

The rule of the white man is essential to southern progress.

¹ McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens*, American Statesman Series, p. 303.

² Lalor's *Cyclopedia*, Vol. III, p. 554.

³ And, it may be added, the race question helped to keep it solid so long. See the following pages.

⁴ President Johnson had issued a universal pardon in December, 1868, and in May, 1872, Congress removed the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment except in a few cases.

Can it be said, on general principles, or on the basis of the carpetbag governments, that the black race could have developed the South as it has been developed since the war?

The writer of this volume believes himself to be as nearly without race prejudice as a normal white man can be; but he believes that all thoughtful people will agree that the great development of the South since the war — in art, in science, literature, education, and in material progress — could not have been, except under the domination of the white race.

Then arises the question, Why do not the two races blend and coöperate in matters of government? This brings up the so-called race problem. In two respects the two races have failed to blend — politically and socially.

Nor is it possible to coerce them. It is folly to attempt by legislative acts, or by moral pressure, to force unnatural relations between them. Nature seems to have drawn a line between the races that man has no power to obliterate. In matters of business the two races may have and do have the most cordial relations; but in politics and in the social circle there is a gulf between them, almost as wide now as at the close of the war. For a generation after the war the North reproached the South for its attitude toward the colored man, and in so far as this pertained to violence and abuse, the reproach was just; but in matters of politics the North has come to take practically the same ground as held all along by the South. I make no attempt to explain why the white man will not admit the black man as a partner in governmental affairs; this belongs to the domain of the sociologist; but there are the facts, and the instinct far transcends any party allegiance. It is not a tenet of Democratic doctrine peculiar to that party. The Republicans have reached the same attitude. For many years after the war there were colored Republicans in both houses of Congress; but for more than forty years there has not been one in either House. In recent years the solidity of the South has been broken,¹ but the break came only after the Republicans threw the race question into the background and made other issues paramount. We want no solid South, nor solid North, no dividing on sectional lines in American politics. As above stated, the race question is not a political question, and if the Democrats of the North were to attempt to force their brethren of the South in this matter, the South would soon be solidly Republican.

What, then, of the negro in the future? He can become

¹ Notably in Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

equal to the white man in the government of the South only when he makes himself an equal force in civilization. And perhaps this may never be, for Nature has done more for his pale-faced brother than for him. What, then, of the negro in the future? The best thing remains to be told, namely: The negro is quite safe and his happiness quite secure under the white man's government. The white man at this time makes every law in every southern state, but in no case, aside from those pertaining to the franchise, do the laws discriminate against the black man. There is not a colored child in any city, village, or township of the whole South that has not access to a free public school, established under the white man's government, and supported by his money.¹ So in property rights, the negro stands before the law on a level with his white brother. If the time shall ever come when the negro can make himself an equal force with the white man in matters of government, he need not build the edifice; there it stands ready for him to occupy, there is the supreme law, making him an equal, in Amendments XIII, XIV, XV, to the Constitution—so much for congressional reconstruction. Meantime if he is denied a free ballot, if he is denied a part in making the laws, he still enjoys the same protection under the laws with the men who make them.

There still remains the social problem. In this the line between the races is more tensely drawn than is the political line, and all attempts at coercion are worse than folly. Why should there be any attempt at coercion? Why should not the races remain apart socially and each be content with his own society? Constitutions, congresses, and courts are powerless to change the social relations between the races. Until this natural difference between them is properly recognized, this great problem cannot be solved.

The future of the negro rests chiefly with himself. The great curse of the race to-day is, not the want of a free ballot, but the want of ambition to *do* something and to *be* somebody. Vast numbers of the southern blacks are of the listless, aimless class who aspire to nothing, who are content to live in squalor and ignorance. But there are noble exceptions; there are many southern colored men who are striving to uplift their race to a higher plane of civilization. If the bulk of the race would follow the guidance of such leaders as the late Booker T. Washington, the race question would soon cease to be troublesome.

¹ Except in some localities where schools are not provided for either race. The whites still pay above 90 per cent of the taxes. See Curry, *The South*, p. 238.

A final word must here be said about congressional reconstruction. The process of the "undoing of reconstruction" began with the downfall of the carpetbag governments, continued for more than thirty years, and resulted in the complete restoration of the whites to power throughout the South. The first stage in this process was marked by violence and disorder in the extreme, the most prominent feature being the work of the Ku Klux. This condition led Congress to pass the Enforcement Act of 1870, the Ku Klux Act of 1871, and of an additional Civil Rights Bill in 1875. There were also Federal Elections acts passed in 1871 and 1872. But in spite of all this, every southern state that had seceded turned Democratic, beginning with Tennessee in 1869 and ending with Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina in 1877. But as violence in the South against the black voter always awakened an outcry from the North, a new plan was inaugurated about 1877, which marks the beginning of the second stage of the undoing of reconstruction. During this period, which continued till 1890, the whites kept control chiefly by sharp practice, such as gerrymandering and ballot-box juggling, by which the ignorant blacks were easily managed.¹

Meantime, a series of Supreme Court decisions, if we may anticipate a little more, served to encourage the southern democracy in its methods. A decision of 1873, known as the Slaughter House Cases, to be referred to later, greatly weakened the Fourteenth Amendment as compared with its earlier intended meaning, and other later decisions continued this weakening process. In a decision of 1875 and another in 1882, the Enforcement Act² of 1870 and the Ku Klux Act were rendered null by their being confined to state action, and not to individuals who conspired to deprive negroes of their rights, and in 1883 the Supreme Court pronounced the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional.

During this period the equality of the negro with the white man was recognized in law, though not in fact. But in 1890 the third and last stage of the process of disfranchising the blacks began. In this year Mississippi applied another method without treading on the Fifteenth Amendment. The state adopted

¹ All sorts of devices were employed. Sometimes the negroes were obliged to travel thirty or forty miles to vote, where rivers without bridges were to be crossed, and all the ferries would be tied up on election day. In one town where a poll tax was required, and the Republicans had furnished hundreds of negroes with tax receipts for a certain election, the Democrats managed to have a circus in town on election day, and arranged to have tax receipts accepted for admission. The election booth was deserted by the blacks while the circus was crowded. See Professor W. A. Dunning, *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 88, p. 437.

² All the Force Acts were repealed by a Democratic Congress in 1894.

a constitution which shut out nearly all the black voters by a property and educational test, while the ignorant white voter was taken care of through the "reasonable interpretation" of the constitution clause. South Carolina followed in 1895 with an "understanding" clause to save the illiterate white voter; for the white election officer may, all unconsciously of course, decide that the ignorant negro does not understand the constitution, while the equally ignorant white man does. Louisiana, in 1898, protected the ignorant whites by a new device known as the "Grandfather clause," by which a man could not be denied the right to vote if his father or grandfather was a voter in 1867. North Carolina followed this example in 1900, and other states have since then adopted similar constitutions. These new state constitutions render the Fifteenth Amendment and parts of the Fourteenth almost a dead letter at the South. Some of these constitutions have been tested before the Federal Supreme Court, but in each case the matter has been dismissed for want of jurisdiction,¹ nor have the Republicans of the North shown a disposition to apply the test of the Fourteenth Amendment to reduce the representation of the Southern states in Congress, in consequence of their disfranchising so large a portion of their voters.

IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON

By far the greatest historic trial ever held in the United States was that of Andrew Johnson by the Senate in the spring of 1868, after his impeachment by the House of Representatives. The strife between the President and Congress that began in December, 1865, increased in violence for two and a half years, culminating in the impeachment by the House and the trial by the Senate. Had Lincoln been spared, he might have succeeded in his method of reconstruction. He had won the hearts of the people as few had ever done, and they would probably have sustained him in defiance of Congress. But Johnson had never won the people, and without the aid of Congress he was powerless to carry out his plans. Moreover, Lincoln was a man of infinite tact, and he could parry the blows of his enemies with his consummate wit. Johnson was peculiarly lacking in these respects, and if Congress had the temerity to oppose Lincoln with all his resources of power, would it not more readily set its hand against this accidental President?

¹ See *Williams vs. Mississippi*, 170 U. S. 213; the *Nation*, April 30 and May 7, 1903.

The warfare between the President and Congress went on month by month, and on the 2d of March, 1867, Congress passed over the President's veto, not only the Great Reconstruction Act, which we have noticed, but also the Tenure of Office Bill, Tenure of Office Bill. By this law the power of the March, 1867 President was greatly curtailed. The Constitution provides that many of the more important official appointments of the President must be ratified by the Senate, but all such officials were subject to removal by the President alone. So the practice had continued by common consent from the founding of the government; but the Tenure of Office Act required the consent of the Senate for removals, as well as for appointments. Two reasons are conceivable for the enactment of this law: first, a fear entertained by some that the President designed some attack on the powers and privileges of Congress; and a personal dislike of Johnson, coupled with a desire to curb his power wherever possible.¹

Johnson, on becoming President, had retained the Cabinet of Lincoln. At first the members generally agreed with the new President's policy; but as the contest grew hot, several of them took the side of Congress, and for this reason three of them resigned from the Cabinet in the spring of 1868. The secretary of war, however, Edwin M. Stanton, though condemning the President's course, refused to resign. As the months passed all personal relations ceased between the President and his secretary, and yet the latter clung to his office. In August, 1867, Johnson addressed a note to Stanton requesting his resignation, but Stanton bluntly refused to resign. A week later Johnson suspended him from the office and appointed General Grant secretary *ad interim*. The Tenure of Office Law permitted such action during the recess of Congress, but required the President to make a report of it to the Senate at its next meeting. If the Senate approved his action, it stood; if not, the old official resumed his place.

Accordingly, President Johnson reported his action to the Senate on its meeting in December, and some weeks later he was astonished when that body refused to concur in the removal of Stanton. No explanation can be given for this action of the Senate, except on the ground of personal feeling against Andrew

¹ In other ways the power of the President was also curbed. A "rider" of the Army Appropriation Bill took from him the command of the army and gave it to the general of the army. In January, 1867, a law was passed denying him the power to proclaim general amnesty; but Johnson deemed the law unconstitutional, and went on issuing pardons at his pleasure.

Johnson. There was no public demand for Grant's removal, for at this moment Grant was the most popular man in the United States. Thus Johnson had forced upon him a secretary with whom he was not on speaking terms, and the United States Senate never did a less creditable act. Johnson's anger rose to the boiling point. He even chided General Grant and made a personal enemy of him for giving up the office too readily on hearing of the action of the Senate. Grant had been on very friendly terms with Johnson, and had accompanied him on his "swing-ing round the circle" tour of the West. Had Johnson been possessed of a tithe of the tact of his predecessor, he would have retained the friendship of Grant at any cost. But now with a few reproachful words he ended their friendship, and they were never afterward reconciled.¹ No man in public life ever played into the hands of his enemies more completely than did Andrew Johnson. The majority of the Republican party had been looking forward to making Grant their candidate for President in the approaching campaign, and they were not pleased with the warm friendship between him and their most implacable enemy. They were now highly gratified at this open rupture between the two.

Stanton had resumed his place in the Cabinet. But Johnson brought matters to a crisis when, on the 21st of February, he defied the Senate by dismissing Stanton from the Cabinet. The country was startled at the reckless courage of the President. The Senate was enraged at the defiance of its authority, but it could do nothing except condemn the action of Johnson in a resolution. This it did, as Blaine says, "promptly, resentfully, almost passionately."²

With the House rests the power of impeachment. Many were Johnson's enemies in the House. They had attempted to impeach him the year before, and had failed. Since then they had watched with eagle eye for an opportunity to renew their efforts, and they promptly seized on his quarrel with the Senate. On the same day that Johnson sent to the Senate a notice of Stanton's removal, a resolution was brought before the House that "*Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.*" The resolution was referred to a committee with Stevens at its head. It reported next day and recommended that

¹ The first rent in their friendship, however, had occurred the year before, when Johnson, against Grant's wishes, removed Sheridan from command of a district in the South.

² *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, p. 355.

the resolution pass without debate. Two days, however, were taken for debate, and when the vote was taken the ballot stood 126 for impeachment and 47 against it. Thus the President of the United States, for the first and only time in our history, was legally impeached, and he must now stand before the bar of the Senate and answer for his alleged crimes. The House proceeded to elect seven of its members as prosecutors in the trial that was to follow.¹

Johnson meantime seemed calm and undisturbed by the great movement going on in Congress. He quietly sent to the Senate the name of Thomas Ewing as secretary of war. This for once was a tactful stroke. It had been rumored that Johnson meant to usurp the government and to place it in the hands of the military. But the appointment of Ewing, a man of well-known honesty and patriotism, rendered all such rumors idle and foolish.

THE GREAT TRIAL

The Senate sat in grave silence with Chief Justice Chase as its presiding officer, when, on the 5th of March, 1868, the members of the House filed into the chamber, led by their chosen managers, to present formal charges against the President of the United States. The charges were eleven in number, the most important being the second, charging Mr. Johnson with violating the Constitution by removing Mr. Stanton in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act; the third, charging him with appointing another to fill the office when no vacancy existed; and the eleventh, charging the President with stating in a public speech that the Thirty-ninth Congress was not a lawful body because certain Southern states were not represented.

The most serious of these, and that on which the trial hinged, was the removal of Stanton. Let us look into this for a moment. When the Tenure of Office Bill was pending before the Senate, it was agreed by a majority of the senators that Cabinet officials be not included in the law, but the House insisted that they be included, and won its point; not, however, without bringing out some significant remarks from leading Republican senators. "If a Cabinet officer," said John Sherman, "should attempt to hold his office for a moment beyond the time when he retains the entire confidence of the President, I would not vote to retain

¹ The men elected were Boutwell and Butler of Massachusetts, Williams and Stevens of Pennsylvania, Bingham of Ohio, Wilson of Iowa, and Logan of Illinois. All were intensely hostile to the President.

him." Similar expressions were heard from Senators Fessenden, Edmunds, and others.¹ The attempt of Congress to force upon the President a confidential adviser in whom he had no confidence and whom he personally disliked, furnishes a spectacle unknown before or since in our government. Mr. Blaine, in his *Twenty Years of Congress*, discusses this subject with great fairness, and agrees with every thoughtful student of the subject at this time that Congress was clearly in the wrong and was prompted by ignoble motives. And the more does this appear when it is remembered that the defense sought to show at the trial that one of the objects of Johnson in removing Stanton was to bring the matter before the Supreme Court in order to test the validity of the Tenure of Office Law.

After the formal presentation of the articles of impeachment on March 5, the high court adjourned, and the trial was not properly begun till the 30th. The President's counsel was composed of men of the highest ability. Among them were Benjamin R. Curtis, former justice of the Supreme Court, and William M. Evarts, the eminent New York lawyer.

In the course of the trial Mr. Evarts offered to prove that while the Tenure of Office Act was before President Johnson, it was submitted to the Cabinet, every member of which deemed it unconstitutional, and that the duty of preparing the veto message devolved on Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton. Chief Justice Chase decided to admit this testimony, but a vote of the Senate on its admissibility was called for and a majority decided to exclude it. Again Mr. Evarts offered to show that the entire Cabinet had agreed that the appointees of President Lincoln could not come within the law. Mr. Chase decided that this testimony should be received, but this, too, was cast out by a vote of the Senate. Still again, Evarts offered, on the part of the President, to prove that he and his Cabinet agreed, before the removal of Stanton, that the legality of the Tenure of Office Law should be tested, and that one object in dismissing Stanton was to bring the matter before the Supreme Court. But even this testimony was ruled out by the eminent jury. Certainly this was an extraordinary method of dealing with an accused before a court. When a man, on trial for the alleged violation of a questionable law, offers to show that his motive was to put the law itself on trial, and his offer is rejected, what unbiased observer can believe otherwise than that such rejection is based on prejudice?

¹ See Blaine, Vol. II, p. 352.

Among the witnesses in the great trial were men of national fame, members of the Cabinet, and generals of the army. Gideon Welles and General Sherman each sat for two days under the cross-fire of the contending lawyers. By April 22 the testimony was all in, and then began the fierce oratorical contest of the lawyers. For many days they furnished the country with a rare intellectual treat. Not until May 16 was the Senate ready to vote on the great question — whether the President of the United States should be acquitted or deposed from his office.

There were fifty-four senators, and it would require two thirds, or thirty-six, to convict. Eight of the senators were Democratic, and these, having no quarrel with the President, were sure to vote for his acquittal. So also were four others, who were known as administration Republicans. In addition to the votes of these twelve, seven more were needed, from the regular Republican ranks, to save the President. Many of the senators filed their opinions, giving their reasons, before the voting began; but enough had declined to do this to leave the outcome in doubt. The doubtful class was led by Fessenden of Maine and Trumbull of Illinois.

The voting began on the 16th of May. The occasion was a solemn and momentous one; for the decision on this great question must be a precedent for generations to come. The interest became intense as the moment for taking the first ballot approached. The members of the House were admitted to the floor of the Senate chamber, and the galleries were packed with high officials of the government, foreign ministers, and citizens of every rank from all parts of the country.¹ Outside the chamber surged a multitude unable to gain admittance. Telegraph operators sat at their places ready to flash the news to the uttermost parts of the Union — to the cities, towns, and railroad stations, where eager throngs had gathered to await the verdict of the Senate. Within the chamber the silence was almost painful as the roll call proceeded, and each senator rose in his place and pronounced "guilty," or "not guilty." The first vote was taken on the eleventh impeachment article, as it in a general way embodied all the rest. The result was thirty-five for conviction and nineteen for acquittal. The President therefore escaped deposition by a *single* vote. The Senate then adjourned to the 26th of May. When the Court of Impeachment met again and voted on the second and third articles, the vote stood the same as before. The court

¹ Blaine, Vol. II, p. 374.

then adjourned *sine die*; the remaining articles were never voted on; the great trial was over.

Secretary Stanton immediately resigned his office, and General Schofield was appointed in his stead. Stanton had served
Stanton as secretary of war from the time of his appointment by Lincoln in 1862. Soon after the trial his health failed and the next year he sank into the grave, after being honored by President Grant with an appointment to the Supreme Court.

Next to the President and Stanton the one most concerned in the outcome of the trial was Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio.
Wade Had the trial gone against Johnson, Wade, as president of the Senate, would have been President of the United States until the following spring. He had missed it by a single vote. In our history but two others, Aaron Burr and Samuel J. Tilden, have come so near the great prize and yet missed it. Wade's political life was soon to close; it had reached its zenith and it took a downward turn at the great trial. He had been a powerful leader. For eighteen years his voice had been heard in the Senate chamber. The public awarded him high honor; but now he voted against Johnson and thus for himself. His friends had boasted that, if he could not give his voice for acquittal, he would refrain from voting at all; but he voted nevertheless. The public never fully forgave him. It honored him still, but not so highly as before.¹

The verdict of the Senate was at first a disappointment to the Republican party; but when the excitement of the moment had subsided, a general satisfaction with the verdict was manifest. The people could not wholly forget the noble stand for the Union taken by Andrew Johnson at the beginning of the war. They remembered, too, that, with all his faults, Johnson had risen of his own force from the lowest depths of society, and such a record is the highest passport to public esteem in America. Nor could the belief be eradicated from the public mind that the trial was not altogether a fair one, that many of the members of Congress were unconsciously prejudiced against the President. In ordinary criminal cases the members of the jury are required to be without previous personal relations with the accused; but here was a jury the greater part of which had, for a long season, been engaged in a bitter contest with the accused. They were men of the highest training and education, but this did not lift them

¹ Within the same week Wade was defeated as candidate for Vice President, and these disasters closely followed his defeat for reelection to the Senate.

above the common weaknesses of humanity. Education gives a man greater self-control and develops any talent with which nature has endowed him; but it cannot implant new virtues, nor train out of a man the common follies of our nature. This highly cultured jury was in some measure partial and prejudiced, simply because perhaps it could not help being so.

The real offense of the President consisted, not in the removal of Stanton nor in anything written in the impeachment articles, but in his persistent, exasperating opposition of the party that gave him his power.¹ Johnson had a legal, if not a moral, right to his course concerning the negro and the South; but as the enemies he made by taking this course could not reach him on account of it, they arraigned him on a technicality which under other conditions would have attracted little attention. The most gratifying fact in connection with the great trial is that during its progress there was no popular uprising, no disturbance of the social and business relations of the country, no evidence that the quiet reign of law would be disturbed whatever the result of the trial.

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¹ See the *Nation*, Vol. VI, p. 384; Blaine, Vol. II, p. 377.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PERIOD OF RECUPERATION

PEACE, the long-desired, can hardly be said to have spread her white wings over the land until reconstruction had been practically accomplished and the trial of Johnson was over. Now at last the great strife was ended, and though the bitterness engendered by it could only wear away with the passing of the generation, every one felt that, as the one and only cause of internecine war had been removed, never again would America witness the scenes of the past eight years. Before reconstruction had been fully accomplished the country turned to its quadrennial duty of electing a President.

GRANT AND THE ELECTION OF 1868

Four days after the deciding vote in the trial of Johnson had been cast, the national Republican convention met in Chicago. For the first place on the ticket there was no contest, as the whole party was agreed in its choice of the valiant commander who had won first honors on the battle field. Not only had General Grant distinguished himself in war, but during the Johnson administration, though his position was a trying one, he had borne himself with discretion and dignity. So reticent had Grant been in regard to politics that for some time after the close of hostilities his political bias was unknown. He had voted for James Buchanan in 1856, and the rumor gained currency that the Democrats hoped to make him their candidate in 1868.¹ But Grant indicated that his sympathies were with the Republicans. On the first ballot Grant was named by a unanimous vote. For Vice President the convention named Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, speaker of the House of Representatives.

¹ Colonel A. K. McClure declares that Grant before the war was a radical proslavery Democrat, not even so liberal as Douglas, and that he never voted the Republican ticket before he became President. *Our Presidents*, p. 202. It was Colonel Forney of the *Philadelphia Press* who persuaded Grant to permit the Republicans, rather than the Democrats, to make him their candidate.

The platform adopted by the convention made two points conspicuous — a pledge in substance, though not in so many words, to pay the public debt in coin, and a demand for equal suffrage for white and black men in the South. The first of these, concerning the finances, was highly commendable, though it was not attained without a struggle. In Indiana and several western states the Republicans had pronounced for payment in greenbacks. Even Thaddeus Stevens opposed his party on this subject and John Sherman hedged on the money question and embraced some of the heresies of the "rag money" faction. Republican speakers in the coming campaign were warned not to say anything to offend the greenback men.¹ But the convention made the pledge, and carried it out to the letter in the following years. But the other plank was highly discreditable to the party. It imposed negro suffrage on the South (the Fifteenth Amendment being not yet adopted) and left the matter to be decided by the various states in the North. "This was an evasion of duty quite unworthy the Republican party," says Mr. Blaine, and "carried with it an element of deception."² It was a strange proceeding to attempt to force the South to stand upon a higher plane of political virtue than the North itself was willing to adopt. The object in exempting the Northern states from this condition was to avoid giving offense to a few doubtful states, notably Indiana and California.³ The Republican keynote of the campaign, however, was not found in the platform, but in the laconic phrase, "Let us have peace," from General Grant's letter of acceptance.

The Democratic convention, which met on the 4th of July in New York City, was looked forward to with great interest because of the uncertainty as to what it would do.

Two great questions must be pronounced on: Re-
publican reconstruction, and the payment of the
public debt in specie; and it decided adversely on both. The
platform adopted declared that the portion of the public debt not
payable by express terms in coin "ought to be paid in lawful
money," that is, legal tender notes, which were far below the gold
standard in value; and it pronounced the reconstruction acts
"usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." The
plank on the money question appealed to many who did not hold

Democratic
convention

¹ Oberholtzer, Vol. II, p. 162.

² *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, p. 388.

³ Other Republican states, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, and Kansas had recently rejected negro suffrage.

government bonds; but that on reconstruction was not popular at the North, as the people were weary of the long-drawn-out subject and were unwilling to undo the work now so nearly completed.

The most widely discussed candidates for the nomination were George H. Pendleton, who represented the greenback craze, and Salmon P. Chase, both of Ohio. Chase had first been elected to the Senate by the Democrats, but for many years he had acted with the Republicans. He had resigned from Lincoln's Cabinet in 1864, and was now chief justice of the Federal Supreme Court. Chase had been an aspirant for the Republican nomination at Chicago. Failing to receive it, he was easily persuaded to permit his name to be considered by the Democrats. He remained in Washington, but his brilliant daughter Kate, wife of Senator William Sprague of Rhode Island, attended the convention and made every effort to bring about her father's nomination, but without avail. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, General W. S. Hancock, and Andrew Johnson were also voted for; but after the convention had cast twenty-one ballots without result, there was a sudden stampede for Horatio Seymour of New York, who at that moment sat before the delegates as chairman of the convention. Repeatedly had Mr Seymour declined to permit his name to be considered, and he now reiterated this decision from the chair. But his words were unheeded. On the twenty-second ballot the convention cast a unanimous vote for Seymour. Frank P. Blair of Missouri was then nominated for the vice presidency.

Mr. Seymour was a man of great ability and political sagacity, and was doubtless the most popular man the party could have named. During the war as governor of New York he had vigorously criticised the administration, but he was never violent nor disloyal. Moreover, he was a "hard money" man, and on this point opposed to his party platform. Blair had acted with Lincoln during the war, but now he was a radical Democrat on reconstruction. So extreme were his views that he became a heavy burden for the party to carry. The party was further handicapped by the prominent part taken in the convention by former leaders of the Rebellion, notably Wade Hampton, who had written the plank on reconstruction.

General Grant was elected by 214 votes to 80 for Mr. Seymour. These figures would indicate an overwhelming victory for Grant; but an analysis of the vote was by no means reassuring to the Republicans. Of the eight seceded

The election

states which voted, six cast their ballots for Grant.¹ This was due chiefly to the fact that many of the whites were disfranchised, and that these states were under carpetbag governments. Seymour carried New York, New Jersey, Oregon, and Delaware, and also Maryland, Georgia, and Louisiana. Had all the Southern states voted, and had the South been solidly Democratic, as it came to be a few years later, Seymour would have been elected President over Grant. But this was not all. Seymour came within less than a thousand votes of winning in Indiana and was but 514 below Grant in California, while the Republican majorities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other Northern states were very small. These facts were startling to the Republicans, and convinced them that henceforth, as in ante-bellum days, they would have to reckon with a powerful rival in the Democratic party. The two chief causes of this unexpected showing of the Democrats were, that thousands of their number who had acted with the "Union" party during the war had now returned to their old allegiance, and that a considerable number of Republicans, who had followed President Johnson and had opposed congressional reconstruction, now found a permanent home in the Democratic fold.

OPENING OF A NEW ERA

Many of our Presidents have been men with military records; but only once before the election of Grant — just twenty years before — had the people chosen a chief magistrate on account of a purely military record. General Grant's inaugural address, in which he said that he accepted the responsibilities of the great office without fear, and his subsequent choosing of a Cabinet, revealed his profound ignorance of the great work that lay before him. To his friends and to the party leaders Grant had refused to divulge the names of his prospective Cabinet and when on March 5 the list was printed the country was astonished. For secretary of state, he chose his friend and fellow townsman from Galena, Illinois, Elihu B. Washburn, a man utterly ignorant of the duties of the great office so ably managed by Seward during the past eight years. A week later Washburn resigned and became minister to France. Later Grant had the naïve simplicity, some would say effrontery, to acknowledge that he had appointed Washburn secretary of

¹ As stated in the preceding chapter, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas did not vote in this election.

state merely as a "compliment" and had not intended him to remain in the office! Hamilton Fish of New York became secretary of state. For secretary of the treasury the President appointed A. T. Stewart, the New York merchant prince. But it was found that Mr. Stewart was ineligible because engaged in foreign commerce. Grant requested Congress to remove the disability. The request was not granted and George S. Boutwell was chosen for the treasury.

The one appointment that elicited general praise was that of E. R. Hoar, attorney general; another that received many favorable comments was that of Governor Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, who became secretary of the interior. The new Cabinet on the whole was weak. Many others of Grant's early appointments, including his and his wife's relatives, were glaringly unfit.

The House was organized on March 4, 1869, according to the law passed two years before, and James G. Blaine was elected speaker. The Senate easily maintained its standard of ability. Among its leading members were Carl Schurz, newly elected from Missouri; Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, former Vice President; Henry Wilson, a future Vice President; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, Allan G. Thurman, the sturdy Ohio Democrat who came to be called the "Old Roman," John Sherman, Charles Sumner, Jonathan Trumbull, W. P. Fessenden, and William G. Brownlow, the erratic fighting parson of Tennessee.

One of the first acts of this Congress was to modify the Tenure of Office Act to an extent amounting almost to its repeal, — an acknowledgment that the law was a purely partisan one. Affairs at the South were still in an unsettled condition, and, as briefly stated on a preceding page, Congress passed laws known as "force bills," aimed chiefly at Ku Klux interference with elections in the South. The first of these, passed in May, 1870, provided that in cities of more than twenty thousand inhabitants the elections be controlled by Federal supervisors. The second, passed in April, 1871, was far more sweeping. It resembled the famous Sedition Law of 1798.¹ It made the depriving of any one of the rights of citizenship, as defined in the Fourteenth Amendment, a penal offense, held the state responsible for the enforcement of that Amendment, authorized the President, for a specified time, to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and to suppress any insurrection by the army and navy of the United States. But for some years longer elec-

¹ Alexander Johnson, *American Politics*, p. 214.

tion troubles at the South continued to disturb the whole country, and President Grant was frequently called on to quell the riots and to decide the contests. In some states "Returning Boards" had been created by law, and these boards were empowered to sit in judgment on all election returns. They were destined to attract great attention a few years later, at the disputed presidential election of 1876.

Meantime the Federal Supreme Court was again making itself felt in the land. Three decisions of great national importance were made at this period. The first of these, the famous *Texas vs. White* case of 1868,¹ while upholding certain phases of congressional reconstruction, pronounced that the seceding states had not been out of the Union, and that the act of secession was void. The second, in 1869, was a decision against the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Law of 1862. In this famous case, *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, Chief Justice Chase pronounced unconstitutional a portion of the law by which he had, as secretary of the treasury, issued the greenbacks eight years before. The decision pronounced against the validity of the law with reference to preëxisting debts. But this decision was not permitted to stand. Two new justices having been appointed, the matter came before the court again the next year and the decision was reversed.² Finally, the "Slaughter House" cases of 1873 concerning the chartering of a company by the government of Louisiana practically set state rights on the same footing as that commonly understood at the North before the war, and decidedly limited the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment. These decisions were very conservative in their tendencies, and they strongly emphasize what I have stated on a preceding page — that the Civil War wrought little permanent change in the civil government of the nation, or even in the relation of the states to the Union.

Soon after Grant became President he conceived the project of annexing the Dominican Republic, comprising the eastern portion of the island of San Domingo, to the United States. But the scheme was opposed by most of the leading statesmen of the party, and it came to naught. One effect of the Dominican matter was a complete alienation between Grant and Senator Sumner, who had led the opposition to annexation. They were henceforth personal enemies.³

¹ See 7 Wall. 700.

² See McPherson, *Hand-Book for 1871-1872*, p. 53.

³ Sumner was in the end greatly humiliated by being removed, through Grant's influence, from the head of the Senate committee on foreign affairs, and by the recall of his personal friend, John Lothrop Motley, from the post as minister to England.

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS

In our foreign relations the chief legacy of the war was a bad feeling throughout the North against England and the unsettled dispute with that country concerning the depredations of the reckless *Alabama* and her reckless sisters. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, our minister at London, protested from the beginning against the building of Confederate cruisers in English waters, and in 1865 he made to Earl Russell an official statement of the number and tonnage of the United States vessels transferred to the British flag on account of the depredations of the southern cruisers. The earl answered in the following decisive language: "Her Majesty's government must decline either to make reparation and compensation for the captures made by the *Alabama*, or to refer the question to any foreign state." Secretary Seward some time later sent a list of the claims for which the British government would be held responsible. The British government still refused to be moved; but when, in 1868, Mr. Adams's successor concluded a treaty with that government which ignored the Alabama claims, providing only for a commission to settle private claims of both countries, and that treaty was rejected by the United States Senate by an almost unanimous vote, the English public began to awaken to the fact that there was something serious between the two nations. Senator Sumner had made a most radical speech, in which he put forth the most extravagant claims. He contended that England was responsible not only for the destruction of our shipping, but for our loss in the carrying trade, and even for the prolongation of the war occasioned by the early recognition of the belligerent rights of the South by the British queen. According to Sumner's rating, the British government should pay to the United States some hundreds of millions of dollars.

General Grant, who had now become President, gave no countenance to the preposterous claims of Sumner; but with the more moderate claim of damages for the destruction of our shipping he was in full sympathy. In his annual message of 1870 he recommended that the government assume and pay these claims of American citizens against England, and thus raise the affair to the dignity of a purely international one. The message made a profound impression in England, and moved the Ministry to speedy action. Some weeks later the English minister at Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, proposed a Joint High Commission to sit at Washington and discuss pending questions. The offer

was accepted and this commission, composed of men of the highest standing in the two countries, began its sittings early in March, 1871.¹

For two reasons the British were now anxious for an early settlement: to preclude all danger of hostilities with the United States, and, as Lord Granville said in the House of Lords, to prepare for "possible complications in Europe" that might arise from the Franco-Prussian War. If England had become embroiled in a European war with the Alabama claims unsettled, she could hardly have expected the United States to take the trouble to prevent the building in American waters of vessels hostile to her.

The Joint High Commission labored for two months and brought forth the Treaty of Washington, which was ratified by the Senate in May, by the British government in June, and was proclaimed in force by President Grant on the 4th of July. The treaty provided not only for the settlement of the Alabama claims, but also for the settlement of the northwestern boundary of the United States which had been but vaguely defined in the Treaty of 1847, and for the claims of Canada against the United States concerning the fisheries.² The Alabama claims were to be decided by a tribunal of five men to meet at Geneva, Switzerland, the fisheries dispute by a commission to meet at Halifax, and the boundary between the United States and British Columbia was to be referred to the Emperor of Germany.

Of the five men who were to form the Court of Arbitration at Geneva, one each was to be appointed by the President of the United States, the Queen of England, the King of Italy, the Emperor of Brazil, and the President of the Swiss Republic. President Grant appointed Charles Francis Adams, Queen Victoria appointed Sir Alexander Cockburn, lord chief justice of England, the King of Italy named Count Sclopis, whose reputation as a jurist and a man of letters extended throughout Europe, while the Emperor of Brazil appointed the Viscount d'Itajubá, and the Swiss President chose Jacques Staempfli. These men were all of great eminence. They began their sittings on December 15, 1871. The claims at first put forth by the agent of the United

¹ The United States was represented by Hamilton Fish, secretary of state; Robert C. Schenck, minister to England; Samuel Nelson, F. R. Hoar, and G. H. Williams. Great Britain was represented by Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Professor Bernard, who held the chair of international law at Oxford.

² See McPherson, *Hand-Book*, p. 87.

States were very extravagant, and included the "indirect claims" for consequential damages, such as Mr. Sumner had advanced in his Senate speech. Mr. Gladstone declared that the "indirect claims" did not come within the tribunal's jurisdiction, and the whole British press broke out fiercely against the American proposal. While the two nations were in a furor of excitement over the matter, the Geneva tribunal ended the suspense by deciding in favor of the British view, namely, that only the claims for actual destruction of property by English-built Confederate cruisers could be considered.

The real work of the tribunal continued for many months, and was not completed until the following September. The decision was that the British government had failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations, and that it pay the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold. The only negative vote cast was that of Chief Justice Cockburn, who refused also to sign the article when it was completed. The British public was greatly displeased with the verdict; but the Ministry accepted it, and the troublesome question was settled. The Americans rejoiced, not on account of the money to be paid, but over the moral victory, as the verdict pronounced England in the wrong throughout the long controversy. This Alabama Affair has been pronounced the most unfortunate blunder in the history of the British Monarchy.¹

The decision of the German Emperor with regard to the boundary dispute in the Northwest was in favor of the United States, giving us a group of small islands that had been claimed by both countries. This left the United States, for the first time after the close of the Revolution, as stated by President Grant, without a boundary dispute with Great Britain.²

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

No party was ever founded on purer motives than was the Republican party, and no President ever entered on the great office with nobler intentions than did General Grant. But no party can long have a monopoly of government without the rise of demagogues and corruptionists within its ranks. Especially is this true at a time of great social upheaval like civil war, when offices are multiplied and when the opposing rival becomes so

¹ *The Nation*, Vol. XIV, p. 84.

² The fisheries question was not disposed of for some years after this. It will be considered later.

weak that its protesting voice can be heard but faintly. The Republican party proved no exception to the rule. Its achievements during the first years of its power were great. It had left a record in American annals that cannot be effaced, but the cankerworm had begun its work. The political jobber had gained his seat in the inner councils of the nation; and now, to his great advantage, the people had chosen a President who, though a true soldier, was, like Zachary Taylor, only a soldier, a President who wanted the knowledge and capacity for administration. Grant had little appreciation of men of fine ethical principles or nobility of character. Designing politicians and spoils hunters gained complete control over him and shaped his course. The two best and ablest men in the Cabinet, Hoar and Cox, refused to permit the debauching of their departments by the wily spoilsman and both were forced out of the Cabinet before the end of 1870.

Before the close of Grant's first term there was widespread demoralization in high government circles. Few if any suspected Grant of conniving at wrong doing, but many believed that his simplicity of nature, his want of capacity to curb the wily politician in search of plunder, was the chief obstacle to good government. The Force Bill, which practically suspended civil government in parts of the South, also helped to cause a reaction in the North; and a very respectable element in the Republican party opposed the renomination of Grant for a second term. In this class of anti-Grant Republicans we find such leaders as Seward, Greeley, and Charles A. Dana of New York; Lyman Trumbull and David Davis of Illinois; Chase and Stanley Matthews and Thomas Ewing of Ohio; Governor Curtin and A. K. McClure of Pennsylvania; Charles Francis Adams, Senator Sumner, Carl Schurz, General Banks, Cassius M. Clay, Justice Field, and many others. These men had many followers, and were supported by such great dailies as the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Cincinnati Commercial*. The great body of the Republican party, however, determined to renominate Grant, whereupon a majority of the opposing faction broke away from the party, put its own ticket in the field, and called itself the Liberal Republican party. The national movement was preceded by a local movement in Missouri, where the liberals, led by Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown, joining the Democrats, won a victory over the radicals who favored retaining the disabilities of the ex-Confederates. The Missouri liberals were soon joined by a similar faction in New York and other states,

and thus the anti-Grant or Liberal Republican party came into existence.

When the Liberals saw that the nomination of Grant by the regular party was inevitable, they called a national convention, to meet at Cincinnati on the 1st of May, 1872.¹ The Liberal convention, proposal met with a wide response, and on the appointed day the city on the Ohio witnessed a great gathering, a huge mass meeting rather than a convention. Much of the best Republican brains was represented, but the crowd was a motley one; the members had not been sent, they had come of their own accord. They represented every shade of political opinion, and were of the same mind in one thing only — opposition to Grant. Had the regular party consented to drop Grant, the Liberal movement would doubtless have dissolved;² but as this could not be, they proceeded with their work. Their platform pronounced against civic corruption and the continued disabilities of the ex-Confederates, and, as a direct thrust at Grant, declared that no President should be a candidate for re-election.³ On the tariff they could not agree, and they waived the issue. The momentous question was the choice of a candidate for the presidency. On this point success or failure would probably turn. It was known that the new party could not win alone; but there was a tacit understanding that the Democrats would indorse its nominees if acceptable to them. Much, therefore, depended on the choice of the Liberal convention.

The leading name before the convention was that of Charles Francis Adams. Adams was a finished statesman. He had displayed high diplomatic skill as minister to England during the war, and, moreover, he belonged to the only family in America that had given two Presidents to the United States. But Adams, like his father and grandfather, was wanting in tact and in the winning arts of the politician; and, true to his ancestral precedents, he made a foolish blunder at the moment when this convention seemed about to name him for the highest office in the land. He telegraphed his managers to "take him out of that crowd" rather than make any pledges for his honesty. There were men in "that crowd" who resented the apparent reflection and cast their ballots in another direction. The other leading candidates were Lyman Trumbull, David Davis, and Horace Greeley. Any one of the first three would have been agreeable to the Democrats. The convention nominated the fourth.

¹ The call was made by the Missouri Liberals.

² The *Nation*, Vol. XV, p. 20.

³ McPherson, p. 207.

HORACE GREELEY

The great editor of the *New York Tribune* was the most conspicuous man in the country next to President Grant; and while Grant had but recently loomed first upon the military, then upon the political, horizon with the suddenness of a meteor, Greeley's fame had shone with a steady light for a generation. While Grant was yet a boy in knickerbockers on his father's farm in southern Ohio, Greeley was experimenting in the nation's metropolis with the first one-cent daily ever issued; while Grant was an unknown cadet at West Point, Greeley was in the forefront of the memorable political battle of 1840; and while Grant was hauling cordwood and hoeing potatoes in Missouri, already a middle-aged man, and perhaps without a dream of future greatness, Greeley was the proprietor of the leading American newspaper and the acknowledged prince of American editors.

Grant and
Greeley

Horace Greeley, the son of a farmer, was born in New Hampshire in 1811. As a well-grown boy we find him in the printing business in Erie, Pennsylvania. At length, determined to strike out in the great world and win for himself the best that his talents could procure, he went to the city of New York. After a long journey on foot and on canal boats he reached the metropolis with ambition in his soul and nothing in his pocket; to become, after years of toil and discouragement, the leading editor in the city and the nation.

For many years Greeley had been in the midst of every political battle in his state and in the nation. His pen was often caustic, always powerful; his courage never faltered, but he often displayed a singular lack of wisdom at a critical moment. So outspoken had he been on public questions that he had made enemies on every side. Herein lay his weakness as a candidate. He could not hope to be elected without the aid of the Democratic party, and he had been the implacable foe of that party for a generation. Scarcely a leading man in the party had escaped the bitter castigation of his pen. Could this party now make this man their standard bearer in the great contest?

The nomination of Greeley at Cincinnati stunned the Democracy of the North.¹ Any other public man would have suited them better. For a time the opposition to him was formidable; but as the weeks passed and the leaders perceived the hopeless-

¹ Greeley was more popular at the South because of his mild attitude on reconstruction, and because he had signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis.

ness of their cause, except they joined with the Liberals, it was decided to swallow the medicine, however bitter. Accordingly, the Democratic convention, which met in July at Baltimore, nominated Greeley and B. Gratz Brown, the Liberal Republican candidates.¹

The Republicans had met in Philadelphia, and had renominated Grant by a unanimous vote. Henry Wilson, the Massachusetts senator, was named for Vice President.²

Election of Grant The campaign partook of the character of that of 1840, when Greeley first rose to public notice. The Greeley orators rung many changes on Grant's civic incapacity, his nepotism in public appointments, and on the corrupt carpet-bag governments of the South. The Grant supporters declared that if Greeley were elected, it would be a Democratic victory, as the great majority of his supporters came from that party; that it would be turning the government over to the unregenerate Democracy. It was dangerous, they argued, to intrust the hard-won fruits of the war to the party that but eight years before had pronounced the war a failure, the party that was unfriendly to the freedman and to the last three amendments. For many years after the war the Republicans made much of "waving the bloody shirt," of denouncing all Democrats as rebels, and of appropriating to themselves all the glory of the war. They were strangely silent on the facts that vast numbers of the northern soldiers, including such leaders as Hancock, Sherman, Meade, McClellan, and Buell, were Democrats; also that Lincoln could never have been nominated a second time but for the aid of Democrats.³ Greeley was hopeful until the early state elections pointed unerringly to the reelection of Grant. The election came, and Grant swept the country overwhelmingly, receiving the votes of every state in the North, and of all but six in the South. Since the reelection of Monroe in 1820, but twice (in 1852 and in 1864) had there been such a sweeping victory. Greeley's elements of weakness were two: tens of thousands of old-time Democrats refused to support him and remained away from the polls; and a great many Republicans, who were at first in full sympathy with the Liberals, finding themselves in Democratic company,

¹ A small faction of the party, however, who called themselves "the Straightouts," refused to support Greeley, met in convention at Louisville, and nominated Charles O'Connor and John Quincy Adams. This party made little showing in the election.

² Wilson's origin was as obscure as that of Lincoln or of Andrew Johnson. He was the son of an Irish farm laborer named Colbath, and his own name was Jeremiah Jones Colbath. Not liking his name, he had it changed by the state legislature to Henry Wilson.

³ McElroy, *Grover Cleveland*, Vol. I, p. 73.

hastened before election day to get back into the Republican fold.

Greeley's defeat came upon him with a shock. It was not simply the defeat, for that was not unexpected, even by him, but the overwhelming vastness of it, that was crushing. Greeley had come to believe, from his great editorial success and from his influence in national councils, that he was one of the most highly honored among his countrymen; and now to have his idol shattered at one fell blow was more than his sensitive nature could endure. He could not see that thousands of his friends had voted against him because they feared that a change in the government at that time would not be well for the country, and that they were still his friends. He did not foresee that his countrymen, for generations after he was gone, would honor his memory as one of the ablest and noblest men of his times. He saw only the result of the election, and it crushed him. Moreover, the last weeks of the campaign he spent at the bedside of his dying wife, the companion of his long struggles. Her death occurred just before the election, and the double blow proved too heavy. Greeley's reason was dethroned, and he was sent to an insane asylum. Ere the month that brought his great defeat had closed — while the shouts of victory for his successful rival were still resounding and the bonfires were still burning — Horace Greeley was dead. The whole nation mourned at the sad end of Greeley, one of the noblest of men with all his political antagonisms; and men of every political shade, including President Grant, stood sorrowing about the grave when his body was laid to rest.

Death of
Greeley

NATIONAL DISGRACE

The sweeping victory of Grant in 1872 gave the Republican party a feeling of security, a belief that it was more strongly intrenched in power than ever before. This condition was an unwholesome one, and it led the party more than ever to disregard the accusations of corruption that had been so freely made in the campaign. The prophecies of evil, freely made by the Democrats, were soon amply justified. General Grant proved utterly incapable of cleaning the Augean stables, and during his second term the demoralization in public life was more widespread than ever before in the history of the government. If Grant were not utterly without a knowledge of the responsibilities of the great office, he was hopelessly egotistical. This

was shown by his appointing his first Cabinet without consulting any of the leaders of his party. And he maintained this attitude throughout the eight years. Nor was he a good judge of character; the political adventurer could gain his ear as readily as the long-tried statesman of well-known probity, and many of his appointments were made without consultation with his Cabinet. The result was that every branch of the government became infested with men who sought only plunder.

The most notable of the resulting scandals was that known as the *Crédit Mobilier* case. The *Crédit Mobilier* was a corporation, which in 1864 became a company to construct the transcontinental railroad. During the presidential campaign of 1872 the Democratic leaders charged various Republican leaders with holding stock in the *Crédit Mobilier* Company. For members of Congress to be interested in a company whose profits and fortunes depended mainly on friendly acts of Congress was considered highly improper. A searching investigation revealed that the charges were founded on facts. Many reputations were blasted, and two members of the House, Oakes Ames and James Brooks, were severely censured.¹

The "Whiskey Ring" was exposed by Secretary of the Treasury Bristow. In many western towns — St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and others — the manufacturers of whiskey corrupted the government officials, and in two years defrauded the

¹ **The *Crédit Mobilier*.** — The general public never fully understood the *Crédit Mobilier* affair and much of the misinformation persists to this day. The public mind became thoroughly aroused over the "gigantic swindle" as the *New York Herald* pronounced it, and Congress threw over two of its members. The story in brief is as follows:

Oakes Ames, a member of the House from Massachusetts and a rich manufacturer, was a leading figure in the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. He advanced a large sum of his own money and sold stock of the company. To various members of Congress he sold small blocks of stock, not to influence legislation, but rather to aid him in interesting capitalists by showing them that his list of stockholders included well-known public men. If a member was reluctant to buy Ames would offer to hold the stock in his name and even pay for it out of expected dividends. And this he actually did in some cases. Ames was in no sense a criminal. He was indiscreet and tactless in saying orally and by letter that he wanted "more friends in Congress" and that he was placing stock where it would do the "most good." There is no proof that Ames was corrupt in any way, but there is ample evidence that he was a patriot working, injudiciously, in a great cause. The real guilt in this famous case lay with the members of Congress who accepted stock, which they should have refused, and even dividends for stock they had not paid for; and, worst of all, who denied later that they had done so. Thus they made a scapegoat of a man less guilty than themselves. Brooks, who shared the fate of Ames, was less innocent than Ames. Among those whose names have never been cleared of guilt were representatives Schuyler Colfax, H. L. Dawes, John A. Logan, James A. Garfield, William D. Kelley, and Senator Patterson. Ames and Brooks, both aged men, died within a few weeks after their disgrace. See Crawford, *Crédit Mobilier of America*; Rhodes, Vol. VII; Oberholtzer, Vol. II.

government of over \$4,000,000. More than fifty United States officials were arrested, but most of them escaped punishment.

The corrupt practices were not confined to the lower officials. In 1876, Secretary of War W. W. Belknap was accused of offering to sell the control of the post-tradership at Fort Sill, Indian Territory. An investigation followed, and **Belknap** the most glaring frauds were unearthed. Belknap was shown to have received at least \$24,000 by "farming out" contracts. He was speedily impeached by the House of Representatives; but before he could be tried by the Senate, and indeed, a few hours before the impeachment vote was passed, he resigned from the Cabinet, and thus no doubt escaped conviction by the Senate.

Indian affairs were woefully mismanaged during this period. The Indian bureau had its ring of contractors who grew rich by defrauding the government and the Indians. Many of the tribes, entitled to certain supplies by treaty with the government, were systematically defrauded, and they grew discontented and hostile. The disastrous Indian troubles in the Northwest at this time were due chiefly to the gross mismanagement of the Indian bureau. **Indian affairs**

In 1873 the Modocs of Oregon became unmanageable and General Canby, a distinguished officer of the Mexican and Civil wars, was sent to pacify them. With two civilians he met the Modoc chief, Captain Jack, and his attendants, under a flag of truce, when suddenly the Indians opened fire without a word of warning. Canby and one of his companions were killed. A vigorous campaign was then opened against the tribe, and it was soon subdued and the assassins captured. They were tried in a civil court for murder, and three of them, including Captain Jack, were put to death.

The most disastrous Indian battle since the Civil War occurred in June, 1876, on the Little Big Horn River in Montana. The Sioux and other tribes, led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, became hostile and collected a band of several thousand warriors. An army in three divisions was sent against them. Under General Terry, commander of one of the divisions, was General George A. Custer, the noted cavalry leader. Custer, while separated from the main army, with nearly three hundred men, encountered the Indian army and offered battle. The Indians surrounded him in great numbers, and though he and his troops fought bravely, Custer and his whole band perished.¹ **Custer's death**

¹ Only one man, a half-breed scout, escaped alive. The horse "Comanche" also escaped, and was found some miles from the battle ground with seven wounds.

Not all the troublesome questions of the day resulted from executive incapacity. The political turmoils of the South, the remaining legacy of the war and reconstruction, grew out of the opposition to the Force Bill. The southern whites were determined to terrorize the black voters and to drive the northern squatters from the country. To do this bands of masked men rode through the country by night and spread terror on every hand. But there were other causes of disorder. In Arkansas two of the carpetbaggers, Brooks and Baxter, both claiming to be Republicans, fought over the governorship. The struggle covered two years; finally President Grant, through his attorney general, settled the matter in favor of Baxter.

Louisiana was the state to suffer most and longest through political disorders. Here also the fight began between Republican factions, but it soon became a war between the
War in Louisiana Republicans and the Democrats. W. P. Kellogg, the Republican governor, was accused of running the state into ruinous debt, and his election was disputed. In August, 1874, an outbreak in the Red River Parish resulted in the killing of six Republican officials. President Grant was about to send troops when the defeated candidate for lieutenant governor, Mr. D. B. Penn, in the absence of Mr. McEnery, the defeated candidate for governor, denounced Kellogg as a usurper, and called on the people to arm and drive him from office. Some ten thousand men responded to Penn's call, and an armed collision took place on the streets of New Orleans in which a dozen or more men were killed on each side. Kellogg was driven from the statehouse, and Penn was installed governor. But Federal troops soon arrived and drove Penn out and reinstated Kellogg. The next year the trouble was renewed over the election of the legislature, and bloodshed was narrowly averted. At length the Democrats sullenly yielded to the Kellogg government, owing to the presence of Federal troops. On the withdrawal of the troops in 1877 the state passed into the hands of the Democrats, where it has since remained.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

The great subject of finance, with which the country had to grapple during the war period, as we have noticed here and there in treating of that period, was still a troublesome problem in the years that followed the war. Whatever fault may be found with the government during these post-bellum years, in one thing — in managing the finances — it did nobly.

At various times during the war there were temporary spasms in the money market, but on the whole the finances were kept in a fairly steady condition, owing chiefly to the masterly ability of Secretary Chase, and to the legal tender and banking acts of Congress. Nevertheless gold rose to 285, as before mentioned, and ceased to circulate in the channels of trade; and with all the vast sources of current revenue the public debt reached \$2,800,000,000. This debt had to be reckoned with, and in doing so the Republican party, in order to maintain the public credit, took a stand equally commendable with that of the Federal party eighty years before. Mr. Hugh McCulloch, secretary of the treasury, began retiring the greenbacks in 1866, but, after he had withdrawn some \$66,000,000 from circulation in a little over two years, Congress, alarmed at an outcry against it from the West, put a stop to the process. Through the able management of McCulloch the public debt had been reduced before the close of the year 1868 by more than \$200,000,000, while the annual revenue had been cut down \$140,000,000, and nearly all the temporary obligations had been exchanged for long-time bonds.

In 1869 occurred the great gold conspiracy, culminating in "Black Friday." The leading character in this plot to corner the gold market was Jay Gould of New York. It had been the custom of the government to sell **Black Friday, September 24, 1869** million dollars' worth of gold per month for the accommodation of importers and others. Gould, who was aided by James Fiske¹ and A. R. Corbin, a brother-in-law of President Grant, and one or two others, conspired to corner the gold market; but this could not be done while the government sales continued. They convinced the President, therefore, that it would be better for the country, the movement of the crops, etc., if the gold sales were suspended. The President innocently consented and promised to grant their request. Lest he should change his mind, however, he was induced, how or by whom is not known, to make a visit of a week or two with an old friend in an obscure town in western Pennsylvania, which was without railroad or telegraphic communication. The conspirators determined to purchase all the gold in sight and then force it to the highest possible point

¹ Gould was a financial wizard, and devoid of principle and common honesty. Fiske had been an illiterate peddler in Connecticut; he was now a florid, swaggering mountebank of New York. Both men had made vast fortunes by wrecking railroads and by other sharp practices. "Both were common desperadoes," says one historian, "not a whit better than the road agents of Montana who at the gun's point" rob the stage wagon laden with gold dust. How such men could gain the ear of the President remains a mystery. (Oberholtzer.)

before selling. Everything seemed to work well. The pool held a hundred millions. On the fatal Friday they purchased twenty-six million at 1.60, and pandemonium reigned in the stock exchange. But on one thing they had not reckoned. President Grant had returned to Washington, and in response to many letters and telegrams urging him to break the conspiracy, he yielded and threw five millions of gold on the market. This worked like magic. It caused a sudden drop in the gold market, and the conspirators were beaten at their own game. Their losses reached many millions. The panic caused by this plot was temporary and was purely financial. The real panic that was to lay a heavy hand on all the people was four years yet in the future.

We return to our subject — the doings of Congress concerning the public debt. President Grant in his annual message of 1869 recommended that the large portion of the public debt which still bore 6 per cent interest be funded at 4½ per cent. The response was a refunding act in July, 1870, and a supplementary one the following January. These acts authorized the issue of \$500,000,000 of 5 per cent bonds redeemable in ten years, \$300,000,000 at 4½ per cent to run fifteen years, and \$1,000,000,000 of 4 per cent bonds to run thirty years. All were payable in coin and exempt from taxation. The saving to the government occasioned by refunding at a lower rate of interest amounted to many millions a year. But, on the other hand, the revenues were greatly reduced by the expiration of the income tax law at the end of the year 1871, and by the reduction of the duties on tea, coffee, sugar, and some other articles; and yet, the war expenses being cut off, the public debt diminished rapidly, and by the close of the year 1872 it was nearly a thousand million dollars less than at the close of the war.

Before the refunding was completed, the silver question came into prominence. In February, 1873, a law was passed to “demonetize” silver, or to drop the standard silver dollar of 412½ grains from the list of United States coins, and substitute the trade dollar of 420 grains.¹ This caused a drop in the value of silver, and a popular desire that the old dollar be restored grew up. The result was the Bland-Allison Bill of 1878.² By this law the secretary of the treasury

¹ This act was not opposed by any one, as the silver dollar had long been out of circulation.

² Passed over the President's veto.

was directed to purchase enough silver to coin not less than two million nor more than four million dollars a month of 412½ grains. Thus began the silver agitation that was to result in the Sherman Law of 1890, its repeal a few years later, and the great silver movement that was to mark the closing years of the century.

The great aftermath of the inflation of the war period was the panic of 1873. For some years after the war money was plentiful, and the people formed the habit of spending it freely, and of engaging in unwise speculation. The currency had been greatly contracted by the can- Panic of
1873
celing of legal tender notes under Secretary McCulloch. But the people did not take account of the new conditions; they went on in the old way until the crash came. Hundreds of miles of needless railroads were built in the unpeopled West; great business enterprises were undertaken on borrowed capital. As a fever leaves its victim weaker than before, so the fever of inflated prices and overissues of money will in the end bring disaster in the business world. The panic of 1873, which ran its course in four or five years, was occasioned, but not caused, by the failure of the great Philadelphia banking house of Jay Cooke and Company on September 18, 1873. This day is known as a second Black Friday. From this day failure followed failure among the great business and banking firms. Business of every sort became stagnant, and only after years of recuperation could the normal conditions of trade be resumed.

POLITICAL REACTION

In our American politics a money panic or an industrial depression, "hard times" from whatever cause and however inevitable, is laid at the door of the party in power. For many scandals in public life and for many other shortcomings the Republican party was, in whole or in part, responsible; but no human wisdom could have prevented the panic of 1873. And yet the party was held responsible for it, and it became a powerful weapon in the hands of the Democrats in their struggle for supremacy. The defeat of Greeley in 1872 left the Democratic party disorganized and prostrate; but in the end the party was strengthened by the escapade. It went down in the disaster, but it had become used to defeat, and it rose with its usual resilience. The Liberal party was crushed to rise no more, and most of its members went back to the Republican fold whence they had

come; but not all. Thousands remained with the Democratic party, and in this way was that party strengthened by the Liberal movement.¹

The Republicans had sinned grievously. The party was justly blamed for the corruption that pervaded the administration, for the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal, and for the "Salary Grab," by which the members of Congress increased their own compensation by 50 per cent, and made the bill retroactive so as to apply to the Congress that passed it;² but it was unjustly blamed for bringing on the panic of 1873. The people are ever ready to listen when their pockets are touched. They heeded the Democratic call for reform. The first note of warning came from Ohio, where, in 1873, the people elected as their governor William Allen, an old-time Democrat who had served in Congress before the Mexican War. New York sounded the next note in the election of Samuel J. Tilden as governor. The political reaction swept the country like a tidal wave, and in 1874 the Democrats carried the country. The Republican majority of near a hundred in the Lower House was replaced by a Democratic majority almost as great. Mr. Blaine, who had been speaker for the past six years, was replaced by Michael C. Kerr of Indiana.

The Republican party, guilty though it was of many misdemeanors, now did a noble act. After a short session the House would pass into other hands, after which no party measure could be enacted. Before the close of the session, therefore, the Republicans passed a law providing for the gradual resumption of specie payments. The act was passed at this time for the purpose of placing the matter beyond the control of the Democrats, as they were known to oppose it. Resumption of specie payments—that is, a redeeming of all paper money, or a readiness to redeem it, in coin—was necessary to the credit of the nation and to the bringing about of perfectly normal business conditions. The Resumption Act had been recommended in the President's message, and by the secretary of the treasury, B. H. Bristow. It was passed in January, 1875, and was to go into operation just four years later. John Sherman of Ohio, secretary of the treasury during the succeeding administration, became the chief agent in bringing

Resumption Act

¹ In the latter class were A. K. McClure and ex-Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania. McClure, one of the ablest editors in the country and the intimate friend of Lincoln, after many years as a Republican manager, now became a leader of the Democrats. Curtin never went back to the Republicans, but was sent to Congress for several terms as a Democrat. Thomas Ewing and Lyman Trumbull were of this group.

² So fierce was the cry of the people against this act that the same Congress repealed it.

it about, and in doing so he placed himself as a financier in the class with Hamilton, Gallatin, and Chase.

THE CENTENNIAL

A pleasing episode in the midst of political turmoil was the great industrial fair that was held at Philadelphia in commemoration of the nation's birth. The old city from which the Declaration of Independence had emanated was the most fitting place for this Centennial Exhibition, and the expansive Fairmount Park, lying on both sides of the winding Schuylkill, furnished an admirable site. In 1872 Congress passed an act creating a Centennial Board of Finance with full power to transact the financial business. Later it created a commission to consist of one delegate from each state and territory, authorized the President to proclaim the exposition to the world and invite other nations to participate. Thirty-nine countries responded — all the civilized nations, except Greece.

The necessary money was raised by a loan of \$1,500,000 by Congress, an appropriation of an equal sum by Philadelphia, \$1,000,000 by Pennsylvania, smaller amounts by other states, and the remainder by the sale of stock. Several hundred buildings, large and small, were erected on the grounds. The main building, a great structure covering twenty acres, was devoted chiefly to manufactures and mining products of all nations. Next in size came Machinery Hall, which covered thirteen acres. The chief attraction of this building was the great Corliss engine which furnished the motive power for thousands of connecting machines. Agricultural Hall, covering ten acres, was built in the form of a nave with three transepts. The products here displayed, especially from the great middle West, constituted one of the most attractive features of the fair. These aforementioned buildings were temporary; but Memorial Hall, a substantial granite structure devoted to art, and Horticultural Hall, made of iron and glass in the Moorish style of the twelfth century, were intended to be permanent, and are still standing.

A vast throng of people attended the opening, President Grant and Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, being the chief figures. The people who entered the gates during the six months of the exhibition, from May 10 to November 10, numbered 9,900,000, a larger attendance than had any previous international exhibition, except that at Paris in 1867, which was open eight months instead of six. The Centennial Exhibition was not

successful financially, as its stockholders were never repaid in full. But in the more important objects—the advancing of science and knowledge, the awakening of a fraternal interest between our country and foreign nations and between the various sections of our own country—the exhibition was eminently successful. It proved a stimulus to art, science, and commerce, to agriculture and manufacturing in every branch.

The lesson learned by America was a long-needed lesson in art and grace. The American people, in preparing a great continent for modern civilized life, had been painfully practical, and in the great rush of building cities and railroads and inventing machinery had aimed at utility while neglecting the refinements that characterize the older countries. Many of the foreign exhibits at the great fair were of such a character as to awaken in the overpractical American a desire to cultivate the higher graces and refinements of art and beauty that mean so much in modern civilization. The European, on the other hand, was benefited by his contact with the sleepless activity, the ingenious, ever advancing life that characterize America.

THE DISPUTED PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Never but once in our history has there been a disputed presidential election. Twice before, in 1800 and 1824, the electoral college had failed to choose a President and the election was thrown into the House, but in neither case was there any dispute as to the number of votes cast for each candidate. In 1876, however, there was a dispute concerning the number of electoral votes cast for each candidate, and the peace of the country was most seriously threatened.

For sixteen years the Republican party had held the reins of government. Its achievements were great and of permanent value; but its many false steps, especially those of Grant's second term, had greatly weakened the party. The great wave of Democracy that swept over the country in 1874 had in some measure subsided; but the sentiment for reform was still strong, and the Democrats eagerly entered the presidential contest of the centennial year.

The Republicans met in national convention at Cincinnati on the 14th of June. For the first time since 1860 there was to be a contest for the nomination. The man whose following was largest was James G. Blaine of Maine, and his name was put before the convention by Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll in a bril-

liant outburst of eloquence that made the speaker scarcely less famous than the one for whom he spoke. Blaine was by far the strongest and most popular leader in the party. But his name had been tainted with a charge of corruption, and a certain conservative element of the Republican party regarded him with distrust. Furthermore, he had powerful enemies who were ready to go to any lengths to compass his defeat.¹

On the first ballot Blaine fell but little short of the nomination. Six ballots were cast without result; but on the seventh there was a stampede for Governor Hayes of Ohio, who received the nomination. William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated for the vice presidency. The platform sounded the great deeds of the party in the past, promised to punish all public offenders with unsparing severity, and mercilessly arraigned the Democracy as in league with, if not identical with, the late foes of the government.

Nomination
of Hayes

The nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes was a surprise to the country. He may be classed among the "dark horse" candidates, as no important element of his party had intended to make him the nominee. Hayes had not been looked upon as a leading man of his party, but his record was by no means to be despised. A native of Ohio, and a graduate of the Harvard law school, he had served through the war and had attained the rank of brigadier general. While still in the field he was elected to Congress, where he served four years. It is singular how often the number four recurs in the career of Hayes. Four years he spent as a youth in college; four years he served in the war, being wounded four times; four years he served in Congress, being first elected in 1864; four years and a little over he was governor of Ohio, and four years President of the United States.

The Democratic convention was held in St. Louis two weeks after the nomination of Hayes. For the first time since the passing of Douglas the party enjoyed the leadership of a great man. For many years Samuel J. Tilden of New York had served his party in minor capacities; but only recently — not until he had almost reached his three score years — had he risen in the political sky as a star of the first magnitude. He was a great lawyer, and possessed a large fortune. He had come into national prominence by unearthing the corruptions of the

¹ A feeble effort was made by the friends of President Grant to have him nominated for a third term; but the plan was killed by an almost unanimous vote against it in the House of Representatives.

Tweed Ring in New York,¹ and he was then made governor of the state. In a short time he was recognized as the leader of the Democracy in the nation. He beheld his party, as it were, a flock without a shepherd, and quietly assumed control.

Tilden was nominated on the second ballot by a very large majority, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was given second place on the ticket.² The platform sounded, with the ring of a bugle blast, the one note of reform in the government service. And this became the Democratic cry throughout the campaign. It was reiterated and reëchoed from every side; the city daily and the country newspaper, the famous orator and the local exhorter in the country schoolhouse — all joined in the one widespread cry of reform. The Democratic orators told the truth, but not the whole truth. Unwearied they were in crying out against the evils of the Republican administration, but its good deeds they left unmentioned; the settlement of the Alabama claims, the provision for a resumption of specie payments, the improvement of the naturalization laws — for such the Democratic orator had no use in 1876.

The Republicans were clearly on the defensive. They could not raise a counter cry of corruption, for the Democrats had been out of power for sixteen years, and they resorted to the old device of "waving the bloody shirt." They denounced the Democrats, North and South, as public enemies, unregenerate rebels, and called on the people to meet them at the polls in the same spirit as they had been met on the battlefield.² If the Democrats succeeded to power, the southern war debt would be paid, and perhaps the black man reënslaved. But the cry was well worn; only the least intelligent were frightened by it. As the campaign progressed the Republicans assailed the character

¹ **The Tweed Ring.** — One of the notable events of 1871 was the unearthing of the notorious Tweed Ring of New York. For some years the city had been held by the throat by a gang of politicians, who proved to be thieves plundering the people under the guise of law. The leader of these was W. M. Tweed, formerly a mechanic, then the political "boss"; and with him were associated R. B. Connolly, city comptroller; P. B. Sweeny, head of the public parks department; A. Oakley Hall, the mayor, and others of lesser note. The thieves secured control of all the machinery of the city, and then by forged accounts, by furnishing supplies, giving out contracts, and the like, they looted the treasury of vast sums of money. They charged the city \$12,000,000 for the new city treasury building, which probably cost less than \$2,000,000. The robberies doubtless exceeded \$100,000,000, much of which was used for bribing lower officials. The corruption was exposed largely through the tireless efforts of Samuel J. Tilden. Hall was tried and the jury disagreed. Connolly and Sweeny fled the country. Tweed was sentenced to pay a heavy fine, and to serve twelve years in prison, when he made his escape. He was afterwards caught in Spain and brought back. He died in prison in 1878.

² *The Nation*, Vol. XXIII, p. 227.

of Mr. Tilden, and drew forth from him an explanatory letter which satisfied his followers, but did not silence his accusers.

Besides the two great political parties two smaller ones came into the field in this campaign. The Independent, or Greenback party, nominated the venerable New York philanthropist, Peter Cooper, for the presidency, while the newly organized Prohibition party chose Greene Clay Smith for the same office. But these minor parties cut a small figure in the great contest.

The contest was a close one, as had been foreseen; but no one was prepared for the long, exciting struggle that was to continue throughout the winter. On the morning after the election, the newspapers of the country announced the election of Tilden; but this was soon disputed by the Republicans, and the struggle, which was supposed to end with election day, had only begun. Tilden had won the states of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana in the north, and every southern state except three, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which were still under carpetbag government. He had also received a popular majority of a quarter of a million votes. It required 185 electoral votes to elect, and Tilden had secured 184 without any from the three disputed states. Mr. Hayes, therefore, to win the presidency must have every elector from these three states. In one of these, Louisiana, the face of the returns gave Tilden a majority of 7876 over Hayes. The other two were close, Hayes having a slight apparent majority.

How could the Republicans go behind the returns and claim Louisiana? Simply by pronouncing the Democratic majority fraudulent through the "Returning Board," which had absolute judicial power over the elections. The Returning Board in each state was a creation of the carpetbag government, and the carpetbag government was sustained by national troops. If these forces chose, therefore, to pronounce the three states Republican, there was no power to prevent it — and that is exactly what they chose. The matter was decided in high Republican circles at Washington. The prize was vast — the control of a great nation — and the temptation proved too great to be resisted. The Democratic party has been a dreadful sinner since long before the war, has often committed fraud, and even now is unreformed and unfit to control the government. If such a misfortune can be averted by appropriating a few electoral votes, it is quite right to do so. It would in the end be a real service to the country. Thus reasoned the Republicans, and their conscience in the matter was probably up to the standard of the average political conscience.

The Democratic party might have done the same thing under the same conditions.

The Democrats gave up South Carolina and Florida without a serious struggle, but they felt that they could certainly hold Louisiana, where the returns gave them nearly eight thousand majority. Some of the leading members of each party went to New Orleans to see fair play for their respective parties. The Democrats who went thither proposed joint meetings that all might witness the final count by the returning board, but the Republicans refused their request and excluded them from the meetings.

Returning boards

The returning board in Louisiana was properly composed of five members; but at this moment there were but four, and two of them were colored men. The men were insignificant in the extreme. One of the white men, J. M. Wells, had been dismissed from a public office as "a political trickster and dishonest man."¹ One of the colored men was a saloon keeper who had been indicted for larceny and had confessed his crime. The situation was not only grave; it was highly ludicrous. A great nation of fifty million people waited with breathless eagerness for this petty board of insignificant and unknown men to name their Chief Magistrate for the ensuing four years. Moreover, the board was for sale. Wells sent to New York and offered to deliver the electoral vote of Louisiana to the Democrats for the sum of one million dollars.² The offer was declined. What may have been his negotiations with the Republicans is not known, except that he was appointed to an office soon after the inauguration. The board threw out more than enough Democratic precincts, on the ground of fraud and violence at the election, to sweep away the Tilden majority, and the Hayes electors were given certificates. The Democratic governor then gave certificates to the Tilden electors.

It was shown that there had been much disorder and violence at the polls in Louisiana as in other states, but both parties had been guilty. The returning board, which actually falsified some of the returns (for which one of its members was afterward sent to the penitentiary), merely substituted one fraud for another.

The Democrats all over the country raised the cry of fraud. The weeks passed. Neither party would yield, and intense excitement prevailed everywhere. The Democrats threatened

¹ Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election*, p. 98. This work is an exhaustive and scholarly study of the subject.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

to raise an army and prevent the seating of Hayes by force. The danger of internecine war was tremendous. Such a war might have been the most appalling in history. Only the deep-seated conservatism of the people, the inborn love of peace and order, saved the country. The people at this crisis looked instinctively to Congress for a solution. But the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. What could be done? Inauguration day drew near. One proposal for settlement after another was made and rejected. At length, however, it was agreed by a vote of both houses that the matter be settled by a grand tripartite committee of fifteen — five from the Senate, five from the House, and five from the Supreme Court. This committee, known as the Electoral Commission, was to decide the contest, and from their decision there was to be no appeal. When fourteen had been chosen, five from each House and four from the Supreme Court, seven of them were from each political party. Justice David Davis was about to be selected by the four from the Supreme Court, as the fifteenth, as he was considered a neutral in politics; but at that moment the Illinois legislature elected him to the United States Senate as a Democrat. Justice Bradley was then chosen in his stead.¹ Davis had supported Tilden in the campaign, while Bradley had supported Hayes, and this change was fatal to the chances of Tilden.

Great excitement

The Electoral Commission was thus composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. It was hoped, however, that they would rise above the trammels of party and render a judicial verdict on the pure merits of the case. But this they could not do. On every question that came before them they voted as partisans and not as judges. Double returns had been sent from each of the three disputed states, and in every case, including a disputed elector from Oregon, the commission decided for the Hayes electors by a vote of eight to seven. The final vote was taken on the 2d of March, and two days later General Hayes became President of the United States.² The Democrats were greatly disappointed and they found some relief in renewing the cry of fraud, in accusing the Republicans of having stolen the presidency — and this cry they kept up for many years.

Electoral Commission

¹ The Electoral Commission was composed of the following persons: Justices of the Supreme Court, Clifford, Miller, Field, Strong, and Bradley; Senators, Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, and Thurman; Representatives, Payne, Hinton, Abbot, Garfield, and Hoar.

² He took the oath of office on Saturday, March 3, and the ceremonies were held two days later.

General Hayes was an honest man, and he made a faithful President; but he never ceased to feel keenly the accusation of his opponents that he had accepted an office to which he had not been elected. And yet it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise, when called to the presidential chair, than obey the mandate of his party, without bringing greater evils upon the country.

Scarcely had Mr. Hayes taken his seat when he withdrew the troops from the garrisons of the three Southern states,¹ which at once passed into the hands of the Democrats, and from that time to the present they all have been steadily Democratic. Thus ended carpetbag rule in the South. The Republican rank and file were not pleased with this action of President Hayes. By thus recognizing the governors and other state officers who had been voted for on the same tickets that had contained the Tilden electors, the President was in a sense acknowledging that the Tilden electors had received a majority of votes over his own. The act certainly darkened the cloud that hung over his title to the presidency. This was explained by the claim that as the electors may be chosen "in such manner as the legislature of the state may direct," the legislature had the power to commit the choice of electors to the returning boards, though not the choice of state officers. It developed, however, that the Republican leaders had bargained with the Democrats of these states to withdraw the troops and to give them (the Democrats) full control, if they would agree to the appropriation by the Republicans of the electoral votes. If this is true -- and it is positively stated by Colonel A. K. McClure in his recent book ² -- it was one of the most unsavory bargains in our political history.

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¹This had already been done in the case of Florida.

²See *Our Presidents*, p. 266.

CHAPTER XXIX

HAYES, GARFIELD, AND ARTHUR

THE retirement of President Grant was pathetic. As a commander of armies he had won enduring honors, but his eight years' service in the great office of the presidency had added no luster to his name. For the intrigues and corruptions of his administration he was responsible only in so far as he was incapable of perceiving and checking them. That he was personally honest cannot be doubted. He received no share of the plunder of his dishonest officials, and it must have grieved his soul when he realized, as he certainly did, that his administration would be remembered more by the corrupt practices of the officials whom he trusted than for anything else. But the American people have affectionately overlooked his weaknesses, and they remember him as the heroic figure that forced the surrender of Vicksburg and of the Confederate army at Appomattox; while his generous terms at the surrender of Lee and his mild partisanship in the years following endeared him to the people of the South.

NEW CONDITIONS

President Hayes was a sincere man and not without ability; but he was not popular with his party. He never gained, nor attempted to gain, a place in its inner counsels. His withdrawal of the troops from the South displeased **Political rest** many; his vetoing the Bland Silver Bill won him few friends. All corruptionists were arrayed against him when they found that he was beyond their reach. Even such reputable leaders as Senators Blaine and Conkling, though at enmity with each other, joined their forces in opposing the President. Sincerely devoted to reform in the civil service, President Hayes proceeded cautiously and courageously. He removed Chester A. Arthur as collector of the port of New York. Conkling fought bitterly against the change, but the Senate after a long struggle sustained the President. In his diary the President wrote, "There can be no complete and permanent reform of the civil service until public

opinion emancipates Congressmen from all control and influence over government patronage. . . . The most noticeable weakness of Congressmen is fear that their record would be used against them." Not only had President Hayes a hard time trying to direct his own party, the opposing party also gave him much trouble. The Democrats had control of the House, and during the whole four years no distinctive party measure could be passed. In fact, the Democrats on several occasions held up the necessary legislation, such as the appropriation bills, by putting on riders for the repeal of some obnoxious Republican law, notably the General Elections Law of 1872. Every effort to coerce the President was resorted to, such as refusing appropriations necessary to carry out the laws, but the President refused to yield; he vetoed one measure after another and triumphed in the end. But these were only ripples compared with the turbulent breakers of the past, and the Hayes administration was of great benefit to the country as a season of political restfulness. From the outbreak of the war fifteen years before, the violence of partisan or military contest, or both, had been incessant. Now for the first time since the firing on Fort Sumter the South was left to take care of itself, the great parties were well balanced, and the people were free to turn their attention to the industrial development of the country. They felt too, as never before, the oneness of the nation. The bitterness engendered by the great civil strife was beginning to soften, and, but for the occasional rumors of violence at the South, the negro question and the secession question passed out of the public mind. For half a century such political quiet had been unknown; and for the first time in American history the national pride was rightfully enthroned in the public heart, and state pride forever relegated to the second place.

Mr. Hayes was fortunate in securing William M. Evarts as secretary of state and John Sherman as secretary of the treasury. The great task before Sherman was to bring about resumption of specie payments without disturbing the business of the country. This he did with admirable skill, and when the day of resuming came (January 1, 1879), not a ripple did it make on the business world. The secretary had \$130,000,000 in gold with which to redeem outstanding notes; but few were offered, so great was the confidence of the people in the government.

During the last half of the Hayes administration the Democrats were in full control of both houses of Congress — for the first time since 1858. But owing to the veto power of the Republican President the Democrats could carry out no party meas-

ure. The deadlock continued for ten years longer.¹ Meantime the people turned their attention to business. For the first time the resources of the South were added to the economic forces of the nation.

The employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad went on a strike on the 14th of July, and they were soon followed by the employees of all the other great lines east of the Mississippi, and for two weeks all traffic in that great section was at a standstill. The strikers took possession of the railroad property — tracks, yards, roundhouses, and rolling stock — and in Pittsburg, the center of the disturbance, there were serious riots, resulting in many deaths, and in the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property. In Martinsburg, West Virginia, in Baltimore and other places there was much rioting and frequent conflicts between the rioters and the troops sent to keep the peace. The governors of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia were forced to call for national troops to aid them in enforcing the laws. By the end of July the fire of mob violence had burned out and the strikers resumed work. In some instances the strikers had won some advantage by the strike; but in many cases they went back to work without any substantial gain.

Railroad
strike, 1877

The railway strike was contagious. It was followed by sympathetic strikes in many callings — coal-mining, manufacturing, and many branches of industry in which the wages of the laborer were low — and the disturbance spread to the Pacific Coast. The most serious of these was the strike of the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania, which spread to the bituminous regions of West Virginia and westward to Illinois. The twofold grievance of the miners was too low wages, and the obligation to purchase all their supplies at the company stores at exorbitant prices. The miners, who had the general sympathy of the public, won in the contest and gained an advance of 10 per cent in wages.²

The voice of the Pacific Coast against Chinese immigration began to be heard in the East in 1877. The Burlingame Treaty had opened the way and the Chinese laborers were pouring in an ever increasing tide upon our Western shores. Anson Burlingame had been our minister to China for six years. When about to depart the Chinese govern-

Anti-
Chinese
movement

¹ During the two years, 1881-1883, the Republicans controlled the House by one vote, and the Senate by the single deciding vote of the Vice President.

² Just before this strike the notorious Molly Maguires, a murderous band that had spread terror through the coal regions of Pennsylvania for several years, were run down and captured, several of the leaders being hanged.

ment offered to make him an envoy to the United States. He accepted and in 1868 he concluded a treaty between the two countries that was ratified by both. It provided for the free migration from one country to the other. Soon began the influx of Chinese from beyond the Pacific. Their willingness to work for very low wages rendered them, as their numbers increased, undesirable competitors with white laborers. After earning a few hundred dollars they would betake themselves back to their native land, whence hordes of their brethren would come to America to repeat the process. In no case did the Mongolian pretend to become an element in American society; he remained apart from the body politic, retaining his peculiar customs and superstitions. The Chinese threatened to deluge the whole western coast with their undesirable presence. After various sporadic efforts that came to nothing, a movement against Chinese immigration was set on foot in 1877. The laborers of San Francisco, led by Denis Kearney, one of their number, held many open meetings to denounce Chinese labor and immigration. The meetings were disorderly, and the leaders, including Kearney, were imprisoned. But the movement would not subside. Congress was petitioned to take up the matter, to the end that the Burlingame Treaty be modified in the interest of the people of the Pacific Coast. In 1878 Congress passed a Chinese Exclusion measure, which, however, was vetoed by President Hayes. The Chinese continued to come in increasing numbers. The agitation was renewed, and in 1882 a Chinese Exclusion law was enacted. This was followed in May, 1892, by the Geary Chinese Exclusion Law, introduced by Representative Geary of California. This law was the most sweeping of its kind ever enacted by any country, and it awakened a vigorous protest from the Chinese government. While to some extent evaded, the law has greatly relieved the western coast of a most undesirable class.

**Exclusion
Law**

About the time of Hayes's accession to the presidency an industrial movement of the farmers reached its height. The Patrons of Husbandry, commonly called Grangers, was a secret organization for the promotion of agricultural interests. It was organized in Washington in 1867, admitted both men and women to membership, and professed to be non-political, though it had much political influence in forcing a reduction of the exorbitant freight rates of the railroad corporations. In 1876 the membership reached at least a million and a half.

**The
Grangers**

Another agricultural society, the Farmer's Alliance, was organized in 1873. It spread rapidly until it became national in scope.¹ It is not a secret order, as is the order of Grangers, but it gives more attention to questions of politics. The Alliance opposes the alien ownership of land, national banks, and federal election laws.

THE FISHERIES DISPUTE

The most important matter in our foreign relations during the Hayes administration was the settlement of the Canadian fisheries question, as provided for in the Treaty of Washington of 1871. For more than half a century the Atlantic coast fisheries had been the subject of controversy between the United States and England. The treaty made at the close of the Revolution continued to the citizens of the new republic the right to fish in Canadian waters, which they had enjoyed as colonists. But at the making of the Treaty of Ghent, at the close of the War of 1812, the British claimed that all existing treaties were abrogated and that our fishing rights had expired. The treaty, however, left the matter unmentioned and the Americans continued to exercise the rights granted in the former treaty.

But in 1818 another treaty was concluded, by which the Americans, for the privilege of taking and curing fish on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, renounced forever the right to take, dry, or cure fish within three marine miles of any of the coasts of his Majesty's other possessions in America. From this moment the trouble began. The difficulty of determining the three-mile limit, the presence of armed vessels to prevent violations of the treaty, and the rulings of the local courts by which alleged violators were tried, each played its part in disturbing the peace between the two countries. This disturbance continued until 1854, when a new treaty was made. This is known as the Reciprocity Treaty. It restored the rights of the Americans substantially as granted by the Treaty of 1783, but at a great price. The price was reciprocity or free trade between the United States and Canada in a great many kinds of goods, nearly all of which favored Canadian interests. The markets of the United States were thrown open to Canada for nearly every article she could produce. The treaty provided that either party could cancel it after ten years by giving a year's notice. This notice

Treaty of
1818

Treaty of
1854

¹ The national organization was not completed till 1889.

was given by the United States in 1805; and the next year the treaty terminated, reciprocity was discontinued, and in the matter of the fisheries the provisions of the old Treaty of 1818 were again in force.

This brings us to the Treaty of Washington of 1871. It was hoped that the Joint High Commission would reach a permanent settlement of this vexed question; but the hope was not fully realized. The British commissioners desired to restore the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, but the Americans would not consent to it. They intimated, however, that the United States might be willing to pay \$1,000,000, for the permanent use of the inshore fisheries, — that is, within the three-mile limit. The English commissioners thought this sum entirely too small. When the treaty was at length arranged, it provided that the privilege of the inshore fisheries along the coast of Canada be granted to the Americans, and for this privilege the Canadians received a free market in the United States for salt-water fish and fish-oil. But as the Canadians were supposed to be granting more than they received, it was provided that a commission of three be appointed to determine the amount of money that should be paid by the United States. One of these was to be appointed by the President, another by the Queen of England, while the third was to be chosen by the President and Queen conjointly.

The commissioners met at Halifax in the summer of 1877. The case was ably argued on both sides, and as the American and English commissioner could not agree, the Belgian minister, who was the third commissioner, was left to name the compensation. He named \$5,500,000.

**The fisheries
award**

The British were greatly gratified and the Americans astonished at the amount of the award. It was not the payment of the money that created excitement, for the United States is very rich and such a sum is but a trifle; it was the sense of being the victim of extortion that caused ill feeling. Secretary of State Evarts gave statistics to show that all the fish taken by American fishermen during the time in question could not possibly leave a balance in England's favor of more than \$1,500,000, to say nothing of the privileges granted to Canada. But the British, who had lost in the other two items of the Treaty of Washington, the Alabama claims and the boundary controversy, insisted that the report of the commission be accepted; and Congress voted the money and it was paid to the last dollar. But the matter left a sting in the minds of the American people, and a few years later the President, instructed by Congress, annulled the treaty,

and the fisheries question became more troublesome than ever, as we shall notice later.

THE GARFIELD TRAGEDY

Three times in our history has our President suffered death at the hands of an assassin. The first of these tragedies occurred at the close of the great war while the blood of the combatants still boiled. The second, in time of peace, had its origin in a deadly feud between two great Republican leaders, and was the work of a half-witted fanatic who believed that he would be made a hero for the deed by the faction of the party that opposed the President. The feud was between James G. Blaine and Roscoe Conkling, and it began many years before. Blaine, a young editor from Maine, first entered the House in 1863. Though he found there many strong leaders, he soon proved himself one of the strongest; and he began a course of party leadership unrivaled since the passing of Henry Clay. When Blaine entered Congress he found, among other leaders, the brilliant young lawyer from New York, Roscoe Conkling. Blaine and Conkling were wholly unlike in mental endowments. Blaine was hale and genial; Conkling was dignified and self-contained. Blaine delighted to win new friends and to grapple them to his soul with hooks of steel; Conkling delighted in winning admiration, in wounding his enemies with his wit and sarcasm, and in dazzling his hearers with rounded periods of eloquence. As a party leader, a winner of popular applause, Blaine far surpassed Conkling; as an orator of brilliant diction and rhetorical power, Conkling greatly excelled Blaine.

Scarcely had these two men met in Congress when a rivalry sprung up between them, and it was soon seen that there would be a clash. The occasion arose in April, 1866, when the House was considering a bill to reorganize the army. The New York and Maine statesmen had a fierce war of words on the floor of the House. Each lost his temper and denounced the other unsparingly. At length, after the conflict had continued for two or three days, Blaine poured forth one of the most extravagant tirades of sarcastic scorn and vituperation ever heard on the floor of Congress. "The contempt of that large-minded gentleman," said he, "is so wilting, his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic, supereminent, overpowering, turkey-gobbler strut, has been so crushing to myself and to all the members of the House, that I know it was

Blaine-
Conkling
feud

an act of the greatest temerity for me to enter upon a controversy with him."

Conkling was mortally offended, and from that day to the end of his life he never spoke to Blaine. Soon after this Conkling was transferred to the Senate and Blaine became Speaker of the House. In later years friends of the two attempted to bring about a reconciliation between them. Blaine expressed his willingness, but Conkling met every overture with a scornful refusal.

The Blaine-Conkling feud had its results. Not only did Conkling prevent the nomination of Blaine for the presidency in 1880; he caused the defeat of Blaine when the latter was nominated four years later. A few years after this quarrel in the House, Blaine had come to be looked upon as the leading Republican of his time. He received a heavy vote in the convention of 1870. Mr. Hayes, who was nominated and elected, was pledged to a single term, and Blaine was hailed as the coming man for 1880. But a change came o'er the spirit of his dream.

General Grant, on ceasing to be President, had made a tour round the world. He received high honor from foreign peoples and potentates, not only as an American and a former President, but chiefly as a soldier, for the chivalry in men's minds still places the warrior above the statesman, the orator, and the poet. The reception of Grant in foreign lands became a matter of national pride to all Americans; and when, after an absence of three years, the vessel that bore the illustrious traveler was moored in the haven at the Golden Gate, a wild shout of welcome arose from the people. The progress of Grant from San Francisco to Philadelphia, whence he had started, was one continuous ovation. Men forgot the scandals of his administration; their minds went back to remoter days. They saw now in his silent dignity the hero of Donelson, of Vicksburg, of Appomattox.

It happened that at this moment there was a large faction in the Republican party searching for a man. This faction opposed Blaine for President, and looked with dismay upon his growing favor with the people. They wanted a man who could be successfully pitted against Blaine. Grant had already been spoken of for a third term. His great reception from abroad proved his popularity. Why let all this enthusiasm go to waste? So thought the leaders of the anti-Blaine faction of the Republican party in 1880, and they decided on Grant as their choice for President. The leader of this faction, a man of vast resources and power, was Roscoe Conkling of New York.

The convention met in Chicago the first week in June. Conkling had a solid phalanx of a little over three hundred delegates for Grant. Blaine, however, was the popular choice, and his nomination would never have been doubtful had his forces been managed by a leader equal to Conkling. The most conspicuous leader in the convention, next to Conkling, was James A. Garfield of Ohio, who headed the delegation for John Sherman. He was more tactful than Conkling and might have won the convention for Blaine had he not been pledged to Sherman. The speech of Conkling in nominating Grant has been pronounced second only to that of Ingersoll in presenting the name of Blaine at Cincinnati four years before. John Sherman of Ohio was nominated by Garfield in a speech scarcely less eloquent than that of Conkling. Thirty-five ballots were taken without success, and it was evident that neither Blaine nor Grant could be nominated. A dark horse must be found, and the choice fell upon Garfield. On the thirty-sixth ballot there was a sudden breaking up of the convention — the Blaine men, the Sherman men, the scattering votes, all except the Grant phalanx of 306, made a dash for Garfield, and he was nominated by a large majority. The scene was indescribable. The boom of cannon from without, the bands of music and the shouts of the multitude within the great hall, made an uproar that no pen can picture. The newly made hero sat amid the waving flags and banners, dazed and speechless, as one awakened from a dream.

Nomination
of Garfield

Garfield's nomination was almost an accident. He happened to be on the uppermost crest of the popular wave when the inevitable break came; and the gate was opened to him for great honor and position, such as many strive for and do not attain, and for the mournful tragedy that was to follow — all within a year. Garfield was one of the many public men in America who rose from the commonest walks of life. His father, a plodding farmer in the wilderness of northern Ohio, died in early manhood. James was still a child; as he grew toward manhood he yearned for an education, and between his working hours — on the farm, in the carpenter shop, or driving the mules of a canal boat — he succeeded in preparing himself for college. After being graduated he became a professor, then president of a small college in Ohio. Next we find him in the Ohio legislature, then an officer in the Civil War, and later a member of the Lower House of Congress, where he served without a break for eighteen years. He was then elected to the United States Senate, but had not entered that

body when nominated at Chicago. Garfield was not brilliant as a statesman, though he had much power as an orator. His selection proved a healing balm to the warring factions of his party. To appease the Conkling faction the convention chose one of that faction, Chester A. Arthur, for the second place on the ticket.

The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, the ideal soldier, one of the heroes of Gettysburg and of Spottsylvania, for the presidency, and W. H. English for the vice presidency. The Greenback party, which had cast but eighty thousand votes for Peter Cooper in 1876 and had rolled up a million two years later in the state elections, put forward General James B. Weaver of Iowa, and the Prohibitionists presented General Neal Dow of Maine. It is notable that all four of the presidential candidates bore the military title of general.

Hancock was an admirable character, he was "through and through pure gold," as President Hayes said some years later. The Republicans bore witness to his fine character but attacked him on the ground that he was without experience in civil office. They also "waved the bloody shirt," declaring that if the Democrats won, the South would soon again be in the saddle, the southern war debt would be paid, and so forth. The Democrats attacked the record of Garfield, especially his connection with the *Crédit Mobilier*. The tariff also figured in the campaign and Hancock was ridiculed for saying that it was a local issue — a statement that present-day economists agree is correct, though it cannot be so recognized in law. Garfield was elected by an electoral vote of 214 to 155 for Hancock; but his popular plurality in a vote exceeding 9,000,000 was less than 10,000. The Greenback party polled 308,000 and carried no state, while the Prohibition vote was but 10,000.

The Republican factions had worked together during the campaign, but the trouble broke out afresh when Garfield chose Blaine for his secretary of state. This was galling to Conkling, and Blaine doubtless felt a sense of triumph over his great enemy. He had often expressed a willingness to be reconciled to his antagonist, but at heart he thoroughly disliked Conkling and had no desire to be his friend. Conkling was bold and open in his antagonism; Blaine was wily and cunning, nor did he lose an opportunity to give the enraged lion a stealthy prod, and then turn to an inquiring public with, "What is he howling about?"

The times were ominous at the opening of the new term. Never had the office seeker been more clamorous for place. Instinctively the office-seeking gentry seemed to divine that the unbendable Hayes had been supplanted by a weaker man. The two factions of the dominant party were ready again to break into open war for spoils. Soon came the occasion; Garfield appointed Judge Robertson collector of the port of New York. Robertson was a friend of Blaine and an enemy of Conkling, and Conkling, joined by his colleague, Thomas C. Platt, requested, almost demanded, that the appointment be withdrawn. But the President refused, no doubt through the influence of Blaine, for Garfield had no personal object in offending Conkling or promoting Robertson. Various writers have asserted that Blaine was a neutral observer, and had nothing to do with this appointment or with the refusal to withdraw it. But this contradicts the logic of the whole situation. Garfield was not a powerful leader, as was Blaine. He had reached the limit of his capacity in Congress, while that of Blaine was yet unmeasured. It was only natural that Garfield should lean heavily upon his great secretary of state. The course of the President in this affair can be explained only by attributing it to the influence of Blaine. When Conkling and Platt discovered that they could not secure the withdrawal of the name of Robertson, nor prevent its confirmation by the Senate, they resigned petulantly from that body, expecting to be vindicated by a reëlection by the New York legislature. Both were defeated. This closed the public career of Roscoe Conkling — but we shall meet him once more in this history.

Conkling
and Platt
resign

This episode opened wide the breach in the Republican party. The Conkling wing was known as "Stalwarts," the Blaine-Garfield wing as "Half-breeds." Alarming was the condition of the party, when suddenly the country was thrown into consternation at the assassination of the President. The assassin was Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office seeker, a rattle-brained egotist from New York who claimed to be a "Stalwart of the Stalwarts," a "lawyer, theologian, and politician." He declared that the President's "removal" was a political necessity, as it would reunite the Republican party. He was plainly a man of disordered brain, nor was the country warranted in crying out frantically for his blood. After a long trial the following winter he was convicted and put to death. He should have been shut up for the rest of his natural life in an insane asylum. The jury

Assassina-
tion of Gar-
field, July 2,
1881

simply reflected public opinion, which clamored for the prisoner's life.¹

President Garfield was shot through the body. It was at first thought that he would die within the hour; but he rallied, and lingered for many weeks through the hot summer months. The nation waited and hoped and prayed. The illustrious patient bore up bravely; he never groaned nor complained; he signed a few official papers, but was never able to raise his head from the pillow. In August the President was removed to a cottage by the sea; but the benefit was slight, and on the night of September 19 he died. A few hours later — some hours before day the next morning — Chester A. Arthur was sworn into the great office in his own house in the city of New York, and the government passed into the hands of the Stalwarts. The dead President was borne to Cleveland, Ohio, the beautiful lake city near which he had been born and had always lived, and here, on a grassy mound, amid a countless throng of weeping admirers, the body was laid to rest.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Chester Alan Arthur had been an obscure politician in New York, and was known as a leader in polite society circles rather than as a statesman. No man had ever become President of the United States who was so little known to the great public as was Arthur, and many were alarmed because his ability and character were unknown, and especially because they feared that he would represent, not the country as a whole, nor even the great party that had elected him, but the faction of that party to which he belonged. But Arthur was not long in the presidential chair before he put all such fears at rest. He rose above all subserviency to faction and even to his party; he became the people's President in the true sense of the term; and so wise and able was his administration that nothing except Blaine's powerful hold on the party prevented his nomination for another term.² The Cabinet was gradually changed until none of the Garfield Cabinet remained except Robert T. Lincoln, son of the great war President.

This administration was not marked by any great and stirring events. The interest of the people was enlisted in the centennial

¹ One of the experts employed to pronounce on the sanity of Guiteau acknowledged, twenty years later, that they all agreed that he was insane, but feared to say so because of the excited state of the public.

² So impartial and independent was Arthur's course, and so decidedly did he refuse to cater to the Stalwart faction, that even Conkling soon became estranged from him.

celebration of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, in the great industrial exposition of 1881 at Atlanta, Georgia, in another greater one at New Orleans three years later, and in two American exploring expeditions into the Arctic seas.

The attention of the public was also attracted in 1881 by the "Star-route" frauds. These routes were mail lines in the interior of the country where the mail could not be carried by railroad or by steamboat.¹ Thomas J. Brady, second assistant postmaster-general, S. W. Dorsey, a Republican senator from Arkansas, and others, were accused of conspiring with certain mail-carrying contractors to defraud the government. For several years the combination stole from the government about half a million dollars a year. The business was broken up by publicity and the dismissal of several prominent officials. Some of the alleged conspirators were put on trial, but no punishments followed.

Star-route
frauds

We now come to the chief legislative movement of the Arthur administration — the reform in the civil service. When the federal government was organized, the civil service officials were appointed without any limit as to time, but their tenure of office was wholly subject to the appointing power, the President.

For half a century the spoils system had held full sway.² Public officials had come to feel that they were serving their party rather than their country, or were simply receiving their just reward for mere party zeal. The system was pernicious and destructive of all good government; but, against the protests of many honest men, it continued unbroken till Grant became President. A fruitless effort was then made to reform the civil service. In 1871 Congress, forced by public opinion and in spite of the protests of the professional politicians, passed an act authorizing the President to make certain changes in the methods of appointing subordinate officers. Grant thereupon appointed a civil service commission of eminent men, who established a system of competitive examinations for appointments to office. This system continued for three years when Congress, again under the sway of the politicians, refused longer to vote money to carry it on, and it had to fall to the ground. President Hayes throughout his term of office made strenuous but futile efforts to reestablish the reform in the service. The evil system might have continued indefinitely but for the

Civil service
reform

¹ The name "Star" route arose from the use of a star on the map to indicate these routes.

² For the Crawford Act and the origin of the spoils system, see election of 1824.

tragic taking off of Garfield. His death was an indirect result of the pernicious system, for it was a New York appointment that tore open the half-healed wound in the Republican party and rent it in twain, and it was a disappointed office seeker that took his life. Public opinion now called with overmastering power for a reform in the civil service, and Congress heeded the call of its master.

George H. Pendleton was a Democratic senator from Ohio. He had in 1881 introduced a civil service reform bill in the Senate, but it was buried in committee and no action was taken. Both houses were Republican, but in the autumn elections of 1882 the party was swept from power in the House. The leaders of the party saw in the elections a warning from an impatient public that trifling with civil service reform would be tolerated no longer, and when a new and better Pendleton bill was offered, it passed both houses by an almost unanimous vote. It was signed by the President Jan. 16, 1883.

This law has been called the "Magna Charta" of civil service reform.¹ It provided for a Civil Service Commission of three, not more than two of whom shall be of the same party, to aid the President in formulating rules to carry the act into effect. The act provided for "open competition examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the public service now classified or to be classified here under." It also exempted public officials from obligation to render political service or contribute to campaign funds; and enlarged the President's authority to place other classes under the civil service rules. At first but few classes came under the new law, but successive Presidents have enlarged the list until it includes nearly every branch of the government service. President Arthur with sincerity and courage set about putting the new law into operation, and it is a matter of great gratification to the country that all our recent Presidents have in this way limited and restricted their own power, and that of their chief supporters, for the good of the public service.

Other legislation of importance that marked the official term of President Arthur included the "Edmunds law" against polygamy in the territories, aimed chiefly at the habits of the Mormons of Utah, and a tariff act. The tariff was at this time rapidly becoming a prominent issue. The high duties of war times had been for the most part retained, and a cry from the West for a reduction of duties was too strong to be resisted. As early as 1872 a general outcry from the West against the high tariff resulted

¹ Ostrogorsky, *Democracy*, Vol. II, p. 491.

in the reduction of many duties; but three years later, when the clamor had subsided, the duties were quietly restored. Again, in the early eighties, the subject came to the front. In 1882 a tariff commission, recommended by President Arthur, was appointed. This commission made a report to Congress in December, 1882, and out of this grew the tariff of 1883, a measure that pleased no one. It was an abortive attempt to reduce the duties, but while it reduced them on many articles, it actually raised them on such articles as woolen dress goods, where a reduction would have brought relief.¹ Thus far the tariff was not strictly a partisan question, nor had it been so for nearly forty years; but it was soon to become the chief issue between the two great parties.

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¹ Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 234.

CHAPTER XXX

WESTERN DEVELOPMENT AND GENERAL PROGRESS

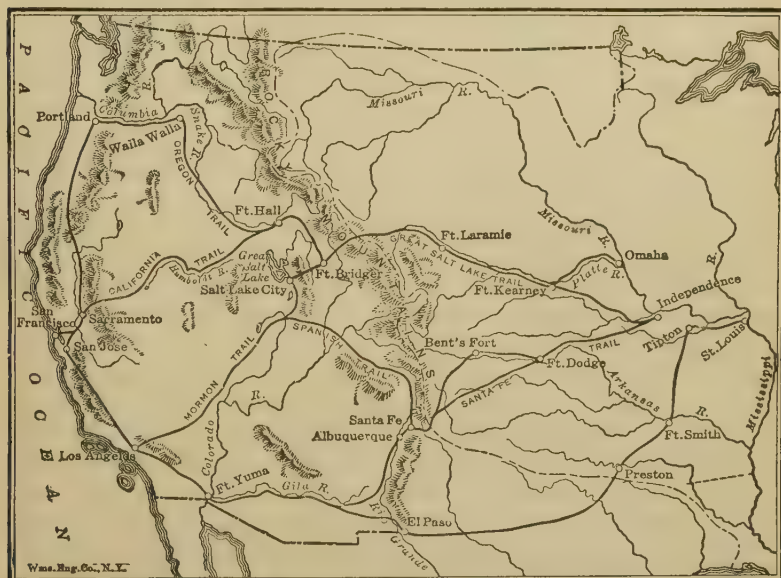
THE GREAT WEST

The "Wild West" as we know it in story and legend has passed away. But at the close of the Civil War there was a vast region beyond the Mississippi, many times larger than the original thirteen states, that was almost devoid of human inhabitants except the numerous Indian tribes that still roamed at will over desert, mountain, and plain. Wild life had been scarcely disturbed in this boundless region. Immense herds of buffalo shook the earth with their ponderous tread as they lumbered over the hills.¹ Millions of wild creatures — the nimble antelope, the roving bands of wolves and coyotes, villages of prairie dogs with their comic little bark, mountain sheep, bears, and many other animals — abounded in this great country undisturbed by the encroachments of civilization. Here, too, were boundless possibilities of agricultural and mineral wealth.

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and settlement of the California and Oregon questions in the eighteen forties left this great

¹ **Passing of the Buffalo.** — The buffalo or bison is a great shaggy, dark brown beast. Millions in vast herds roamed over the country in early times. As late as 1878 General Sheridan reported a herd so great that it required three days to ride through it. A train on the Union Pacific was delayed eight hours by a herd crossing the track. The creature is too stupid to look out for its own safety. One man shot more than a hundred without moving from his tracks. W. F. Cody shot over 4000 to furnish food for the builders of a railroad and was thenceforth called "Buffalo Bill." Many of the western Indians lived almost entirely on the buffalo. They had various ways of taking them. One method was for a whole tribe, men, women and children, to surround a herd on three sides on the edge of a precipice and then by loud yelling and by throwing stones and clubs to stampede them over the cliffs. Most of them were killed in the fall. The Indians would then take off the hides and "jerk" the meat, that is, peel it off in thin strips to be dried in the sun for future use. The Indians secured from the buffalo food, clothing, tents, and bowstrings. The conquest of the western Indians by white men would have been far more difficult but for the diminishing of the buffalo herds. In the eighteen seventies the buffaloes were slain in vast numbers for their "robes," and sent to the eastern market. One estimate was that five million were killed in three years. To-day the American buffalo is almost extinct. A few may yet be found in the wilds of Canada, a small herd in the Yellowstone Park, protected by the government, and two fine protected herds in Canada. See Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, pp. 108-110.

western half of the continent to the future development of the United States; and the early settlement of the coast left an immense unpeopled region nearly a thousand miles wide and extending from the sunny lands of Mexico to the snows of British Columbia. How to improve the means of communication, travel, and transportation across this wide space was one of the burning questions even before the war. A partial solution was made in October, 1861, when the first telegraph line was com-



OVERLAND TRAILS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

pleted between New York and San Francisco. The transporting of passengers and freight continued by the cumbersome method of vehicles drawn by horses, mules, or oxen. The passenger fare from the Missouri River to the coast was \$500.

Western traffic was largely in private hands. The Pony Express, engaged in carrying mail only, attracted wide attention at the time. Light men on fleet horses, with relays from nine to fifteen miles apart, carried mail between Atchison, Kansas, and Sacramento with a speed never known before. It required seven days and seventeen hours to carry Lincoln's first inaugural address between those points. Beginning in April, 1860, the pony express was discontinued in

**The Pony
Express**

October, 1861, when the first telegraph line to the Pacific was opened.

One of the leading passenger and express lines of the West was the Overland Stage Line, owned by Ben Holladay, between Atchison and Salt Lake, where it made connection with the Wells, Fargo and Company's line to California. Holladay at one time owned 260 coaches, 6000 horses and mules, and had several thousand men in his employ.¹

The want of a railroad to the Pacific was keenly felt. But there was an immense unorganized tract, known as the Indian Country, between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, extending from the northern boundary of Texas to Canada. This proved to be a barrier that could not be crossed until certain Indian treaties made in 1834 could be abrogated. This was partly done in 1853; and the Douglas Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, while it did not settle the slavery question in the territories, proved an important step in opening the way for a transcontinental railroad.² There were various reasons for pushing the great work to a conclusion. Most important was the commercial need of joining the rising coast states with the civilization of the East. Then there were the tide of immigration rolling ever westward over the plains; the lure of the precious metals (for gold had been discovered in Colorado and silver in Nevada in the late fifties), and the restless spirit of adventure and conquest.

In 1862 Congress authorized the construction of the first transcontinental railroad. Two companies were formed, the Union Pacific to work westward from the village of Omaha, and the Central Pacific to build eastward from Sacramento. These companies were granted every odd section of land for twenty miles on each side of the road, also a bond issue of \$55,000,000, secured by a mortgage on the road. For seven years with axe and pick and shovel thousands of men labored. Rails had to be brought great distances, many of them by way of Panama or around Cape Horn. At length, on May 10, 1869, the two sections met near Ogden, Utah, and, amid impressive ceremonies, Leland Stanford, president of the Central Pacific, drove the golden spike into the last tie. The East and the West were joined at last by iron bands. Within

**The Pacific
Railroad**

¹ Like John A. Sutter of California fame, Holladay was unable to keep abreast of the times in the march of events. With the coming of the railroads into the West he lost his fortune. He died in Portland, Oregon, 1887, in comparative poverty and obscurity. His suit for indemnity pending in Congress for many years was unsettled at the time of his death. Oberholtzer, I, p. 318.

² Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*, p. 436.

the following twenty years several other railroads were built to the coast. The days of the frontier, of the wild west, of the stage coach, were drawing to a close. Gradually the great sections of the West were carved into territories and later into states. Many millions of people moved into the Great West during the half century following the war, but so vast was the country that even then the land was but sparsely settled. The most thinly settled of all our states is Nevada, which entered the Union in 1864. In area Nevada is twice the size of Illinois, in population about one third that of Delaware. In 1867 Nebraska, which comprises a great section of the prairied West, was admitted to the Union, and Colorado in 1876 became the Centennial State.

The Indian question again became acute after the war. And it was the same old story, the story enacted at Jamestown and New England, and later in the South and the Ohio Valley — the story of a stronger race, developed by civilization, pressing back a primitive people, living in prehistoric times, from the lands they had occupied for unknown ages. The result was always the same. The red men often won local and temporary victories, but in the end they had to yield; a permanent victory they never won.

Fiercely the Indians resented the further encroachment on their lands by the pale faces from the East, and many of the early pioneers — traders, miners, settlers, and travelers — fell victims to the bloody scalping knife and their bones were left to bleach and whiten the western plains and mountains. A thousand white settlers were massacred in Minnesota in August, 1862; eighty-one men were surrounded and slain near the Big Horn Mountains in December, 1866; two years later western Kansas was swept by bands of red warriors and many a peaceful settlement was broken up.

Indian
hostility

For several years almost the whole western country was ablaze with Indian wars. The most troublesome of the tribes were the Apaches of the Southwest, the Cheyennes of the central portion, and the great Sioux federation of the North Country. The troops sent against them often found it difficult to catch the elusive foe, and often they met with grave disaster, the most notable being that of Custer and his army.

The government at length devised the plan of herding the Indians in reservations, set apart for them alone. This plan is still in operation and it has proved a partial solution to the Indian question. By a law passed in 1887 many of the reservations were broken up, the land

Indian
reservations

being allotted in part to the Indians in severalty, the rest being thrown open to white settlers. Many of the Indians have become prosperous farmers; but great numbers of them are still on the reservations (185,000 in 1920), living a primitive life of ease and indolence, taking little interest in the progress of the great world around them. The days of the scalping knife are past. Whether the Indians would ever have developed into a leading world race, had they been left undisturbed, is uncertain. They seem to lack that sleepless spirit of progress and achievement that characterizes the Caucasian race. (See note, p. 841).

Public interest in the Great West was enhanced by the purchase of Alaska, in 1867. That great country of the frigid North, inhabited by Indians and a few whites and Chinese, twelve times the size of Pennsylvania, was a possession of Russia, by right of discovery. It was discovered in 1744 by Vitus Behring, a Dane, sent out by Russia. Secretary Seward concluded a treaty with the Russian minister in March, 1867, by which Alaska was to be transferred to the United States for the sum of \$7,200,000. Senator Sumner, who had been previously won to the project by Seward, secured a ratification of the treaty by the Senate. But there was great opposition throughout the country. Some newspapers spoke of Alaska as a "dreary waste of glaciers, icebergs, white bears, and walrus," as "Seward's folly," as "a huge frozen wilderness not worth taking as a gift." Reasons for the purchase were given, as, to please Russia which had been a good friend during the war; to discomfit England, which had been less friendly, by unfurling the Stars and Stripes along many more hundreds of miles of the boundary of her American possessions; also, to strengthen our credit by showing that we still had money in spite of the drain of the war.

No one at the time dreamed of the boundless wealth of Alaska. The output of gold has already amounted to more than fifty times the purchase price. The iron deposits, the coal, the oil, the copper of the country will probably each surpass its wealth in gold; and the output of the fisheries is worth about five times the purchase price every year. It is probable that the reindeer will in future become a great Alaskan asset. Introduced from Siberia in 1892, they now number nearly half a million and are rapidly increasing. These hardy animals need no feeding or sheltering. Moss and lichen pawed from under the snow furnish their food in winter, and they face with the utmost composure a northern blizzard however violent. It is estimated that

Alaska can support twenty million head of reindeer. They are highly valued for food and peltries.

THE SOUTH

The time will come, if it has not already come, when the people of the South will see that the cause in which they fought so valiantly was not the cause of humanity, will see that the right of secession reserved to the component parts of any country means future disintegration, and that slavery was an evil. The people of the South could not have been expected, immediately on their defeat, to veer around and acknowledge themselves wholly in the wrong, as Stevens and Sumner seemed to think they should. Such a course would have been like trampling the graves of their fallen comrades. Time alone can heal such wounds as were left by the Civil War, and time has not been idle. Few people in the South to-day would go back to pre-war conditions were such a thing possible. Jefferson Davis closes his ponderous two-volume history, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, with a fine sentiment. While contending for the right of secession, he declares it to be impractical; he calls for an end to crimination and recrimination, "and then," he continues, "on the basis of fraternity and faithful regard for the rights of the states, there may be written on the arch of the Union, *Esto perpetua*."

The South did not very rapidly recover from the fearful wounds of the war. It required years to adjust the labor of the freedmen and to substitute it for slave labor. Transportation facilities were inadequate and the tide of immigration, renewed after the war, continued to flow along the great railroad lines to the West and Northwest. By the census of 1880 not one per cent of the inhabitants of the South were foreign born. Capital had been swept away by the war and the carpetbag governments. Even the land in many sections had greatly sunk in value. Many of the great plantations were sold at a fraction of their former value. The South before the war had been almost wholly an agricultural region. Two sources of immense wealth had scarcely been tapped — timber and minerals, especially coal and iron.

Conditions
in the South

Gradually the South worked out its own problems. The negro problem had to be solved and no absentee critics in the North or elsewhere could solve it. As the whites regained control of the state governments the negroes

The negro

dropped out of the legislatures and eventually lost the privilege of voting. The great majority of the negroes became employees of their white neighbors, but many thousands of them purchased little farms as the years passed and became independent.

The mineral wealth of the South was disclosed within a decade after the war. Coal was mined in all except three or four of the Southern states and in 1880 the coal output was more than twelve per cent of the entire coal production of the country. Alabama alone produced 400,000 tons of coal in 1880. The same state, also Tennessee and a few others, were found to be very rich in iron deposits, and since then a considerable portion of the iron production of the country comes from the South.

Nothing perhaps is more significant in the transforming of the South into an industrial as well as an agricultural country than the building of cotton mills. Hitherto the cotton factories had been built chiefly in the British Isles and in New England. But the South discovered that it could manufacture cotton yarns and fabrics more cheaply than it could be done anywhere else, owing to the nearness of cotton fields, its access to cheap labor, and to its boundless water supply from the mountain streams. The result was that cotton factories began to spring up in many parts of the South and by 1880 more than 700,000 spindles were turning and were consuming annually more than a hundred million pounds of cotton. From that time to the present the cotton manufacturing industry in that section has been constantly increasing. In 1881 a great cotton exposition was held at Atlanta, Georgia. The exhibits, numbering 1800 in all, included the various stages in cotton growing and the latest and best machinery used in its manufacture. Here also it was shown that cotton seed, formerly thrown away, was of much value for its oil and for cattle food and fertilizer. The exposition did much to inspire the South to greater achievement. Railroad building in the South has gone steadily forward since the close of the war and has been a great factor in the developing of the social, economic, and industrial interests of the country. The people of the South lost the Civil War, but they found themselves.

IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION

In ancient times it often happened that whole nations migrated from one country to another, as when the Israelites entered Palestine from Egypt, or when Helvetians attempted to occupy

Gaul. Such movement of population do not take place in our time. The habitable lands of the earth are preëmpted and, moreover, even small nations number millions of people and they would find it impossible to migrate as a whole.

A few centuries ago portions of the populations of various countries swarmed out of the parent hive, driven perhaps by religious or political persecution, and settled in new lands for the purpose of making permanent homes. But they retained their connections with the home land. Of such classes were our thirteen colonies built up.

It was left for the nineteenth century to register a great movement of population for economic reasons, not as groups or colonies, but as individuals or in families, giving up their citizenship and adopting that of the land to which Early immigration they went. Many of these went to Canada or South America or Australia, but the great majority came to the United States. Were it not for our immigrants of the nineteenth century one can readily imagine that our vast western country would still be a land of Indians and fur traders. Before 1820 no exact immigration records were kept. It is estimated that the yearly average between the close of the Revolution and 1820 was about 6700, or about 250,000 in all. After that date the number rose steadily and in 1842 it passed the hundred thousand mark. In the late forties two events in Europe, the Irish potato famine and a political upheaval in Germany, sent great numbers of emigrants to America. Among the Germans who came were two notable men — Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel. In 1854 our immigrants reached 427,833, a number not again reached before 1872.

The Civil War checked the stream of immigration, but in the following years it rose to greater heights than ever, the Irish and Germans predominating. The banner year of the century was 1882, when 790,000 newcomers from Europe reached our shores. Soon after the war the Scandinavians began coming in increasing numbers. A sturdy, industrious, religious people they were, of a pure Teutonic stock. They settled by tens of thousands in the great agricultural regions about the sources of the Mississippi.

Later began a stream of a different class — Italians, Greeks, Russians, and others from Southeastern Europe. These came in great numbers and by 1896 they made up more than a majority of the immigrants. Of this class the Classes of immigrants proportion of illiterates was far greater than of the earlier immigrants. After the turn of the century the volume

of immigration continued to swell until it had far passed the million-a-year mark. History presents no parallel to this long continued movement of population on a large scale. The American people at first and for many years welcomed the newcomers with open arms; but at length public opinion began to protest against the increasing volume, especially as many of the immigrants were of an undesirable class. In 1882 Congress passed a law excluding criminals and persons likely to become public charges. But many years were yet to pass before drastic legislation was enacted greatly curtailing the privileges of foreigners in making their homes in America.

The great majority of Irish immigrants settled in the large cities along the Atlantic seaboard. They became workers in factories, laborers, builders of railroads. The Germans were chiefly farmers. Many of them remained in the eastern cities, but the majority went west and took up farming lands in the valley of the Ohio and the Mississippi. They were frugal and industrious; they were stanch friends of education and stable government. The English and Welsh settled chiefly in Pennsylvania and other mining states. The comers from Russia and the Mediterranean lands settled mostly in the cities. They became laborers, fruit venders, small store keepers, and, especially those of Jewish blood, merchants, bankers, and financiers.

It is estimated that at least half of the American people are of foreign birth or descent, that is, are descendants of immigrants as distinguished from the colonists of Revolutionary times; and as a matter of course they have had an immense influence on the social, intellectual, political, and industrial life of the nation. The great majority of the people are of Teutonic or Germanic, often called Nordic, stock — English, German, or Scandinavian. However, the proportion has been somewhat changed, as compared with a century ago, by the influx of Irish and of the Mediterranean and Alpine peoples. Herein lies the one serious question, amounting to a "race problem" with respect to immigration. Can the American people absorb, "assimilate," these non-Teutonic masses and still remain the America of the early days? or will these masses so modify our ethnical life as to leave permanent results on our national characteristics? It was this question that led to the profound changes in our immigration laws in the early nineteen twenties, as will be noted later.

Among our immigrants are some criminals, labor agitators and all-around mischief-makers, but the vast majority of them are good people. They come for a good purpose — to make homes

and to give their children a better chance than they would have had in the old country. They are of the better class of European peasantry. The shiftless ne'er-do-wells have not the pluck to travel three thousand miles to set up new homes. Too often in the cities our foreigners colonize, retain their language and customs, and thus deny themselves the opportunity of speedily becoming Americanized. But, thanks to the public schools and their influence, their children by the second or third generation can scarcely be distinguished from the rest of us. On the whole, our nation has been immeasurably enriched by foreign immigration.

INVENTIONS

In a former chapter we have noticed that the early part of the century was marked by the perfection of the steam engine and its application to the industries, to navigation, and to the railroads. Aside from this there was a singular dearth of invention during the first thirty years of the century. Scarcely one of first rate importance can be named. Then came, within the next twenty years, four inventions of great permanent usefulness, inventions that have profoundly affected the civilization of the world.

First among these was the grain reaper, an invention of Cyrus H. McCormick. For thousands of years the harvesting of grain was done with the sickle; then early in the nineteenth century the cradle was invented. It was a Grain
reaper great improvement over the sickle, but even with the cradle it was often difficult for the farmer to harvest his grain in time to save it. McCormick was the son of a Virginia farmer. His father tried for years to invent a reaper; the son took it up and completed it. With a number of farmers as witnesses he cut six acres in a day cleaner than a cradle could do it. All were convinced and one exclaimed: "That machine is worth a hundred thousand dollars." McCormick took out a patent in 1831, moved to Chicago, and established one of the great industries of the country. The reaper, which grew into the self binder, together with the thresher and other inventions, made possible the great wheat farms of the Northwest. Without them the supplying of the world with bread would be a most serious problem.

Of equal if not greater importance than the reaper was the sewing machine. The inventor was Elias Howe, a New England

farmer boy. Before he was twenty Howe conceived the idea of the sewing machine. He spent many years studying out the details, living almost in poverty, trying to interest a phlegmatic public. He took out a patent in 1846. At length the people awakened to the fact that Howe had done a great work and before his death he enjoyed fame and wealth.

The sewing machine came to be used not only in the home, but in factories for making clothing, harness, and shoes, over the civilized world. As a labor saving device it is hard to parallel. It has greatly lowered the price of clothing and shoes. It has relieved woman, hitherto a slave to the needle, of much of the drudgery of housekeeping and enabled her to engage in many things outside the home, in works of charity, church, education, and public affairs.¹

One of the most marvelous of human inventions is the electric telegraph by Samuel F. B. Morse, an artist of considerable note.

Morse was also a student of electricity. When about forty years old, while on the Atlantic returning from Europe, the idea of the telegraph took possession of his mind. After some years he perfected his device by which, through a code of dots and dashes, an electric current carries news through a metallic wire. The electric wave moves with the marvelous speed of light, 186,000 miles per second. Morse was granted his patent in 1837. The first practical use of the telegraph was in 1844. In 1858 the first Atlantic cable was laid by Cyrus W. Field; but after a few weeks' service the cable parted and eight years passed before another was completed.

An epoch-making invention was the telegraph. It enables one to receive within an hour news of an event on the opposite side of the earth. A century ago half a year would have been required for the transmission.

To show how this wonderful invention has made the world akin, a comparative illustration is useful: I have before me a New York newspaper dated Aug. 4, 1815. Its chief foreign news item is an account of the great battle between the French and the allied powers at Waterloo in which Napoleon was overthrown. This was the first news to reach America of that famous battle, which had been fought on the eighteenth of June, nearly seven weeks before, and several weeks were yet to pass before it could reach the interior of the country. How great the contrast with the following: The Coronation of King Edward VII

¹ Thorpe, *History of the American People*, p. 429.

took place on August 9, 1902, at noon, and some hours before noon of the same day the account of the event was read on the streets of American cities.

Next in importance to these three great inventions of this period was the cylinder press. Printing by hand, followed for centuries after the time of Gutenberg, was a slow, laborious process. In 1847 Richard Hoe obtained a patent for a cylinder press, an improvement over a similar one used in England. From time to time the Hoe press was improved and it was applied to the printing of books and magazines as well as newspapers. Without it the great newspapers of our time would be impossible. Other inventions in connection with printing are also of great importance. Among these are the type-casting machine (1836); the linotype, invented by Ottmar Mergenthaler, a German-born American; the monotype, which casts and sets the type, an invention of Tolbert Lanston; the autoplata, and the mechanical folder. The linotype and the monotype cast new type for each job and the process is so cheap that the type is thrown back into the melting pot, a distribution of it being unnecessary. On the whole the inventions in printing have been of immense importance in disseminating knowledge.

The
cylinder
press

Another achievement of this period is the discovery of ether, or rather of its application as an anæsthetic. By its use a patient sleeps like a child while undergoing a surgical operation. A great boon to suffering humanity it has proved.

One of the great inventions of modern times is the telephone. Its inventor was Alexander Graham Bell of Boston, a Scot by birth. Elisha Grey of Chicago was also an inventor of the telephone and it is a curious fact that both applied for a patent on the same day, in February, 1876. Bell preceded Grey by an hour or two and received the patent right. Later the same year Bell exhibited his new device at the Centennial exhibition in Philadelphia. Few at first took any notice of it. The great public knew little and cared nothing about the crude bit of mechanism. Its tremendous possibilities were yet to be disclosed. One day when the judges of the exhibits came to the corner of the great building where Bell sat with his new invention, they were about to pass on without giving it serious attention. At that moment Dom Pedro, emperor of Brazil, who had been attending the exposition, stepped up, put the receiver to his ear and exclaimed, "My God! it talks!" From that day the telephone was the most in-

The
telephone

teresting and popular exhibit at the Centennial. Bell had won immortal fame and his telephone within a few years was in use throughout the civilized world.

CORPORATIONS AND TRUSTS

For many years after the application of steam-power to the turning of factory machinery the United States continued to be a nation of farmers and small-scale business men in competition with one another. Then after the Civil War came an era of combination. The small producer found himself in competition with the greater corporation which, with its large-scale production, had many advantages over him. It could drive him to the wall with its cheaper production and its manipulating of the markets. The process continued until great numbers of small business men were forced out of business or forced to sell to the big concern and join it as employees. The change would have been a good thing for the public but for the fact that too often the great corporations were carried on for the benefit of the owners and managers. Regardless of the fact that large scale production, with its costly machinery and its more efficient management, was cheaper than before, the public had to pay higher prices than under the old system of competition; too often the practice was to charge the people for any commodity "all that the traffic would bear." At length the people rebelled against being exploited for the benefit of the "malefactors of great wealth," and the government, state or national, came to the rescue and made laws for the regulating of great business and transportation corporations.

First to combine into large units was the railroads. After a short period under state control, the railroads passed into private hands. Small companies were organized and roads were built from town to town to supply local needs. But these could not satisfy the necessities of a growing and expanding population and some years before the war the process of consolidation was begun. What became the New York Central, for example, was first owned by a dozen or more different companies. By 1857 these were consolidated under the management of Cornelius Vanderbilt.

The Pennsylvania, under the able management of Thomas A. Scott, reached Pittsburg in 1852, a year after the Baltimore and Ohio had reached the Ohio River. These and other railroads were extended on to Chicago and St. Louis before the

beginning of the war, but not until after the war did each system come under a single management. With the building of the first transcontinental line it was seen more vividly that in long distance transportation the public could not be properly served if the roads were chopped up into sections under different management. It was with the approval of the public, therefore, that the merging process went on until it became possible for a passenger to travel from New York to San Francisco on a single ticket and without changing cars. Several important improvements in railroad service belong to this period. Pullman sleepers, introduced in 1864, have come to be considered a necessity rather than a luxury in long journeys. Another improvement was the Westinghouse automatic air-brake, patented in 1872, and still another was the substituting of steel for iron rails.

Railroad
consolida-
tion

The whole people took pride in the rapid growth of the railroads and in a large measure approved the integrating process; but the railroads fell into evil ways. By underpaying their employees, by rebates and discriminations, to be noticed on a later page, they lost in public favor and contributed to the bringing on of the great railroad strike of 1877, the most disastrous in the history of American industry.

In the organizing of Big Business the outstanding example of that period is found in the Standard Oil Company. The discovery of oil in western Pennsylvania a few years before the war caused an excitement almost equal to that of the gold discovery in California. Thousands of people rushed to the new land of promise; farm lands were leased or purchased; wells were drilled as fast as possible and the country round was soon a forest of derricks. Hundreds of oil companies were organized and people of all classes hastened to invest their money. Some of the companies were pure fakes. Sometimes, it was said, a company with no assets, except a few maps and a few bottles of oil in the office window, would sell a million dollars' worth of stock in less than a week. At length the excitement died away and the people realized that a great new industry of vast importance was added to the assets of the country. In our modern industrial life no mineral we take from the earth is so important, except coal and iron, as kerosene or petroleum. Not long had Pennsylvania a monopoly of oil; it was soon found in many other places.

Discovery
of oil

In 1865 there was a young man of twenty-two in a commission house in Cleveland, Ohio, named John D. Rockefeller. He

was a man of rare business capacity and keen foresight. He became interested in oil; he became the founder of the world-famous Standard Oil Company (1870) and was its managing genius for many years. Gathering about him a few kindred spirits, Rockefeller set out to monopolize the oil business, regardless of the rights of others and unscrupulous as to the methods employed.

Within a year or two the Standard had absorbed twenty of the twenty-five oil companies in Cleveland. By the end of 1875 it had gathered in nearly all the great oil refineries of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The company acquired great underground pipe lines, built storage tanks and factories to make its own barrels. By 1880 it had control of ninety per cent of all the oil refineries in the country. It then reached out for the retail trade. An agent was sent into a district and was required to secure the entire oil business of his territory. The methods employed were ruthless and unethical. The Standard would go into a town where an independent company was doing an honest and flourishing business and set up a rival agency. It would then cut prices in that locality to a point below cost and thus steal the trade of its rival until the rival was forced out of business, whereupon the Standard would raise the price and quickly make up its losses incurred

Unscrupulous methods

during the price war. In its dealing with the railroads the Standard was equally unscrupulous. As it was a very large shipper the railroads were anxious for its trade. Taking advantage of this condition, the Standard demanded and secured secret rebates on its freight bills. The independent oil companies, thus paying much higher freight rates, were at a great disadvantage when competing with this gigantic octopus in the oil markets of the East. In 1882 Rockefeller made an arrangement with certain other companies, bringing the business of all under the unified control of nine directors with himself at the head. This combination was known as a "trust," and it was the forerunner of many other trusts. The methods of the Standard at length roused public opinion, as will be noticed later, but regulating legislation was not secured until John D. Rockefeller had made himself the "richest man in the world."

Big business developed in many other lines. The most notable example, perhaps, was in the steel industry and with it the name of Andrew Carnegie will always be associated. Born in Scotland in 1835, Carnegie came to America when a boy of

thirteen. He learned telegraphy and railroading. In 1860 he was superintendent of the western division of the Pennsylvania Railroad. During the war he had charge of the eastern military railroads and telegraph lines. Like Rockefeller he was a business genius of the first rank. On a visit to Europe he became convinced that the Bessemer process of making steel was the best and in 1868 he introduced it in America. With prophetic foresight he saw that iron bridges and steel rails would enter into the future of railroad building and he organized the Keystone Iron Bridge Company and the Union Iron Mills. He secured control of the Steel Works at Homestead near Pittsburg and other great steel plants around that city. Later he organized the Carnegie Steel Company, and after amassing an immense fortune he sold out to the United States Steel Corporation in 1901. Mr. Carnegie spent the years of his retirement distributing his fortune, building libraries, and founding institutions for public service. Mr. Rockefeller also gave vast sums for education and charity.

CHURCH PROGRESS

We noted in a previous chapter the great change in the church life of the country during the half century following the Revolution, resulting in the disestablishing of the Episcopal Church in New York and the South, and of the Puritan Church in New England. It remains to notice the general religious progress of the country in its later development. Since Massachusetts separated Church and State in 1834 the most obvious attempt to reunite them in any American state was that of the Mormons of Utah.¹

Owing to the large number of independent churches or denominations in the United States a union of Church and State would be very impractical, next to impossible. Nor would such a union be desirable. The churches, supported by voluntary offerings and working in friendly rivalry with one another, are

¹ The Mormon Church was organized in 1830 in New York, by Joseph Smith, who professed to have found some golden tablets, revealed to him by an angel. He published them as the Golden Bible, or the Book of Mormon. It gave an account of an ancient tribe who had migrated to the New World, under the guidance of their prophet Mormon. Smith declared the religion based on this book to be the only true religion. He soon had a following; but the sect proved so undesirable that it was driven from one place to another — to Ohio, to Missouri, and to Illinois. In 1847 it migrated to Utah and settled about Great Salt Lake. The Mormons had made polygamy one of the cornerstones of doctrine. Meantime before this migration to Utah, the sect had split and the branch broken off settled at Lamoni, Iowa. This branch, composed of an excellent class of people, repudiates polygamy and refuses all connection with the Mormons of Utah. In 1896 Utah became a state, but not until the Mormons had been forced by act of Congress to give up polygamy.

far more vigorous and progressive than they could possibly be if supported by taxation. In another sense the Church and State are very closely united. The Constitutional guarantee of religious liberty means that the State must protect all religious bodies, unless, as in the case of the Mormons, they violate the laws of the land. On the other hand, the Church is a necessary bulwark of the State. It trains for good citizenship. Nearly all our Presidents, a great majority of our statesmen and public men, have been members of the Church. By keeping religion and politics apart is meant that a religious body must be non-partisan and non-political as an organization; but the more religious men and women enter public office the better for the State. Said President Coolidge in an address, "I do not know of any source of moral power, or any adequate support for our form of government except that which comes from religion." It must be recognized that our civilization, as that of every other civilized nation in the world's history, has been built up on the religious beliefs and practices of the people as its chief cornerstone.

The churches have been severely criticised by some writers as not meeting the spiritual wants of the age, but the school system and the government itself have been equally criticised. The clergy is sometimes spoken of as foggyish and behind the times; but it is possible that the clergy are as fully abreast of the times as are the medical or legal profession, the merchant or the laboring class.

That the American people have not lost interest in the Church is proved by the fact that the membership of the great religious bodies have gained in the past hundred years faster than the population as a whole, in spite of the fact that religious qualifications for voting and holding office were long ago removed, and the further fact that our state universities and public schools make no distinctions on account of religion. It is no doubt true that church attendance has decreased, especially among Protestants. Many yield to the allurements of the automobile; some listen to the church service in their homes by means of the radio. And there is a deeper cause: an increasing number of people take refuge in the fact that Protestant theology makes salvation dependent on personal heart relations with God and not upon exactitude of personal performances.

Morals and conduct are, on the other hand, improving. Dueling among us is a thing of the past; rough and tumble fighting, as in the early days, widespread drunkenness, and a

few other vices are less prevalent than formerly. Even corruption in public life of the Tweed brand of a half century ago would hardly be possible to-day in any American city.

Our elections are far less corrupt than they were a few decades ago.' We are bad enough yet, Goodness knows; but we are growing better, at least we think we are, and if we are, the chief cause is the influence of the Christian Church.

Public
morals

AMERICAN LITERATURE¹

Imaginative literature is about the last thing to develop in a new country. The people of colonial times were too busy conquering a continent — battling with the soil, the forests, the wild animals, and the Indians — to give much attention to the "criticism of life" implied in literature. Aside from Franklin's Autobiography, Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and some of the political writings of Jefferson and Hamilton, we have little of enduring value before the nineteenth century. During the first half of that century appear a shining galaxy of literary figures — Irving, Cooper, Poe, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Hawthorne, Holmes, and Emerson — mentioned in a former chapter.

Irving, a gentle and lovable man, wrote delightful, semi-humorous tales in exquisite style, with the spontaneity of a singing bird. Cooper, who spent some years in the navy and more years on the frontier of New York, wrote stories of the sea and of pioneer life, which have not been surpassed to this day. Poe was a strange, erratic genius. His short stories are gruesome and full of horror, but strangely fascinating. His poetry never sounds a deep life-note, never deals with the eternal verities, but its music, its rhythmic beauty is unsurpassed in the English tongue. Bryant will ever be remembered for his "Thanatopsis" and "To a Waterfowl." The latter was pronounced by a noted English critic the best short poem in the English language. The most popular and cultured of all our poets is Longfellow. Though not a great genius, Longfellow touches the heart and reaches the home circle. His poems are widely read in all English-speaking lands. Whittier's poems reflect the beauty of the rocks and hills of New England, also the simple life of the people. His "Snow Bound" and "Maud

Leading
literary
figures

¹Contemporary literature cannot be treated in this volume. As stated in the preface, the subjects of literature and the growth of our religious and educational life are of such importance that they should be studied in separate works.

Muller" and his anti-slavery poems won many readers. Two other poets belong to this New England group — Oliver Wendell Holmes, known as a wit and humorist, and James Russell Lowell, the author of "The Biglow Papers" and of "The Vision of Sir Launfal."

Among prose writers of the mid-century period Ralph Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne stand out above all others. Emerson, who was also a poet, holds perhaps the first place among American men of letters. His essays are deep, spiritual studies in the philosophy of life. Hawthorne, whose style is flawless, has no superior as a romanticist. At the head of the list of novelists of the post-war period stand Henry James and William Dean Howells, the founders of the realistic school. Samuel L. Clemens, "Mark Twain," stands at the head of American humorists. His style and imagination were of such fine quality that he might have made a name as a serious writer. George W. Cable, a strong novelist, was the interpreter of Creole life. Two southern writers, Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page, vividly depicted negro life after the war. What they and Cable did for the South Bret Harte and Joaquin Miller did for the Far West.

The greatest literary figure that the South produced, next to Edgar A. Poe, was Sidney Lanier. His "Marshes of Glynn," "Song of the Chattahoochee," and other poems disclose poetic genius of high order. Lanier died at thirty-nine. Had he enjoyed length of days, he might have made a great name in literature. Walt Whitman was one of the most original of American poets, a truly creative genius. He was the poet of Democracy, but his verse is so difficult as to be impossible to the masses. Other writers of prose or verse that won fame during or soon after the war were Bayard Taylor, Helen Hunt Jackson, Alice and Phebe Cary, Eugene Field, who touched the world's heart with his "Little Boy Blue"; James Whitcomb Riley, Lew Wallace, Francis Marion Crawford, S. Weir Mitchell, Alice French, "Octave Thanet," Frank Norris, and Jack London.

As to the historians, at present "the woods is full of 'em," but in those days they were less numerous. For many years

Historians George Bancroft, also a statesman, held a unique place as a historian. He spent half a century writing our history to the adopting of the Constitution. Richard Hildreth less satisfactorily covered the same ground. Abler than either was Francis Parkman, who wrote many volumes on the French and English in North America. William Hickling Prescott and John Lothrop Motley stand in the first class of

historians, and other writers, as Jared Sparks, John G. Palfrey, and Henry Adams, occupy but a little lower rank.

American literature is not yet commensurate with our greatness as a nation. We are in the period of lusty, immature youth. Greece was a thousand years old at the dawn of her classic period; Rome had flourished 800 years before the Augustan Age, and England had developed for a thousand years before the time of Elizabeth. Why should we be disturbed at not having produced a Hugo, a Goethe, or a Shakespeare? The American people are equal in every way to the Europeans from whom they sprung. It is reasonable to believe that our great land with its vast commercial, intellectual, and religious life will sometime find its final expression in immortal literature.

Indian Civilization. — The most hopeless feature in connection with the Indian problem is that the race seems incapable of civilization. No barbarous people awaits civilization. It comes as a gradual indigenous growth covering centuries, or it is brought by more enlightened peoples. In the latter instance, a barbarous people is almost sure to offer resistance at first, but eventually seeing that what is offered it is better than what it has, it comes to desire further enlightenment. When a people reaches this stage its future is secure. The negro race in our country to-day has progressed less rapidly than was hoped, but, nevertheless, it has done something: it has shown a capacity to improve, and has produced many intelligent, aspiring men. But far less is this true of the American Indians. Learning the use of firearms and of the horse has greatly changed their mode of life, but it has not brought them civilization.

The Indian is essentially a child of nature. Take him to the centers of industry and civilization, and he pines for his forest home; dress him in the garb of a gentleman, and place him in the home of luxury, and he longs for his simple wigwam, his native dress, and his bead-covered moccasins. He loves, above all things, the wild freedom of the wilderness, the flowing river, the waving forest, the crags and peaks of the mountains. The conventionalities of civilized life, the hum of industry in the great city, have no charms for him. It is the howl of the wolf, the scream of the wild bird, the sighing of the wind among the trees — these furnish the music that touches the soul of the Indian. He aspires to no improvements beyond that which his tribe enjoyed when he was born. He is not educated, and he does not wish to be. He does not desire to know anything of the great world beyond his own home in the wilderness. He does not know his own age. He notes the changes of the seasons and counts time by the moon; but how many moons since he was born, or since his children were born he does not know, and he does not care.

Ages of contact with civilization have produced in the Indian little ability to improve his own condition, to make his race a world force, or to elevate it above the state of barbarism. The Indian languages are laden with poetic beauty; but no Indian has produced a poem that will live, no Indian has written a history, no tribe has reared a monument. The race has absorbed the vices without the virtues of civilization. Their contact with the whites has largely broken up their tribal relations, and freed them from the rigid morality born of tribal custom, and their present state is worse than the first. Even the greatest Indians ever known to the white race, such as Pontiac and Tecumseh, whose courage and endowments the world must admire, became great, not by attempting to foster civilization, but by their resistance to it.

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CHAPTER XXXI

RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO POWER

FOR four and twenty years the Republican party had held supremacy in the government. During that period its achievements had been great; but it had made many blunders and on these its powerful antagonist had fattened until it seemed ready to seize the reins of government. The Republicans had been weakened by Congressional Reconstruction and the scandals of the carpetbag régime, by the corruption of the Grant administration, and even by the Liberal defection of 1872. Great numbers of the Liberals never returned to the Republican party. But with all that the party would no doubt have won again in 1884 but for the fact that it chose a standard-bearer who could not command the full party strength.

ELECTION OF CLEVELAND

The Republican convention met in Chicago the first week in June, 1884. There were many candidates, but the idol of the party was "The magnetic man from Maine," and his nomination was assured from the beginning. Blaine led all others on the first three ballots and was nominated on the fourth. The convention then wisely chose for second place one of the most prominent of the leaders of the Stalwarts, General John A. Logan of Illinois. In the platform the party fulsomely praised itself for its past good deeds, pronounced for a protective tariff, and heartily indorsed civil service reform.

The Democrats met in the same city a few weeks later and nominated Grover Cleveland, governor of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice President. In their platform they pointed out the moral decay of the Republican party, and mercilessly arraigned that party for not keeping faith with the people, making, at the same time, the most glowing promises to correct every abuse if the people would intrust them with power. They also called for a reduction of the tariff without injuring "any domestic industries."

The Prohibitionists nominated Governor John P. St. John of Kansas for President. The Greenback, now called the National party, chose Benjamin F. Butler as its standard bearer, and Butler was also nominated by the new-born Anti-Monopoly party. The great interest of the people, however, centered in the candidates of the two great political parties. Of these two men one had been in the public gaze as a party leader for many years, and frequent have been our references to his career; the other was a new star in the political sky.

Grover Cleveland, the son of a clergyman, was born in New Jersey in the same year and the same month that witnessed the inauguration of Martin Van Buren, the only President yet elected from New York. A few years later the family moved to a village near Syracuse, New York, where most of Grover's boyhood was spent.

Denied a college education by the early death of his father, the boy at length determined to go westward and seek his fortune. He started for Cleveland, Ohio, being attracted by the name, but he stopped on the way at Buffalo, and made that city his home. He had determined to become a lawyer, and he soon found a place with one of the largest law firms of the city.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he was a lawyer of good standing and a fair income. When President Lincoln made his first call for volunteers, he and his two brothers held a conference about their duty to the country, and it was decided that two of them answer the President's call, while the third should remain at home to care for their mother; and as Grover's income exceeded that of the others, he was chosen to remain, while the others entered the army.¹

In the late seventies he was elected reform mayor of Buffalo. His record as mayor attracted wide attention. Against a most corrupt city council he strove unceasingly and he won in every contest. His scathing veto messages awakened the people as nothing had done before to the fact that they were being robbed by their officials. He saved the city over \$800,000 on a sewer contract, and \$100,000 annually in the street-cleaning department.

In 1882, when his party wanted a reform candidate for governor of the state, they naturally turned to the mayor of Buffalo.

Cleveland's public record The Republicans had nominated Judge Folger of President Arthur's Cabinet, against the will of the rank and file of the party who desired the renom-

¹ Stoddard's *Life of Cleveland*, p. 40. The two brothers returned safe from the war, but both were lost at sea in 1872.

ination of Governor Cornell. Thousands of them now turned to Cleveland, and he was elected by a plurality of almost two hundred thousand. It happened that the legislature of New York, like the city council of Buffalo, was controlled by a "machine" which had many political debts to pay and many political fences to repair — at public expense. But here sat the reform governor, quiet, unostentatious, businesslike, watching the interests of the people, and every bill sent him that savored of corruption was sent back with a positive veto. The people applauded. The politicians grew angry and raised the cry that Cleveland was bidding for the presidency by appealing over their heads to the people; but when he vetoed a bill to compel the Elevated Railway Company of New York City to reduce its fare to five cents, because it would impair the obligation of a contract and be "a breach of faith on the part of the state," and when he vetoed another appropriating money to the Catholic Protectorate because it was purely a sectarian institution, his enemies were at a loss to explain. He vetoed the one bill against the wishes of ninety-nine out of every hundred people of the metropolis, and the other at the risk of offending great numbers of Catholic voters. Such actions exhibited a moral courage that was astonishing, or an indifference to public opinion that was equally so. Cleveland thus proved himself entirely beyond the control of the political bosses of New York, and against their fierce opposition he was nominated for President at Chicago.

The campaign became a personal one between the two leading candidates. Both parties stooped to defamation of character and indecent personalities. Blaine had never cleared himself, with all his dramatic defense in Congress, of having used his position as Speaker of the House to make money for himself in connection with the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad and the Democrats made the most of the fact.¹ Mr. Blaine was a strong and fearless leader, and he took personal charge of his canvass; but he was unfortunate from the beginning. A strong element of his party, who came to be known as "Mugwumps,"² opposed him bitterly and supported Cleveland. Among these were Henry Ward Beecher, George William Curtis, and Carl Schurz. These men, whose motives were beyond question, had many followers. They not only distrusted Blaine; they believed that with the dawn of the new industrial era the old leaders of war and re-

¹ Rhodes, Vol. VIII, p. 216.

² Mugwump is an Algonkin word and means chief. It was long in use in parts of New England, but before this campaign its use was not general.

construction should be set aside, and the government placed into new hands. The Prohibitionists, who held the balance of power in New York, and whose vote would be drawn chiefly from the Republicans, were entreated by the Blaine followers to withdraw their candidate, Mr. St. John, from the field in Blaine's favor, but they refused to do so. Again, Blaine made serious blunders during the canvass. He made a tour through several states and, with his magnetic power over great crowds, he left a good impression. But on his return he made a stop in New York City, and this was fatal to his cause. Here he dined with a company of millionaires, and the Democrats paraded the fact before the public. A company of ministers called on him, and their spokesman, the Rev. Dr. Burchard, referred to the Democratic party as the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," and the candidate offered no rebuke in his reply. This was eagerly seized on by the Democrats, as a denunciation of the Catholic Church. In vain did Blaine deny all sympathy with the sentiment; and the Irish Catholic vote, which seemed to be gravitating toward Blaine, whose mother was a Catholic, was now turned to Cleveland.

New York was the pivotal state, and its vote was cast for Cleveland by a plurality of less than twelve hundred — and the long season of Republican supremacy was broken. Blaine's defeat was pathetic. For years he had hoped and labored for the great prize, and it seemed so near. Had he been elected, he would have made a strong President and, no doubt, an honest one. But he had a premonition that, like Henry Clay, he would never be President. And how strangely similar seemed the defeat of Clay just forty years before. Clay had failed to obtain the nomination when his party was successful at the polls; and when he was chosen by the convention, he was defeated at the polls — and the same was true of Blaine. New York was the pivotal state in 1844 and also in 1884. Clay had lost that state and the nation through a little third party which held the balance of power, and so with Blaine. And yet there is one more item in this strange parallel: Clay and Blaine each seriously injured his own cause by writing ill-advised letters during the campaign.

Another element that entered into the defeat of Blaine was the attitude of his old enemy, Roscoe Conkling. Twice had Conkling prevented the nomination of Blaine in convention, and now when Blaine received it, Conkling could have secured his election; but the mighty Achilles sulked in his tent. His friends understood; they re-

Clay and
Blaine

Conkling's
revenge

fused to support the lifelong enemy of their idol and cast their votes for Cleveland. Had Conkling made a single speech, had he raised a finger in support of Blaine, in spite of the St. John vote, in spite of the Mugwump defection, in spite of the Burcharde alliteration, the Empire State would have cast its vote for the magnetic statesman and he would have been elected.¹ But Conkling remembered the insult of eighteen years before, the bitter denunciation on the floor of the House, the "grandiloquent swell," the "turkey-gobbler strut," and his high-poised soul could not forgive. He took his revenge, and Blaine never became President.

THE NEW CONDITIONS

This campaign was one of unusual significance; it marked the restoration to power of the old party that Jefferson had founded, that had ruled the country for forty years without a break, that had secured to the country all the West beyond the Mississippi, that had sinned grievously and had suffered deeply. Now again the people had restored the old party to power — but only in part, for the Senate was still Republican, and from this cause party legislation was impossible and the first term of Cleveland, like the term of Hayes, was a season of quiet in the political world.

Viewed in another light, the party of Cleveland was not the old party of Jefferson, or of Jackson, or even of James Buchanan. A new era had dawned and had brought with it new ideals and new duties. Thousands who aided in the election of Cleveland had been born since the firing on Fort Sumter. The great body of American voters had grown to manhood since then. Old conditions had passed a way with the old generation; the new conditions called for a new type of statesmanship, and in none was this embodied more than in the newly elected President. In his inaugural address he advised that the heat of the partisan be merged into the patriotism of the citizen. The Republicans took their defeat gracefully, and the people bravely turned their faces to the future.

Nothing so emphasized the friendly reunion of the states as the fact that two members of the new Cabinet, L. Q. C. Lamar and A. H. Garland, had been commanders in the Confederate armies. The fitness of these appointments was soon recognized by all. They did not signify, as a few radicals at first cried out,

¹ The Republican defection in Conkling's home county alone was greater than Cleveland's majority in the state of New York.

that "the South was again in the saddle," but rather that the old war spirit was dying and that the Southern states were again in spirit, as well as in fact, members of the happy sisterhood. Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware became secretary of state, and W. C. Whitney of New York, secretary of the navy.

Nothing could have been more fitting than that the first bill to which this new Democratic President placed his signature was an act restoring General Grant to the retired list of the army. The aged ex-President, in the hope of gaining a fortune, had engaged in business in the city of New York. The firm with which he was connected proved to be disreputable; the business came to an unhappy end, and, though the honor of the general was untouched, his modest savings were swept away in the crash. Moreover, Grant was suffering from an incurable disease, a cancer in the mouth, which baffled the skill of the physicians. The heart of the nation went out in sympathy with the dying hero. He had been laboring faithfully on his "Memoirs," the story of his life, that his family might reap the benefit when he was gone. In the spring and early summer of 1885, the malady from which he suffered became alarming, but the general continued his writing with the same unwearied courage that he had displayed on the battle field. The end came on July 23, 1885, at Mt. McGregor, near Saratoga. The funeral pageant in New York City was the most imposing ever seen in America; and the body was laid to rest at Riverside Park, overlooking the Hudson.¹

Cleveland proved himself a firm adherent of the principle of civil service reform. It is true that in a few years he had appointed many of his fellow partisans to office, as the statutory terms of the Republican incumbents expired. He also dismissed some for "offensive partisanship"; but he made no clean sweep, much to the dismay of the professional politicians of his party. The administration was not marked by any great question of public policy, but rather for its unbroken smoothness, and for the extraordinary strength in the personality of the President. The country soon learned that Cleveland was fully equal to the new duties before him, and that his conscience in dealing with national affairs was the same as that which characterized him at Buffalo and Albany.

¹ Grant's *Memoirs*, in two volumes, is, from a literary point of view, the best of its kind in our American literature. The straightforward, unadorned narrative has a charm of simplicity and clearness that is very unusual. Mrs. Grant realized a large sum of money from the sale of the work, the first payment reaching \$200,000.

For many years Congress had been in the habit of granting pensions to the old soldiers with little regard to merit. Mr. Cleveland took the ground that unless a soldier was disabled by the war he had no just claim to the support of the government. He vetoed scores of private pension bills, many of which were shown to be fraudulent. He also vetoed the Dependent Pension bill, which provided pensions for all who had served in the war ninety days or more and were now unable to do manual work; but a similar bill became a law in the next administration.

The most important measure, aside from the necessary legislation, to become a law in the first four years of Cleveland's incumbency was the Presidential Succession bill. **Presidential succession law** As the law stood before, the president of the Senate, and after him the speaker of the House, would succeed to the presidency in case of the death or disability of both the President and the Vice President. But such a succession might throw the government into the hands of a party that had been defeated at the polls by the people; or in case there was no Vice President and neither the Senate nor the House had chosen a presiding officer, there would be no one between the President and a legal lapse of the functions of the office. Such had been the condition for a time while Arthur was President, and the death of Vice President Hendricks in the autumn of 1885 again brought about the same condition. The death of Hendricks awakened Congress to a sense of the necessity of providing against the danger of a lapse and also of securing the presidency to the party that had carried the election. The Presidential Succession bill became a law on January 18, 1886. It provides that the line of succession run through the Cabinet in the following order: The secretaries of state, treasury, war, the attorney-general, the secretary of the navy, and the secretary of the interior. Any member of the Cabinet to be in the line must be eligible to the presidency. This law settled a matter that had for a long period caused much anxiety.

In the following year (February, 1887) the Electoral Count law was enacted. This grew out of the disputed election of 1876. It provides that each state shall be its own judge concerning its electoral votes. But if through opposing tribunals a state is unable to decide, the matter must be settled by a joint resolution of the two houses of Congress.

Next came the Interstate Commerce Act, which became a law in February, 1887. For years the great railroads had discriminated against the small shippers by giving cheaper freight

rates to the manufacturers and producers whose shipments were large. The most flagrant case in point was that of the Standard Oil Company see p. 830. The farmers of the West and small manufacturers in every part of the country suffered greatly from this unfair discrimination by the railroad companies. The public demanded that Congress come to the rescue and stop the practice, and the result was the Interstate Commerce Act. By this act the railway companies were forbidden to make discriminations in freight rates or to enter into combinations for "pooling" and dividing their receipts.

Two other laws of considerable importance complete the series of this presidential term. One of these was an amendment to the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy law of 1882, by which the Mormon Church was dissolved as a corporate body and much of its property was confiscated. The other was the Anti-Chinese law, which has been mentioned on a preceding page.

The only foreign subject that seriously engaged the attention of this administration was that of the Canadian fisheries. This matter had been temporarily adjusted, as we have noticed, but as the United States deemed the settlement a disadvantageous one, it was canceled by President Cleveland. This left the old Treaty of 1818 again in operation, and the Canadians promptly put its worst features in force. They seized American vessels for landing at Canadian ports to purchase bait, to transship fish, or for any purpose except for shelter, for repairs, or to obtain wood, water, and food. The old treaty had never before been literally interpreted, and now the complaints came thick and fast to Washington. A new treaty was made with England, but the Senate killed it. Discretionary power was given the President to deal with the matter as he deemed best, and within a few years the affair was patched up so as to be fairly agreeable to both sides.

During the time we are treating the labor world again became agitated. For years a few immigrant anarchists had preached their dangerous doctrines in America. On the night of May 3, 1886, occurred the fearful outbreak in Chicago, where some fourteen hundred of the discontented gathered in Haymarket Square to hear the harangues of their leaders. A body of policemen was sent to disperse the crowd when suddenly a bomb was thrown into their midst and exploded, causing the death of six policemen and wounding many more. The whole country was shocked at the outrage. Chicago

sent four of the leaders of the mob to the gallows and others to the penitentiary. This summary dealing, which was applauded by the great body of the people, discouraged further aggression of the anarchists for many years.

THE TARIFF ISSUE

President Cleveland believed that much of the unrest in the labor world had its roots in the high protective tariff. From far back in Jackson's days the democratic party had been a party of low tariff. The Civil War brought high impost duties; but the war was now long past, and yet the high duties were retained. In the early part of the century a protective tariff was demanded for the benefit of infant industries; but now, as such industries were beyond the need of government aid, protection was demanded on an entirely different ground — on the ground of maintaining the wages of the laboring man. But it was evident that the laborer was not receiving his share of the benefit, that the manufacturer received more than the lion's share. So thought Grover Cleveland. And besides, there was another "condition" rather than a "theory" confronting the nation. The high tariff had caused a great surplus of money to be drawn from the channels of trade, only to be heaped up in the treasury at Washington. But the country was so wedded to a high tariff that not even the Democratic House had the courage to attack it. At last the party had a man at the helm whose courage seemed unlimited, and whose concern for his own political fortunes seemed to stand at zero.

In December, 1887, President Cleveland, without advice from his fellow party leaders, devoted his entire annual message to a denunciation of the high tariff laws and a call for their modification. As the writer doubtless foresaw, the message brought confusion to the ranks of his party, which was not prepared for such a positive declaration; and, as he probably expected, it cost him a reelection to the presidency. But the message did exactly what it was intended to do — it made the issue for the coming election; it committed a great party, comprising half the nation, to the principle of moderate impost. The party haltingly followed its leader, but enough agglers fell by the wayside to bring defeat instead of victory.

Cleveland's
tariff mes-
sage, 1887

The Republicans took up the gage of battle that Cleveland had thrown down, and rejoiced at the opportunity. It is true

that the famous message made all men think on the great subject of the tariff, and it won some Republicans. But the people were too devoted to a high tariff to consent on such short notice to abandon it. Mr. Blaine was still the Republican idol, and could have had the nomination of the party. But in the belief that he was fated never to be President, and in a moment of despondency, to which he was subject late in life, he positively refused to have his name considered. The convention chose Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, grandson of William Henry Harrison, who had been elected by the Whigs in 1840. For second place Levi P. Morton was chosen, while the Democrats selected Allen G. Thurman, the sturdy "Old Roman" of Ohio, as Cleveland's running mate.

Harrison was one of the ablest men in his party, but he was utterly wanting in the power to rouse popular enthusiasm. Cleveland in some measure also lacked this power. The campaign was clean, intellectual, and dignified. The chief issue was, of course, the tariff, and to emphasize this each party put forth a congressional tariff bill. The Mills bill, framed by Roger Q. Mills of Texas, passed the Democratic House in the summer of 1888. It was framed on the lines of the tariff message of Mr. Cleveland, who was now the undisputed master of his party. This bill was not only rejected by the Republican Senate; it was answered by a Senate bill proposing even higher duties than those then in force. Neither of these bills became law, nor was such a result looked for by their respective supporters. They were merely expressions of party policy.

Other political parties — the Prohibitionist, the Union Labor, the United Labor, and others — had candidates in the field; but these organizations had little influence on the battle of the giants. Mr. Harrison was elected, receiving 233 electoral votes to 108 for Cleveland, though his popular vote fell below that of Cleveland by about 110,000. Cleveland would have been elected but for the loss of the pivotal state of New York through the defection of Tammany Hall.¹ The Republicans also gained control of the House, and were now in position to carry out any party measure.

The success of the Republican party was now interpreted by its leaders as a mandate from the people to raise the duties on

¹ David B. Hill, New York's Democratic candidate for governor and the favorite of Tammany, was elected by nearly twenty-nine thousand majority, while Cleveland fell fourteen thousand short of carrying the state.

imports to a still higher point, and they proceeded forthwith to do so. The result was the McKinley Tariff Act, of 1890, named from its framer, Representative William McKinley of Ohio. By this law duties were raised to a point beyond any before known in our history, — to an average of above 50 per cent, — but its framers made one concession to the free traders by putting sugar on the free list.¹ This act did not by any means settle the great question.

McKinley
tariff

IMPORTANT ACTS OF 1890

Mr. Harrison had made James G. Blaine secretary of state, and in no capacity in his long political career did the Maine statesman display his powers to greater advantage. The Republican House elected another Maine statesman as its Speaker, Thomas B. Reed, in some respects a stronger and more admirable character than Blaine. A practice of the minority in the House, almost from the beginning of the government, was to delay legislation which they did not favor, by making dilatory motions; but Speaker Reed put a stop to the practice by steadfastly refusing to recognize any member whose purpose was to obstruct business, however loud he might shout. Another long-standing custom in the House was that a member was considered absent if he refused to answer to his name when the roll was called to ascertain whether there was a quorum present. Mr. Reed broke this custom by counting as present those who sat silent at the roll call. The protest that arose was fierce and threatening, but Reed, with quiet, inflexible courage, proceeded with the business of the House. The minority appealed to the Supreme Court, but Reed was sustained, and within a few years his innovation was adopted by both parties as the rule of the House.

Speaker
Reed

One of the first efforts of the Republicans was to amend the election laws for the better protection of colored voters of the South. This bill, which the Democrats called the "Force Bill," and which they opposed with great bitterness, succeeded in passing the House; but it was defeated in the Senate, chiefly through the efforts of Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland.

This session of Congress, however, enacted, in addition to the McKinley Tariff bill, no less than five or six important laws. The

¹ Even the Democrats did not propose free trade by any means. The Mills bill was called by its enemies a free trade measure, but its average of duties, about 12 per cent, was higher than any tariff before the war.

Republicans were less troubled about the surplus in the treasury than Cleveland had been. Instead of attempting to check the flow of money into the treasury, they devised plans to spend it. One of their first acts was to pass the **Dependent Pension law** Dependent Pension bill, very similar to the one Mr. Cleveland had vetoed. By this act Union soldiers and sailors who had served ninety days in the war were entitled to a pension, if they were from any cause unable to earn a living; and the benefits were extended to their widows, children, and dependent parents. There was at once a rush to secure pensions, and the lobbyists and pension "sharks" who infested the halls of Congress were no doubt enriched more rapidly than the veterans. In 1889 the annual pension outlay was \$89,000,000, and four years later it reached the sum of \$158,000,000.

The pension law was passed in June; and the same month witnessed the passage of the Anti-Trust law under the title of "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies." For a decade there had been much popular protest against great combinations of capital for the purpose of preventing competition and of crushing out smaller concerns, and all the party platforms of 1888 called for legislation against such combinations. This law gave the courts the power to pronounce void any contract injurious to the public in cases brought to trial.¹

The following month, July, brought the famous Sherman Silver law. The Bland-Allison Act of 1878 had been a concession to the silver interests of the West. This desire for more money in circulation had found expression through the Greenback party, the Farmers' Alliance, and such organizations, and now it took the form of further demands on Congress for additional legislation favorable to a larger use of silver. Both the great political parties had stood for a sound and stable currency; but both were now willing to yield something to the popular demand, and the result was the enactment of the Sherman law, so named because Senator John Sherman of Ohio, the greatest financier in the country, was a member of the joint committee that framed it. The Senate, augmented by members from several newly admitted silver states in the West, was in favor of the free coinage of silver; but the House

¹ This law lay almost dormant for nearly fourteen years when it was given great significance by a decision of the Federal Supreme Court (March 14, 1904) dissolving the Northern Securities Company, by which the two great railroads of the Northwest, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, had been brought under one management.

would not agree to this, and they compromised with the Sherman law. By this law the Bland-Allison Act, which provided that not less than \$2,000,000 or more than \$4,000,000 per month was to be coined, was repealed, and the purchase of four and a half million ounces of silver per month was ordered. The notes issued in payment for this bullion were to be redeemable in gold or silver; after July 1, 1891, the bullion should no longer be coined, except as it was needed to redeem treasury notes, and a ratio of sixteen to one in the coinage of silver and gold was fixed by law. The law provided also that for every gold dollar's worth of silver purchased an equivalent amount of legal tender treasury notes be issued. The attempt to keep up the price of silver by law resulted, like its predecessor of 1878, in failure; and a few years later the question rose again in far greater proportions, and became the leading issue in a presidential election.

Two other laws of considerable importance were enacted within the year 1890. One of these was the Anti-Lottery law, which excluded lottery tickets and circulars from the mails of the United States. This was a deathblow to the Louisiana Lottery, which, in spite of many state laws to the contrary, had for many years done a large business in all the states through the mail. The second was a law forfeiting public land grants made to various railroad corporations. Many of these companies had not built their proposed roads and were simply holding their land grants as investments; but an act of September, 1890, added again to the public domain many millions of acres which had been granted to the corporations.

The years 1889 and 1890 brought into the Union six new states in the West. The population had moved westward across the vast prairies of the middle West, and up the slopes to the towering heights of the Rocky Mountains; New states people on the Pacific Coast had been moving eastward. There was no longer a frontier; the population had embraced the continent. It is true that these western settlements, composed of mining towns among the mountains, of cattle ranches along the slopes, with here and there an agricultural community, were sparse as compared with those of the East; but the extent of the various territories was so vast that the population as a whole was very considerable. Four new states — North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington — were admitted to the Union in 1889, and two — Idaho and Wyoming — the following year. The admission of the last-named states brought prominently before the country the long-discussed subject of woman suffrage,

as in both of them the right to vote and hold office was given to women.

The territory of Oklahoma, a portion of the Indian Territory, the title of which had been secured from the Indians in 1866 — on the condition, however, that only freedmen and **Oklahoma** civilized Indians occupy the land — was now opened to white settlers. Owing to the pressure of the "boomers" Congress set apart \$4,000,000 to remove these conditions, and by a proclamation of the President the land was thrown open to white settlers at noon on April 22, 1889. Fifty thousand people waited on the boundary line for the bugle call to proclaim the hour. When the call was heard, there was a wild rush to possess the land. Many were successful in staking off choice lots or farms, but the demand was greater than the supply, and thousands failed to realize their golden dreams. Cities were staked out and city governments were organized before the evening of the first day. A census of that year showed that the population of Oklahoma exceeded sixty thousand.

The addition of new states in the West had much to do with the passage of the Sherman Silver law, and these states played some part in the political upheaval of the same year. The congressional elections of 1890 resulted in a great victory for the Democrats. The Republican majority of about twenty in the House was replaced by a Democratic majority of nearly one hundred and fifty. The chief issue was the McKinley Tariff. This tariff had been in force but a few weeks at the time of the election and the test was not a fair one; but the prices of commodities had suddenly risen, and the people were distrustful of the future. One of the surprises of this campaign was the strength shown by the People's party, or "Populists," the legitimate heirs of the Greenback party and the Farmers' Alliance. The strength of this third party came almost wholly from the South and West, where the spirit of unrest had reigned for several years. The party elected eighteen members to the House, controlled seven senatorial elections, and chose the governors in Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and South Dakota. With the House thus in the hands of their enemies, the Republicans could no longer enact party measures, and the administration dragged listlessly along.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

In our foreign relations the Harrison administration was marked by several items of interest. One arose from the violent

killing of eleven Italians, or Sicilians, by a mob in New Orleans. There existed in that city a secret, oath-bound, murderous society known as the "Mafia." The chief of police, David C. Hennessy, who was very active in running down these criminals, was treacherously assassinated, and these eleven men were put on trial for the crime. There was little doubt of their guilt; but the jury failed to convict them. At this miscarriage of justice the people of the city rose in anger and excitement; a great crowd marched to the jail, battered down the door, seized the prisoners, and put them to death. Eight of the slain men were naturalized Americans; but three proved to be subjects of the king of Italy, who promptly demanded redress for the outrage. After a long diplomatic correspondence the king's ultimatum, that indemnity be paid the families of the dead Italians and that their slayers be punished, was declined by Secretary Blaine, on the ground that the state of Louisiana, and not the United States government, had jurisdiction in the matter. The United States, however, agreed to pay \$25,000 indemnity; the Italian king accepted this offer, and the matter was thus amicably settled.

New
Orleans
massacre

Early in 1889 the world's attention was directed to the far-away group of islands in the south Pacific known as Samoa. The United States had made a treaty of friendship with the Samoans in 1878. For a long period civil war raged in the islands; and at length, in 1889, the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, each of which had a small fleet in the harbor, agreed to establish a protectorate, and decided to restore the deposed king. In March of the same year a terrific hurricane broke upon the islands, and most of the American and German war ships, together with all the merchant vessels in the harbor, fifteen in number, were destroyed.

Samoa

By anticipation this subject may here be disposed of by stating that in 1899 this agreement of the three powers was rescinded. Great Britain gave up all claims in Samoa for some other islands in the Orient, while the United States and Germany agreed to a division of Samoa. Upolu and other islands west of 171 degrees west longitude fell to Germany, while Tutuila and the other islands east of 171 degrees became a possession of the United States.

A diplomatic dispute with Chile, South America, absorbed public attention in the autumn of 1891. That country, as is common in South America, was in the throes of insurrection; and the insurgents, believing that our minister, Mr. Patrick Egan, sympathized with their opponents,

Chile

conceived a dislike for him and all Americans. The United States cruiser *Baltimore* was lying in the harbor of Valparaiso in October, 1891. While her crew were on shore leave, they were attacked by the populace of the city and had to run for their lives. Most of them escaped to their ship; but two were killed and many were wounded with knives and clubs. President Harrison demanded redress, but the foreign minister of Chile made some insolent statements concerning the demand and took no steps to comply with it. On January 1, 1892, this fiery foreign minister was replaced by a diplomat who was quite ready to adjust matters in a friendly way. Harrison knew of this change, but instead of waiting a reasonable time for a friendly word, he needlessly sent Chile a harsh ultimatum, January 21, and four days later, without waiting for a reply, sent a war message to Congress. Chile had one inhabitant to our twenty-four. Of course she yielded, and paid an indemnity; but to this day there is ill will in the Chilean heart for the arbitrary manner shown towards her.

A long-standing diplomatic dispute with the British government over the seal fisheries in the Bering Sea reached an acute stage in 1892. Before 1867 Russia had owned Alaska and had exercised exclusive rights in the Bering Sea. When we came into possession of Alaska, our government laid claim to the full control of the sea, as the Russian government had done; our motive being to protect the seals from extermination. England denied our exclusive right beyond the three-mile shore line. In 1892 the two governments agreed to a treaty which provided for arbitration. Meantime a tribunal of temporary arbitration met in Paris, the United States, England, France, Italy, and Sweden being represented. This tribunal decided in favor of Great Britain; namely, that our possession of Alaska did not warrant our closing the Bering Sea to the world. The British government, however, agreed to coöperate with the United States in saving the seals from extermination, and thus the matter was for the time allowed to rest.

Seal fish-
eries

THE ELECTION OF 1892

President Harrison was not popular with his party. A man of unquestioned integrity and ability, he was wanting in the powers of leadership, in personal magnetism, and the leaders of his party found it impossible to get into his confidence. And yet, as the policies of the party were the same as four years before

and as Mr. Harrison was in full sympathy with those policies, he was the logical candidate for renomination. His secretary of state, Mr. Blaine, was still the popular choice of the party, but there had long been a feeling among the people that a Cabinet official should not become a candidate for the presidency in opposition to his chief. But all was not harmonious between the President and Mr. Blaine, and only three days before the meeting of the Republican convention in Minneapolis, Blaine petulantly resigned from the Cabinet and permitted his name to go before the convention. It was too late, however, as many of the delegates were pledged to Harrison and he was nominated on the first ballot. As it was, Blaine received 182 votes, and had his break with the President come a few months sooner, nothing could have prevented his nomination. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was named for Vice President. Blaine soon became reconciled, and used his efforts to reelect Harrison.

The Democrats met a few weeks later in Chicago and nominated Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson. Cleveland was opposed by many delegates from the South and West who favored free silver, and by the delegation from his own state of New York. But the great masses of the party favored him, and in spite of a written protest signed by every delegate from New York, he was nominated on the first ballot. The platform denounced the McKinley Tariff, the Sherman Act, trusts and combinations, and advocated both gold and silver; while the Republican platform upheld the McKinley Tariff, pronounced for the rural free delivery of mail, and for a Nicaragua Canal, and on the coinage question took a position similar to that of the Democrats. Both parties favored national aid to the Columbian Exposition soon to be held at Chicago.

The third party of this year was the most formidable since 1860. It was known as the People's party, and was composed chiefly of farmers and laborers to whom the free coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1 had presented itself as the panacea for nearly every national ill. Its platform pronounced also for a graduated income tax, and for national ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, and for the creation of postal savings banks. The party met in convention at Omaha in July, and nominated General James B. Weaver and James G. Field. The Prohibitionists nominated John Bidwell and J. B. Cranfill, and pronounced against trusts, mob-law, and the alien ownership of land. The Socialistic Labor party nominated Simon Wing of Massachusetts for President.

The canvass was one of great interest, the chief issue being the McKinley Tariff. There was one other question, that of the free coinage of silver, which threatened for a time to become paramount in this campaign. The Sherman law of 1890 had failed to arrest the steady decline in the price of silver, and the friends of the white metal now clamored for free coinage. This free-coinage movement swept rapidly over the West and South, and had many adherents in the East. It carried with it many thousands of Republicans, a greater number of Democrats, and the entire body of Populists. The Democrats would doubtless have headed off the Populists and made free silver their leading issue, but for one insurmountable obstacle — the attitude of Grover Cleveland. In February, 1891, when the party was on the verge of committing itself to free silver, Cleveland had written his "Cooper Union letter," pronouncing against free coinage. His friends had urged him not to commit himself on the great question at that time, as by so doing he would endanger his nomination; but with the reckless courage that had always characterized him, he made his views public. The millions of advocates of free coinage were stunned and angered at this letter of Cleveland, the only real leader of the party in the past seven years; but they were forced to decide between the issue and the man. So great was the popularity of Cleveland with the masses, and so urgent the call for his nomination in 1892, that the silver leaders accepted him sullenly and suffered their pet issue to remain in the background. Hence the tariff became the great issue in the campaign.

The Republicans were on the defensive in 1892. Mr. Cleveland had won the masses, if not the leaders, in his party, while Mr. Harrison had won neither in his. Moreover, Harrison had quarreled with Blaine at the moment of his nomination. But the chief cause of his defeat was the McKinley Tariff. This tariff had raised prices of commodities, but not the wages of labor, and the Democrats were diligent in attributing to it greater evils than it brought. Its advantage to the manufacturer could not be questioned, but there was a widespread belief that the laborer was not receiving his share of the benefits. During the months of the campaign outbreaks between capital and labor occurred in various states, the most serious of these being at Homestead, Pennsylvania, a town near Pittsburg, between the Carnegie Steel Company and its workmen.

All these labor troubles militated against the Republican

party in 1892, since the party in power, guilty or not guilty, must bear the blame for public disorders. The result was a great victory for Cleveland, who thus became our first President to be elected to a second term that was not consecutive with the first. So great had been the silver wave in the West that the Democrats named no electoral tickets in Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, North Dakota, and Kansas, and most of these states were carried by Weaver. Cleveland received 277 electoral votes, to 145 for Harrison, and 22 for Weaver.

The Australian Ballot. — For many years public opinion had been awakening to the fact that many elections were fraudulently carried on by the professional politicians. In 1888 the legislature of Massachusetts adopted a method of balloting, borrowed from Australia, which is known as the Australian system. Many other states followed the example of Massachusetts, until most if not all the states in the Union had adopted the new system. Its chief feature is that each voter receives an official ballot from the election officers, on which are printed the names of the candidates of all parties. With this he enters alone an election booth, and, in private, marks the names of the men for whom he wishes to vote, after which he folds the ballot, and returns it to the officers. The system has greatly aided in securing honest elections, but it has by no means removed all the evils.

Exploring the Arctic Seas. — The first of the voyages in quest of the North Pole was fitted out by James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the *New York Herald*, and was commanded by Lieutenant De Long. In the little steamer *Jeannette*, De Long with a company of thirty men, left San Francisco in July, 1879. For two years the party battled with the frigid climate, when their little vessel, after being locked in the ice for many months, became a total wreck. After a dreadful journey of six hundred miles the party reached the coast of Siberia near the mouth of the Lena River. But relief was still far away, and the men perished from hunger and cold before succor could reach them. The bodies were recovered, and the diary of De Long, kept to the day of his death, told of the awful sufferings of himself and his party. In 1881 Lieutenant A. W. Greely of the United States army led an expedition of about twenty-five men to the far North at government expense. He established a post at a point $81^{\circ} 44'$ north, farther than any point before attained. Nothing was heard of the party until July, 1884, when a relief party, under Commander W. S. Schley, found and rescued those who survived. Greely and six of his men alone were left alive.

It was left for Lieutenant Robert E. Peary of the United States Navy to win the crown of success as an Arctic explorer. On the sixth of April, 1909, he reached the North Pole and he was the first man known to history to do so. For this victory the name of Peary will ever be remembered.

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CHAPTER XXXII

WAR AND EXPANSION

GROVER CLEVELAND was inaugurated President for the second time on the 4th of March, 1893. The Cabinet was a personal rather than a political one; with two or three exceptions its members were in no sense party leaders. For secretary of state the President chose Walter Q. Gresham, a former member of the Cabinet of Arthur and a lifelong Republican until the campaign of 1892. John G. Carlisle of Kentucky became secretary of the treasury; Daniel S. Lamont, secretary of war; Richard Olney, attorney-general; Wilson S. Bissell, postmaster-general; H. A. Herbert, secretary of the navy; Hoke Smith, secretary of the interior; and J. S. Morton, secretary of agriculture.

HAWAII

The first important act after his inauguration was the withdrawal by Mr. Cleveland of a treaty to annex the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, which had been sent to the Senate by Mr. Harrison. Hawaii was a tiny independent monarchy in the Pacific Ocean some 2100 miles west of San Francisco, and the reigning queen was Liliuokalani. But the monarchy had long been tottering, and at length, in January, 1893, a party of revolutionists, chiefly Americans or the descendants of Americans, rose against the government, deposed the queen, and set up a provisional government with Sanford B. Dole as president. The cause of the uprising was an attempt of the queen to set aside the new constitution, adopted in 1887, and to restore the old one, by which the Americans and other foreigners residing on the islands would be deprived of their right to participate in the government. The revolution was approved by the minister from the United States, John L. Stevens, and through him Mr. Dole requested the United States to assume a protectorate over the islands. On the 1st of February the American flag was raised over the government building at Honolulu. A treaty of annexation to the United States was drafted and sent by special

messengers to Washington. Almost the entire American public, including President Harrison, favored annexing the islands in spite of the protests of the agents of the deposed queen, who had also reached Washington. Accordingly, on February 15 the President submitted the treaty to the Senate, but before that body could act he went out of office.¹

Mr. Cleveland, who now became President, had ideas of his own. Without the slightest regard for public sentiment, he withdrew the treaty from the Senate and sent a commissioner to Honolulu to investigate, and, on learning the facts, he sent another minister to supersede Stevens and to haul down the American flag. Cleveland acted on the old American principle, as he claimed, that we have no right to assume the government over a people without their consent, and this he declared had not been obtained. Queen Liliuokalani might have been restored to her throne had she been more tactful. When asked by the American agent whether, on being restored, she would grant full amnesty to those who had caused her overthrow, she replied, "Such persons should be beheaded and their property confiscated." Later she saw her mistake and reversed the statement. Meantime the government, under President Dole, became stronger, and Mr. Cleveland recognized the islands as a constitutional republic. However, on July 7, 1898, when the Cleveland administration had been succeeded by another, the Hawaiian Islands were formally annexed to the United States by a joint resolution of Congress, as in the case of Texas.²

Scarcely had this administration come in when the finances of the country became greatly disturbed. The conditions of panic had been accumulating for many months, and a panic now seemed ready to break upon the country. There were about five hundred million dollars in currency notes outstanding and redeemable in gold; but when once redeemed, they were not canceled. The law directed that they be reissued, and thus an endless chain prevented the government from protecting its gold reserve. In addition to this the government was obliged by the Sherman Silver law to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver per month and to pay for it in notes redeemable in gold. The gold reserve had almost reached the danger limit of a hundred million dollars. President Cleveland believed with the majority

¹ The treaty provided among other things that the United States should assume the Hawaiian debt, some \$3,250,000, should pay the deposed queen \$20,000 a year, and allow the heiress-presumptive, Princess Koiulani, the lump sum of \$150,000.

² The Hawaiian group comprises about 6640 square miles. The population in 1896 was 109,000. As a naval station the islands are of great importance to the United States.

that the repeal of the Sherman law would help to relieve the situation, and for this purpose he called an extra session of Congress to meet on August 7, 1893.

The House was dominated by the great states of the East, and in that body a motion to repeal the act was soon passed by a good majority composed of both parties. But in the Senate, where the sparsely settled mining states of the West had the same voting power as the populous states, the House bill was held up for many weeks. Meantime great commotion reigned throughout the country, and for once President Cleveland played the politician. He withheld the patronage from the opposing senators; he brought all the force of the presidential office to bear upon the matter in his determination to have the Sherman law repealed. And at last, on November 1, after a long and exciting session, the Senate yielded and the silver-purchasing clause of the act of 1890 was repealed; but further legislation, as recommended by the President for the purpose of maintaining the gold reserve, which had now fallen to \$80,000,000, was not secured.

It was too late, however, to avert the coming panic. The business of the country was unsettled, and the industrial depression that followed, covering several years, was one of the most disastrous in our history. Many for political purposes, and others through sheer ignorance, blamed the Democratic party entirely for the "hard times," and in this the Democrats suffered only what they had heaped upon the Republicans twenty years before. The panic of 1893, which had been gathering for many months before Cleveland's term began, was the resultant of many convergent forces — the financial conditions, the hoarding of gold by the people, the uncertainty about silver, overproduction, and of others which elude the pen of the economist.

At such a moment it was doubtless unwise for the Democrats to attempt a revision of the tariff; but on the tariff issue they had carried the election, and they were prompt to carry out their pledges. Mr. William L. Wilson of West Virginia, chairman of the committee of ways and means, brought a tariff bill into the House early in the regular session. This became known as the Wilson bill. It passed the House in February, 1894, and went to the Senate. The bill placed raw materials for the most part on the free list, as also coal and sugar, and made many of the duties *ad valorem* instead of specific. In the Senate the bill was subjected to drastic treatment. A few Democrats, led by Senator Gorman, determined

**Repeal of
the Silver
law**

**Wilson
Tariff law,
1894**

to change the bill, and so great were the alterations made that it could scarcely be recognized as the same that had passed the House. Henceforth it was called the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. The Senate took coal and iron from the free list, placed a schedule of duties on sugar, and raised them on many other things; it also changed *ad valorem* to specific duties. The House bill had reduced the average duties of the McKinley Tariff, which had been about 50 per cent, to about 35 per cent; but the Senate bill raised them to about 37 per cent. The House reluctantly accepted the Senate bill because no better was attainable, and it was sent to the President on August 13, 1894. Mr. Cleveland was so displeased with the Senate changes that he refused to sign the measure; but, believing it an improvement over the McKinley bill, he could not veto it, and it became a law without his signature.

This tariff measure carried with it a provision for an income tax, which, however, was pronounced unconstitutional the following May by the United States Supreme Court.¹

THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

Four hundred years had passed since the discovery of the New World by Columbus. In that period the transformation had been the most remarkable in history, and it was fitting now that the one great nation of the Western Hemisphere, with its vast wealth and its boundless resources, take the lead in celebrating the discovery of Columbus. It was decided that the celebration take the form of a gigantic exposition, and the prize was awarded to Chicago; but as it was found impossible to make adequate preparation for holding the fair on the anniversary of the discovery by Columbus, the following year, 1893, was chosen in its stead. The site chosen was Jackson Park, an unimproved pleasure ground on the lake front near Chicago. The ground was intersected with marshy inlets and lagoons; but these were transformed by the hand of art into canals and lakelets bounded by walks and lawns, until the park presented the beauty of a fairy land.

No attempt can be made to describe the buildings of the "White City," as the exposition came to be called. Most of them were composed of an iron framework covered with "staff," a composition that resembles white marble. The principal buildings, grouped around the Court of Honor, with its glittering

¹ This was a reversal of a former decision in favor of the income tax.

lake, its stately colonnades, and its luxuriant foliage, presented a scene of splendor and magnificence.

The largest of the buildings, covering forty-four acres, was devoted to manufactures and liberal arts. The government building, with its octagonal gilded dome, was probably the most ornate and impressive of them all. Around these were grouped the agricultural building, the woman's building, machinery hall, buildings devoted to art, fisheries, mining, transportation, electricity, and others. The art building, Ionic in style, was probably the most perfect in grace of design on the grounds, and the treasures within it represented the choicest of public and private collections in Europe and America. In the building devoted to the work of women was exhibited, as never before, the great part that woman has played in the growth of modern civilization.

The exhibits of the great fair were bewildering in their attractiveness and their numbers. The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 had appealed chiefly to the artistic and the sentimental; the World's Columbian Exposition, while equally artistic and far more extensive, aimed chiefly to show the progress of the human race during the preceding four hundred years. For example, in the transportation building were exhibited the old Conestoga wagon and the stagecoach of a hundred and fifty years ago, side by side with the best-equipped modern locomotive. So in many exhibits the old and the new were contrasted in such a way as to represent most strikingly to the eye the progress of modern times.

The great exposition was open from the 1st of May to the 31st of October, 179 days, during which the paid admissions were 22,477,212. The receipts from all sources reached nearly \$15,000,000, while more than 23,000 medals were awarded to exhibitors. After the close of the exposition the problem arose as to what should be the disposal of the buildings, but the problem was solved when fire broke out in the grounds and most of the gorgeous structures of the White City were laid in ashes.

In the autumn of 1895, two years after the close of the exposition at Chicago, another one of a similar character, but on a much smaller scale, was opened at Atlanta, Georgia. The site was Piedmont Park, where, thirty-one years before, Sherman had planted his guns to shell the city of Atlanta. The main object of this exposition was to reveal the vast industrial possibilities of the South. Nothing is more striking in the industrial world than the progress made by that section since the days of reconstruction. In the year 1899

**Progress of
the South**

the South produced nearly 11,000,000 bales of cotton, 10,000,000,000 feet of lumber, and 750,000,000 bushels of grain. A thousand million dollars had been invested in manufacturing.¹ The southern mines of zinc, lead, pyrites, salt, manganese, and valuable clays are inexhaustible, and great deposits of petroleum have been discovered in Texas. Since the Civil War the energies of the South, after long slumbering under a false system of labor, have sprung into life, and the achievements of the present are excelled only by the promises for the future. (See pp. 827, 828.)

Twice had President Cleveland startled the country with his great decision of character, and his singular power in taking the initiative on great questions without taking counsel with his party — in issuing his tariff message in 1887, and in withdrawing the Hawaiian Treaty in 1893. Twice more was he to do the same thing.

Cleveland
and the
Pullman
strike

In May, 1894, a formidable strike of the employees of the Pullman Car Company, of Chicago, took place, and in their violent efforts to prevent the cars from being used on the railways great damage was threatened. The governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, sympathized with the strikers, and made no effort to quell the disturbance. Thereupon President Cleveland, of his own motion, sent national troops to put down the riot. The Constitution makes no express provision for such an act on the part of the President, except when the government of the state in which a riot occurs calls for national assistance. President Cleveland was severely criticised for his action, and an acrimonious controversy ensued between him and Governor Altgeld. The President justified his action on the ground that the rioters were interfering with the mails and with interstate commerce, both of which it was his duty to protect. Mr. Cleveland was fully vindicated; his action was sustained by the courts and Eugene V. Debs, leader of the strike, and a few of his associates, spent short terms in prison.

The second of these events was the most thrilling the country had experienced in many a year. The British government had for more than half a century been disputing with Venezuela concerning the boundary between that country and British Guiana. Again and again had Venezuela offered to leave the matter to arbitration, and the United States had urged that the dispute be settled in that way. But the British refused, nor did they pro-

Cleveland's
Venezuelan
message,
December
17, 1895

¹ *The Manufacturer's Record*, December, 1899. Our cotton exports for 1903 reached 3,622,000,000 pounds.

pose any method by which a settlement could be reached. In the summer of 1895 Mr. Richard Olney, the secretary of state, informed Lord Salisbury, the British Premier, that in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, the United States must insist on arbitration. Lord Salisbury replied by a flat refusal, and a declaration that he did not accept the Monroe Doctrine. Then it was that President Cleveland, in the belief that the Monroe Doctrine was about to be violated, startled the world with his vigorous message to Congress. In this message he declared that the time-honored doctrine "was intended to apply to every stage of our national life," that as Great Britain had refused for many years to submit the dispute to impartial arbitration, nothing remained to us "but to accept the situation." He then proposed that a commission be appointed to determine the rightful boundary between the two countries, and asked that Congress vote money to defray its expenses. The message further declared that in case the disputed territory was found to belong to Venezuela, it would be the duty of the United States "to resist by every means in its power" the aggressions of Great Britain, the appropriation of lands that are determined of right to belong to Venezuela.

The country and the world were thrilled at the suddenness, the positive tone, of the message. Equally striking was the unanimity of the support given it. Congress forgot its party differences and voted without division or debate \$100,000 to defray the expenses of the commission to be appointed. It seemed for a time that the war cloud was lowering over the two great kindred nations; but Lord Salisbury receded from his position, the boundary dispute was settled by arbitration, and the people on both sides of the sea rejoiced, for they had escaped a calamity the extent of which no man could have measured.¹

¹ The result of the arbitration was decidedly favorable to the English claim, on the ground that sixty years' actual possession of a district constitutes a national title. One result of this episode was the establishing of the Monroe Doctrine more firmly than ever. It is also claimed that the message of President Cleveland, whose authority was coördinate with that of Monroe, extended the original meaning of the doctrine, pronouncing it at the same time a permanent policy of the United States.

Other notable events of this administration were an order in May, 1895, bringing thirty thousand more places within the Civil Service law, making eighty-five thousand in all, and the framing and signing of a general arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, January, 1897. This most desirable treaty, however, failed to receive the requisite number of votes in the Senate, and it fell to the ground.

THE SILVER ISSUE

As the presidential election of 1896 drew near, it became evident that the free coinage of silver would become the chief issue. The mining interests of the West were greatly crippled by the steady fall in the price of silver, and the blame for this was laid chiefly on the repeal of the Sherman law. But there were other causes. In 1873 Germany had demonetized the white metal and had made gold the sole standard. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark immediately followed the example of Germany, and a great quantity of bullion from their melted coin was thrown upon the market. In 1878 the Latin Union closed their mints to free coinage, and Russia suspended silver coinage in 1879. In addition to all this, the world's annual production of silver more than doubled in the twenty years preceding the repeal of the Sherman law.

As we have noticed, the administration was launched in the midst of an incipient panic. Failures in business began to multiply, and in addition to the financial and industrial depression, the crops of the West were short for several years. Many kinds of business were suspended, and armies of unemployed men walked the streets of the cities.¹ The gold reserve in the treasury ran dangerously low; and to replenish it, bonds to the extent of \$263,000,000 were sold.

There were four bond sales. The third was through the great New York banking house of J. P. Morgan. Mr. Morgan in a conference with the President offered to accept the bonds at four per cent, or, at three per cent in case Congress would guarantee their redemption in gold in stead of "coin." This latter arrangement would save the government \$16,000,000 in the aggregate. Cleveland laid the matter before Congress, but that body refused its assent. The deal went through and the bankers were the gainers. The rumor spread far and wide that Mr. Cleveland had personally profited by this huge deal with Wall Street; but no one who knew the man could entertain such a thought for a moment. In American public life Cleveland stands in the highest class for uncompromising honesty, for unbending integrity.

During the whole four years the President and his party drifted steadily apart. It was believed by great numbers of

¹ In the spring of 1894, one Coxey of Ohio marched to Washington with a following of several hundred men, called the "Army of the Commonwealth," to demand that Congress issue \$500,000,000 in greenbacks to be expended in public works for the benefit of the unemployed.

men that the distress of the country was due to his attitude on the silver question. They believed that free coinage would prove a cure for the country's ills and they heartily disliked him for opposing it. But the silver issue was not the sole cause of the disaffection.

Cleveland exercised little tact in holding his party together. For his great courage and ability, for his independent character,

**Cleveland's
want of tact** his unswerving rule making principle the standard of action, his abhorrence of demagoguery in every form — for all these President Cleveland must be admired by all honest people. But in a country governed by parties, party leadership and unity of party action are necessary in carrying out public measures. Herein lay Cleveland's great weakness. He seemed to believe that a President should be non-partisan in serving the whole people; he took little counsel with his party leaders, forgetting apparently that it was a party, and not the whole people, that made him President, and that for future usefulness the party needed guidance and leadership. Thus one of the most able and honest of American Presidents found himself almost without a party — chiefly through his own want of tact.

At the beginning of 1896 it was certain that one of the great parties would pronounce for free silver, but which it would be was uncertain, for both were swarming with the friends of silver. At length the Republicans began to drift toward the gold standard, and the Democrats took the opposite course. The Republican convention met in June at St. Louis. For months before the meeting, it seemed evident that Mr. William McKinley of Ohio would be the choice of the convention. He had been a friend of free coinage in former years, and many now called on him to express himself on the great issue; but he refused to reveal his convictions, if he had any, stating that he would stand on the platform of the party if nominated. He received the nomination with little opposition, and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey was chosen as his running mate.

**Nomination
of McKinley** William McKinley had served his country in the Civil War. Fourteen years he had served in the Lower House of Congress, had become a commanding figure in that body, and was the chief framer of the tariff bill that bore his name. He was twice elected governor of Ohio, and had for some years been looked upon as a coming candidate for the presidency. No Republican in the country had shown greater powers as a party leader. The plat-

form on which he now stood pronounced for the gold standard, unless the silver standard could be adopted in conjunction with foreign nations.¹ It also declared for protection and reciprocity, the American ownership of the Nicaragua canal, the control of Hawaii, and the purchase of the Danish West Indies.

The Democrats met in Chicago a few weeks later. The party was swayed by the spirit of revolt against old standards. Never had a great party met to nominate a presidential candidate with less knowledge of what it would do.

Nomination
of Bryan

The silver issue had swept the country like a hurricane, and the one thing the convention was sure to do was to pronounce for free coinage. On this subject the party had taken fire, and nothing could stay the impetuous demand for unlimited coinage at the rate of sixteen to one; and this became the chief plank of the platform and the chief issue in the campaign. But who would be the candidate? While this question was pending, William J. Bryan, a member of the Nebraska delegation, addressed the convention in a brilliant, passionate outburst of eloquence that thrilled his hearers with admiration. Bryan was a man unknown to the people at large, and, though he had served two years in Congress, he had not been hitherto thought of as a national party leader. He was a man of pure and sincere personal life; his espousal of the cause of silver was born of honest motives; in his eloquence there was a spark of the divine fire that touches men's souls. The effect of his speech on the convention was magical, and the day after it was made he was nominated for the presidency of the United States. For second place Arthur Sewall of Maine was chosen. The Populist party held its convention a little later, and, being also devoted to free silver, it ratified the nomination of Bryan; but instead of Sewall it chose Thomas E. Watson of Georgia.²

¹ Dr. Robert McElroy in his excellent *Life of Cleveland* suggests the strong probability that it was Cleveland's influence which won McKinley to the gold standard (Vol. II, p. 219-220). Cleveland had no hope of preventing his own party from pronouncing for free silver and for a time it seemed that the Republicans would avoid the issue. To a friend Mr. Cleveland declared that the Republicans would surely be defeated with an evasive platform, as they would fail to attract the gold men and their own silver advocates would flock to the Democrats. When Charles W. Fairbanks, who had the Republican keynote speech already written, was apprised of Cleveland's views, he tore up the speech, which was a complete evasion, and wrote one taking a firm position for the gold standard. It is believed that he apprised McKinley of this fact and that the latter's views were greatly influenced thereby.

² The Prohibitionists had met in Pittsburgh in May, and had nominated Joshua Levering of Maryland and Hale Johnson of Illinois. The National party met in the same city, and chose C. E. Bentley and T. H. Southgate. The Socialist Labor party nominated Charles H. Matchett and Matthew McGuire. These parties were scarcely heard in the exciting campaign that followed.

The campaign of 1896 was one of the most exciting the nation has ever seen. At first it seemed that the country would be entranced by the brilliant young Nebraskan, as the Democratic convention had been. Mr. Bryan made a most heroic effort. He traveled in many states and electrified hundreds of thousands with his dramatic eloquence. But ere the summer had passed the people caught their breath. They began to reflect that if the country were thrown on a silver basis business would be greatly disturbed; and that it would not be dealing honestly with the creditor, if he were forced to accept cheaper money for payment than that intended when the debt was contracted.

But old party lines were not strictly drawn. When the Republican convention adopted the gold standard, thirty-four of its delegates, led by one of the ablest Republican senators, Mr. Stewart of Nevada, seceded from the hall, and afterward indorsed Bryan. The Democrats suffered a still greater defection. Many conservatives of the party met in Indianapolis, called themselves the National Democratic party, and nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky, and adopted a gold standard platform. In addition to these defections, many thousands of Republicans voted for Bryan, and a far greater number of Democrats voted for McKinley.

The election was held on November 3, and resulted in a signal victory for McKinley. He carried all the states east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and the Potomac, also five states in the West, and Kentucky and West Virginia. McKinley received 271 electoral votes while Bryan received 176.¹ The campaign, though vigorous, was clean and dignified, both McKinley and Bryan being men of the highest personal character. Marvelously soon after the election the country was quiet; the defeated party accepted the result cheerfully in the true American spirit; and now that the financial status was settled for the time, the business of the country was awakened to new life and new enterprises.

Immediately on his inauguration Mr. McKinley called Congress to meet in extraordinary session on the 15th of March, for the purpose of providing additional revenue. Though the silver issue had been paramount in the campaign, it was understood by the Republicans that, if they won the election, their success would be considered a mandate from the people to enact a new tariff law. They now

Dingley
tariff, 1897

¹ The popular votes were as follows: McKinley, 7,111,607; Bryan, 6,502,600; Palmer, 134,731; Levering, 123,428; Matchett, 35,306; Bentley, 13,535.

controlled the Executive and both houses, and they immediately addressed themselves to this subject, Thomas B. Reed of Maine having been elected Speaker of the House. A tariff bill had been prepared during the winter and Mr. Nelson Dingley of Maine brought it before the House. Before the end of March it had passed the House and had been sent to the Senate, where it remained four months. It became a law on July 24, 1897. This tariff was known as the Dingley bill. Its duties averaged about the same as those of the McKinley bill, but it differed from that measure in many particulars. On the whole it was a highly protective tariff — higher in its rates than any other in our history except that of 1890.¹

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

For eighty-four years America had known no foreign war — save the brush with Mexico in the forties — and never had we engaged with a great power, except with England. The year 1898 brought war with Spain, and wrought vast changes in that government and in our own. As stated in an early chapter of this history, Spain was long ago the greatest power in Europe or the world. The dominion of Philip II was vast. He ruled Portugal, the Netherlands, Milan, and the Sicilies; he was master of Cuba, Porto Rico, and almost all of Central and South America. His revenue was ten times that of Elizabeth of England, says Macaulay. But alas for Spain! With all her chivalry and pride, she has fallen from among the great. Her thirst for gold and conquest was the thirst of the inebriate for drink, and the political corruption it brought proved the ruin of Spain.

At the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the possessions of Spain in the Western Hemisphere were confined to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, with a few small adjacent islands, and her government of these was one of unceasing corruption and plunder. Often had the people of Cuba revolted against the iron hand of Spain. A ten years' war in the island, begun in 1868, ended with promises; but scarcely had the patriots laid down their arms when every promise was broken, and they were ruled by the same tyrannical hand as before. For seventeen years the matter slumbered, when, in February, 1895,

¹ The following winter some important financial legislation was enacted. The gold dollar was made the unit of value, and the gold reserve established at \$150,000,000. Provision was made for refunding the national debt in 2 per cent thirty year bonds; and the national banking law was so amended as to permit a bank to be established on a capital of \$25,000 and to issue notes to the par value of its bonds deposited in the treasury.

the Cubans, led by Maximo Gomez, again rose in rebellion against their oppressors. Spain sent an army to put them down, first under General Campos; but he was too humane, and he was replaced by the cruel Weyler.

Many of the Cuban peasants remained quietly on their farms and took no part in the war. These Weyler drove, at the point of the bayonet, from their homes and penned them up in the towns, that they might not furnish food for the rebels. Soon they were in a starving condition and the death rate was frightful; but Weyler gave no heed; his evident intention was to depopulate the island. Our people were deeply concerned. Why this long-drawn-out, wholesale murder right at our door, when we could easily prevent it? President Cleveland hesitated. He was loath to offend a friendly nation; but he warned Spain. In his annual message of 1896 he said, "It cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained." Then he went out of office, and Mr. McKinley followed the same policy, warning Spain in various ways, and another year passed. Both these Presidents felt a responsibility in dealing with a friendly power that a private citizen cannot feel. But Spain refused to heed the warnings. The cry of distress from the unhappy island increased more and more, and it seemed as the voice of a brother's blood crying unto us from the ground — and the American public could endure it no longer.¹

In the early spring of 1897 President McKinley demanded the release of American prisoners in Cuba, and this was heeded.

The Maine In May he asked Congress for \$50,000 for the relief of Americans in the island, and this was administered. In February, 1898, he sent the *Maine*, a fine second-class battleship of seven thousand tons, to Cuban waters to protect our interests. On the night of the 15th of February, while the crew were sleeping in fancied security, a mighty column of smoke and fire arose from the water, commingled with timbers and beams and the bodies of men. The *Maine* had been blown to fragments and 266 of her gallant crew had perished. When the news was flashed across the country, the people were shocked; and when, after waiting forty days for a board of naval officers to ascertain the cause of the explosion, they were convinced that it was the result of Spanish treachery, their wrath broke forth into fury.

The destruction of the *Maine* hastened, but did not cause, the approaching war. After proposing to Spain an armistice to con-

¹ Weyler's starvation policy is said to have cost Cuba 250,000 lives.

tinue till October 1, 1898, and receiving an unsatisfactory reply, President McKinley, on April 11, sent a message to Congress saying: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests . . . the war in Cuba must stop." This Declaration
of war meant war, for Congress has no diplomatic relations; its only power in dealing with foreign nations is the war power. On the 19th of April — that ominous date in American history, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, of the first bloodshed in the Civil War, and of the blockading proclamation of President Lincoln — on that day Congress resolved that Cuba must be free, authorized the President to use his war power in carrying out the resolution, and declared also that the United States had no intention to exercise sovereignty over the island. War was formally declared against Spain on the 25th. The Spanish minister at Washington instantly left the country, and our minister at Madrid departed from Spain. At that moment no idea of territorial acquisition seemed to enter the American mind. The war was solely for the rescue of Cuba, and no war was ever waged for a nobler purpose. And yet, strange as it may seem, nearly all European countries, except England, displayed a popular feeling against the United States.

The first notable battle of the war occurred in the Pacific. Spain had possession in the East of the populous archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, so called in honor of Phillip II of Spain, after their discovery by the Battle of
Manila dauntless Magellan in his famous world voyage.

In the spring of 1898 Commodore George Dewey was commanding a fleet in eastern waters. He was ordered to proceed to Manila Bay and there to attack the Spanish fleet. Manila Bay is one of the finest harbors in the world. At its mouth stand two small islands like sentries, rising five hundred feet above the water. These were bristling with Spanish cannon; but, on the night of April 30, Dewey passed them in safety, and at dawn of the next day he was ready to grapple with the Spanish fleet in the harbor. Here under the guns of Cavité, a town some miles from Manila, the capital of the islands, lay the enemy's vessels — and one of the most remarkable of naval battles immediately followed. The Spanish fleet, commanded by Admiral Montojo, consisted of ten vessels, while Dewey had nine, somewhat better on an average than those of the enemy. The apparent advantage of the Spaniards, owing to the support they had from the shore batteries, did not avail. The battle began in the early morn-

ing hours. It was short and terrific, and wholly one-sided in its results. Five times the American fleet swung past the enemy, pouring in its deadly broadsides. By one o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's fleet was totally destroyed and hundreds of the Spaniards were dead or wounded. Not an American was killed, nor was an American vessel disabled. Some months later the city of Manila was captured, with thirteen thousand Spanish soldiers, by a combined attack of the navy under Dewey and a land force sent from the United States under the command of General Merritt, and the entire archipelago was wrested from Spain.

Meantime matters were preparing for equally great events nearer home. The President had called for 125,000 volunteers and the rush to arms was most gratifying.¹ Admiral Sampson had been sent with a fleet to Cuban waters. Commodore Schley was also sent with a flying squadron. These two joined at the mouth of the harbor of Santiago, where a Spanish fleet, under Pascual Cervera, had taken refuge. This fleet was much stronger than that destroyed by Dewey. The fleets of Sampson and Schley, joined by the *Oregon*, after a fourteen-thousand-mile voyage from San Francisco around Cape Horn, watched and waited at the mouth of the harbor for Cervera. To prevent his escape at an ungarded moment a young officer, Richmond P. Hobson, with a few companions, steamed into the harbor under cover of the darkness and sunk an old collier, the *Merrimac*. But ere they had succeeded they were discovered, and they finished the work in the face of a tremendous fire from the enemy, after which they were picked up and made prisoners.

The country was utterly unprepared for war, and many were the blunders and mishaps before an army could be put into the field. After much confusion, 15,000 men were embarked from the coast of Florida on June 14 for the vicinity of Santiago. They were landed sixteen miles south of the harbor and began their march by two mountain trails toward Santiago. There was an army of regulars commanded by Generals Wheeler and Young, while Colonels Wood and Roosevelt led an irregular band of 534 men known as the Rough Riders. These two bodies, leaving the main army behind, pressed forward over the mountains, and encountered the enemy first at Las Guasimas, and captured their position. The rest of the army came up a few days later,

¹ The regular army was only 28,000 strong at the beginning of the war. It was soon increased to 61,000 by act of Congress. By the end of August 216,000 men had volunteered, the President having made a second call for 75,000 men.

led by Generals Lawton and Chaffee, and it was decided to make an attack on El Caney, a fortified town near Santiago. After a siege of nearly a whole day the works were taken by storm, most of the surviving Spaniards being made prisoners.

San Juan was captured on the same day in a brilliant assault led by Colonel Roosevelt. Other charges were also made on July 2 (some being continued into the next day) at various points near Santiago, and the combined engagements are known as the battle of San Juan.

**Battle of
San Juan**

It was the most important land battle of the war. Some 16,000 Americans were engaged under the general command of General William R. Shafter. Of our army 241 were killed and about 1400 wounded.

While this was going on, Sampson and Schley were waiting at the mouth of the harbor for the egress of Cervera. On the morning of the 3d of July, a thin column of smoke was descried far up the bay, and the Americans saw that their long-looked-for enemy was approaching. Cervera, seeing that Santiago was about to fall, had determined to make a dash for liberty — and a wild, fatal dash it was. Admiral Sampson was absent on his flagship, and Commodore Schley had general charge; but, more strictly speaking, it was a captain's fight, as each commander was prepared and did what seemed best in his eyes.

As the Spanish fleet emerged from the harbor, the American ships opened upon it, and in a wild running fight of a few hours the entire Spanish fleet was destroyed. The battle was a repetition of that at Manila. But one American was killed and one wounded, while nearly 600 Spaniards were killed or drowned, nearly 1400, including the brave Cervera, were taken prisoners, and every one of their vessels was sunk or captured.

**Battle of
Santiago,
July 3, 1898,**

Two weeks after this battle General Toral surrendered the city of Santiago to General Shafter, and practically the entire island of Cuba passed into the hands of the United States.

The fertile island of Porto Rico, the smallest of the four Greater Antilles, lying about five hundred miles southeast from Cuba, was the next object of attack. On July 20 General Nelson A. Miles, the chief commander of the armies, embarked with an army for Porto Rico. The army landed at Ponce, soon had possession of the city, and began a march toward San Juan, the capital of the island. After several skirmishes, and the capture of several towns, not only by the army under Miles, but by two or three others operating in different parts of the island, all opera-

tions were suddenly brought to a standstill, on August 13, by news that a peace protocol had been signed the day before by the United States and Spain.

The war was over; it had been in progress but little over three months. The Americans had won in every engagement. It was the fall of mediævalism before the onrush of modern progress. The naval power of Spain had been swept from the seas; and now the proud old nation sued for peace. The conditions, as arranged in the protocol, were that Spain forever relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba, that she cede to the United States Porto Rico and her other islands in the West Indies, also an island in the Ladrões, and that the control of the Philippines be determined in a treaty of peace yet to be arranged.

The war with Spain was not a great one, but it left important results.¹ It marked the end of Spanish rule in the Western Hemisphere, and of the Spanish Empire as a world power. But, after all, this war may prove a great blessing to Spain. Being no longer a first-class power, she will have little temptation to boast or to wage war, and if her people, now hemmed within their own peninsula, will turn their attention to the arts of civilization and to the education of the masses, they may yet become a great and happy people.

Still greater was the change wrought on the United States. During the century and a quarter of our national history, we had been content to remain in comparative isolation from the rest of the world; we had taken pride in the fact that we had not and did not wish to have colonial possessions. But suddenly, unexpectedly, our policy was changed, and we expanded into a world power. No man planned or foresaw the change. It came probably because it was time for it to come.

It often happens that a war brings about momentous results that were wholly unforeseen at the beginning. The Revolution was not begun to win independence nor the Civil War to overthrow slavery. In each case war was undertaken not to secure any new thing, but to maintain the old order; in each case the results proved far more important than was at first expected. The same proved to be true in the case of our war with Spain.

The treaty of peace was negotiated at Paris during the autumn of 1898 by commissions from both countries, the American commission being headed by Judge William R. Day, who had re-

¹ The cost to the United States was about \$275,000,000; the number of Americans engaged was 274,717.

signed the secretaryship of state. Aside from the provisions of the protocol, the one great question to be settled by the treaty was the disposition of the Philippine Islands. There was probably little thought on the part of the administration, when the protocol was signed, of forcing the cession of the islands by Spain. But the capture of Manila by the Americans on the day after the signing of the protocol (of which they had not heard, owing to the severance of telegraphic communication) placed the Philippine question in a different light. The American public now began to view the matter from the standpoint of national responsibility. It would be cowardly, it was argued, to turn the half-civilized Filipinos out upon the world to become a prey to foreign powers, or to hand them back to the misrule of Spain; and the only other alternative was to accept them as a possession of the United States. This view was strengthened by a missionary spirit among the people, and President McKinley came to adopt it. Late in October he cabled our commissioners that the acceptance of the archipelago was the only "plain path of duty." Our commissioners thereupon demanded the cession to the United States of the entire group. The Spanish commissioners objected to this with great vigor and with many arguments; but at length they were obliged to yield, and the entire archipelago was ceded to the United States in consideration of \$20,000,000 to be paid to Spain by the United States. The treaty also provided that for a term of years Spanish ships and merchandise be admitted to the ports of the islands on the same terms as those of the United States. The treaty was signed on December 10; but it hung fire for weeks in the Senate, being ratified on February 6, 1899, with a single vote to spare.

Cession of
the Philip-
pines

OUR ISLAND POSSESSIONS

The Philippine Archipelago extends over sixteen degrees of latitude, almost from Borneo to Formosa, and lies wholly within the tropical zone. It comprises 3141 islands, hundreds of which are uninhabitable volcanic rocks, and 1473 are without names. The largest of the islands, Luzon (40,969 square miles), is about the size of Ohio; the second in size is Mindanao with 36,292 square miles, Samar coming third with 5031 square miles. The entire land area of the archipelago reaches 115,026.¹ The soil is

¹ These figures are given by the *Census Report* (Vol. I, p. 57) issued in April, 1905, but, as therein stated, some of the islands have not been measured with absolute accuracy.

fertile and the chief products are sugar, Manila hemp, tobacco, coffee, and indigo.

The population of the islands, by the census of 1903, was 7,635,426. Of this number, 6,987,686 are civilized or partially civilized, while 647,740 are known as the wild tribes. **The natives** The people are divided into many tribes, the most enlightened of which are the Tagalogs, who number 1,460,000. The Visayan tribe is the most numerous, numbering 3,219,030; the Ilocanos number 803,000; the Bicolis, 566,365; the Igorots, 211,520. All are of Malay stock and are supposed to have occupied the islands in modern times only. The supposed aborigines are the Negritos, of whom 23,500 still exist. They are a timid, shy, dwarfish people who wander among the mountains, living on roots and small game.

At the time of the American occupation probably 30,000 Europeans and 100,000 Chinese lived in the islands, and these were in control of nearly all the industries.

Scarcely had the treaty of peace been signed when the Filipinos rose against the Americans, declaring that they had been fighting for independence, and not for a change of masters. **Revolt of the Filipinos** The insurrection was headed by a strong young native leader named Emilio Aguinaldo. But it was soon discovered that the Filipinos could not stand against an American army; they thereupon discarded the uniforms, and began a guerrilla warfare against the Americans. This method, which was soon degenerated into pure brigandage, proved very distressing to the Americans. President McKinley found it necessary to augment the army in the Philippines until it reached 65,000. These were scattered; they occupied many posts, and their petty engagements with the natives numbered hundreds.

Meanwhile the presidential campaign of 1900 had an important bearing on the Philippine War. This campaign was strikingly similar to that of 1896. **Presidential election of 1900** The candidates were the same, McKinley and Bryan, and the platforms were very similar to those of four years before. The Democrats, at the behest of Mr. Bryan, embodied the Chicago platform, including its free-silver feature; but they added one important declaration, that against imperialism, and pronounced this the paramount issue of the campaign. The Democrats declared against the continued possession of the Philippine Islands, and in favor of their ultimate independence, with a promise on our part to protect them against foreign powers by means of an extension of the Monroe Doctrine. The Filipino



AMERICAN POSSESSIONS IN THE PACIFIC

insurgents, learning that a great political party in the United States had pronounced in favor of their independence, exhibited great activity during the campaign. But the November election brought a signal victory for McKinley, who received 292 electoral votes to 155 for Bryan, and a marked subsidence in Filipino opposition was soon noted.

To aid the army in governing the islands the President appointed on February 6, 1900, a board of civil commissioners with Judge William H. Taft of Ohio at its head. This board reached the Philippines in June, and began its duties in September. It had sole legislative and appointive power, while the military governor continued to be the executive head. The board soon issued codes of law for municipal government, for an electoral system, for the government of the provinces, and the like. A system of secular schools was established, and a thousand American school teachers went to the islands as volunteers to teach the natives.

Philippine
commission

The insurrection was visibly waning. In March, 1901, Aguinaldo was captured by a clever though undignified strategy, and soon after this he took the oath of allegiance to the United States and issued a manifesto urging his fellow-countrymen to do the same. From this cause and other causes thousands of them did so, and by the close of the year 1901, 765 towns had peacefully accepted civil government, and the insurrection was practically at an end. It had cost the United States \$170,000,000 to pacify the islands. Judge Taft became governor of the archipelago on July 4, 1901, when a new system was inaugurated. The civil government in part superseded the military.¹ A commission to aid the governor was appointed, to consist of eight persons, three of whom were natives, and a supreme court was organized with four Americans and three native Filipinos. The natives had rebelled against Spain because of the friars, who had come to own a large part of the best land; and they rebelled against the Americans in part, as they claimed, because of a provision in the treaty by which the United States promised to respect the rights of the friars. The question of the friars' lands was at length amicably settled between the United States government and the head of the Catholic Church, without doing injustice to the Filipinos; and when the latter saw that the Americans were disposed to deal justly and kindly with them, giving them a large share in their own government, they laid

¹ It was not, however, till July 4, 1902, that the President proclaimed the insurrection at an end, and that the civil government fully superseded the military.

down their arms, and the islands became comparatively quiet and peaceful. Governor Taft proved himself a man of great tact and ability and, after serving as governor for two and a half years, he resigned, and in February, 1904, accepted the position of secretary of war in the Cabinet of the President. Mr. Luke E. Wright, who had been a member of the Philippine Commission, then became governor of the islands.

Soon after the close of the war with Spain the country's attention was turned also to Porto Rico, our new possession in the West Indies. The island had been under military government since the war, but in his annual message of December, 1899, President McKinley recommended civil government for Porto Rico and stated further that since the island had lost its preferential tariff with Cuba and Spain, "Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico." Accordingly on January 3, 1900, Senator J. B. Foraker of Ohio introduced a bill in the Senate providing for free trade with the island, and making the inhabitants citizens of the United States with a representative in Congress. This bill encountered great opposition in the House, supposed to have originated with the sugar refiners, who feared competition with Porto Rican sugar. The debate that followed hinged upon a constitutional question. The Constitution provides that all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States, and the Democrats, with some Republicans, took the ground that the Constitution follows the flag, that it extends of its own force to Porto Rico. The majority of the Republicans took the ground that Porto Rico is neither a state nor a territory, but a dependency, and that Congress has the right to legislate as it will concerning the island. The Republicans won by sheer numbers. A duty of 15 per cent of the Dingley tariff on goods going both ways between the United States and Porto Rico was agreed to, and the law was passed. A law was also passed that all duties collected in the United States on Porto Rican goods be appropriated to the expenses of the island. This 15 per cent tariff was to continue for two years, only on condition, however, that the people of the island did not in the meantime establish a system of taxation for their own benefit.¹ But they did this,

¹ In May, 1901, the Supreme Court rendered the first of its "insular decisions," *De Lima vs. Bidwell*, by which Porto Rico was pronounced a domestic territory of the United States. By this decision the duties levied on exports from Porto Rico to the United States were pronounced illegal and must be refunded. In a later decision, *Dooley vs. the United States*, the court decided that duties levied on goods from the United States to Porto Rico were illegal and must be refunded. The court decided also that Porto Rico is not an integral part, but

and on July 25, 1901, the President proclaimed absolute free trade between the United States and Porto Rico.

Civil government was established in Porto Rico on December 3, 1900. The governing power of the island consists of an American governor appointed by the President, an executive council, half of which shall be Porto Ricans, also appointed by the President, and a house of delegates, elected by the people. The Porto Ricans had welcomed the change of masters at the close of the war. Since then they have made great progress in popular education, in domestic products and commerce, and the prosperity of the island seems assured.

Hawaii meantime had fared even better than Porto Rico. In April, 1900, a law was passed to extend the Constitution to the Hawaiian Islands, including the internal revenue, customs, and maritime laws of the United States, and to make the islands a territory and the people citizens, with a representative in Congress.

CUBA

Scarcely less interesting than Porto Rico and the Philippines was Cuba, on account of which the war with Spain had come about. Congress in declaring war had resolved that the purpose was to rescue the Cubans from the misrule of Spain, after which they should have their independence. Many Americans, who would gladly have seen Cuba annexed to the United States, regretted this action of Congress; but there stood the resolution; the national faith was pledged, and, as the Cuban people displayed no disposition to enter the Union, there was nothing left but to fulfill our pledge. But the Cubans were not prepared for immediate self-government; they must first be taught some important lessons under the tutelage of their great benefactor. Accordingly our War Department took temporary possession of the island. General John R. Brooke, the first American governor, was followed, in December, 1899, by General Leonard Wood. A number of commissions, composed of Americans and leading Cubans, were appointed to raise the legal and judicial systems to a higher standard, to organize city governments, to reform the methods of taxation, and to investigate the prisons. The educational system of the island and the sanitary condition of Havana and other cities were improved in a remarkable degree, and, on

a possession, of the United States, and that the treaty-making power, while it may acquire new territory, cannot incorporate it into the United States. This may be done only by act of Congress.

the whole, the transformation of the island in two or three years was little short of marvelous.

Meanwhile a constitutional convention met at Havana and after three and a half months it brought forth (February 21, 1901) a constitution modeled closely after our Federal Constitution. Meanwhile certain demands were made upon Cuba by the American Congress in the form of the "Platt Amendment," offered by Senator Platt of Connecticut. These demands were as follows: That no foreign power acquire or control any territory in Cuba; that naval stations be granted the United States; that no debt be incurred that could not be met by the revenues of the island; that the United States be authorized to maintain the independence of the island by force if necessary, and that the Isle of Pines, a small, fertile island south of western Cuba, be ceded to the United States.

These requirements were moderate indeed in the light of the money spent and the American lives sacrificed in the rescue of Cuba. The Cuban convention demurred at the Platt Amendment, but after a long debate embodied it in the Constitution, June 12, 1901. The United States, however, decided later that the Isle of Pines be retained by Cuba.

In December, 1901, the people of Cuba held their first general election, and Estrada Palma was elected the first president of the new republic. On May 20, 1902, the Cuban republic became a reality, General Wood was replaced by President Palma, and the occupation of the island by the United States came to an end. Cuba, however, is not an absolutely independent nation. The conditions of the Platt Amendment reserve to the United States certain protective powers by means of which the Cubans, while enjoying all the benefits of self-government, are restrained from certain excesses, among which are rebellions and revolutions, so common to the Latin-American countries.

Our dealing with Cuba on the whole has been remarkable for its generosity. At the close of the war with Spain Cuba was utterly powerless in our hands. Had we chosen to evade the terms of our congressional resolution and to make Cuba our prize of war, no hand could have prevented our doing so. But instead of this we incurred great additional expense in placing the Cubans on their feet — in cleansing their cities, in organizing their school system, in renovating their judicial and administrative systems, in voting \$3,000,000 to pay the Cuban soldiers — and after all this we handed the island over to its

inhabitants, with scarcely a word of gratitude for our services. The student of history must search long to find a parallel case.

During the years following the war with Spain a large part of the energy of the administration, as also of public attention, was directed, as we have noticed, to our new possessions in the Orient, to Cuba and Porto Rico. But there were also other public affairs of importance. Congress passed a bill to increase the regular army to 65,000, to which should be added 35,000 volunteers, most of whom were to be sent to the Philippines. It also authorized the building of three new battleships and nine smaller vessels, and it restored the rank of admiral, Rear Admiral Dewey being commissioned to fill it.¹

The Fifty-sixth Congress met on December 4, 1899. The Senate elected as its chairman W. P. Frye of Maine, Vice President Hobart having died on November 11, while D. B. Henderson of Iowa was elected Speaker of the House. Brigham H. Roberts of Utah was excluded from the House by a vote of 302 to 31, because he was an avowed polygamist.

During the summer and autumn of 1900 public attention was absorbed, not only by a presidential campaign and the affairs of the various islands, as noticed, but by an uprising in China. An anti-foreigner society, known as the Boxers, began a crusade against foreigners in China.

Uprising in
China

The foreign diplomatic corps at Peking, including the American minister, Mr. E. H. Conger, demanded that the Boxers be suppressed, but they received no satisfactory answer. They then called on their respective countries for military aid, and the United States, with most of the European countries and Japan, responded. Marines were landed at Taku, whereupon the rioters became more active than before. They killed the German minister, and for five weeks held the foreign legations in Peking isolated from the rest of the world. The allies seized the forts at Taku, upon which the Chinese government ordered retaliation. A fierce battle occurred on July 14 at Tientsin; the city was captured by the allies, to whom Peking also surrendered in August, and the foreign ministers were rescued. At length the trouble was settled through an arrangement by which the Chinese government agreed to pay a large indemnity to the powers and to punish the leaders of the uprising.

Another matter of great interest to Americans, and to the people of other countries as well, was the establishing of the

¹ Hitherto but two persons, Farragut and Porter, had held this rank in the United States navy. On the death of Porter in 1891 the grade of admiral was allowed to lapse.

international tribunal at The Hague. Suggested by the Czar of Russia, it soon found favor with most civilized nations. The first conference was held in May, 1860. This tri-
The Hague bunal was an international arbitration court, to
tribunal which certain kinds of matters in dispute between civilized nations were to be brought for settlement without war. It has since been superseded by the League of Nations.

Congress, during the winter following the presidential election, increased the House membership to 380, in accordance with the new census,¹ reorganized the army, and, in deference to the temperance sentiment of the country, abolished the canteen. It also reduced war revenues by \$40,000,000 a year, by lowering the stamp duties affecting the sale of beer and cigars, and removing those affecting various legal documents. The session ended with the 4th of March, the day that witnessed the second inauguration of McKinley.²

Every index seemed to point to a prosperous administration. But a few months later the country was called, for the third time, to mourn the death of the chief magistrate at the hand
Assassina- of an assassin. On the 6th of September, while
tion of holding a public reception at the Pan-American
McKinley Exposition at Buffalo, the President was shot twice by an anarchist named Czolgosz, who had concealed a revolver under a handkerchief, which appeared to cover an injured hand. One shot penetrated the stomach. It was believed for some days that the President would recover. At length, however, he began to sink, and on the 14th he died.

No President since Andrew Jackson had, after a four years' service, been so popular with all classes as was McKinley. It is hardly probable that history will pronounce him a statesman of the first rank. His great popularity doubtless rested on a twofold basis: first, he possessed surpassing ability as a politician and party manager, and he had the skill to conceal this fact from the public; second, he was personally a man of sincere, pure life, of a great, generous heart, and of upright motives.

On the day of McKinley's death Theodore Roosevelt, who had

¹ The population by the census of 1900 was, including Hawaii and Alaska, 76,303,387. Of these the native born numbered 65,843,302; the foreign born, 10,460,085. The white population numbered 66,990,788; negro, 8,840,789; Chinese, 119,050; Japanese, 80,000; Indian, 266,760. See *Census Report*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 482, 483.

² The old Cabinet was retained. The members were John Hay, secretary of state; Lyman J. Gage, secretary of the treasury; Elihu Root, secretary of war; John D. Long, secretary of the navy; Ethan A. Hitchcock, secretary of the interior; James Wilson, secretary of agriculture; John W. Griggs, attorney-general; and Charles Emory Smith, postmaster-general. Mr. Griggs soon resigned and was succeeded by P. C. Knox.

been elected Vice President, took the oath of office at Buffalo as President of the United States. Mr. Roosevelt had attracted public attention as a fearless public official in his native state of New York and in Washington, and as a dashing soldier in Cuba. He now declared his intention to carry out the policy of the late President on the great questions of the day, and he requested the members of the Cabinet to retain their respective places. They all agreed to do so; but various changes were made within the following two or three years.

The summer of 1902 will be long remembered on account of the great miners' strike in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. The strike, which involved 147,000 workmen, was made to secure an advance in wages, a reduction of the hours of labor, and the recognition of the Miners' Union. The mines of the entire anthracite region were practically closed for more than five months, and the coal famine brought distress to every class of society. Manufactories were closed, prices rose, and yet as the summer passed no sign of a settlement seemed in sight. At length President Roosevelt interposed, and appealed to both parties to submit their differences to arbitration. To this they agreed, and a commission of seven men was appointed by the President to adjust the differences after making a thorough investigation. Pending the investigation the strike was declared off, and the miners returned to work on the 24th of October.

Anthracite
coal strike

On the 14th of February, 1903, a bill became a law creating a ninth Cabinet position, the Department of Commerce and Labor, and George B. Cortelyou became the first to fill the new office. A treaty of reciprocity with Cuba was before the United States Senate in March; and a coterie of senators interested in the manufacture of sugar, fearing that the importation of Cuban sugar would cheapen sugar in this country, opposed the treaty. But the American public, out of a kindly feeling toward Cuba, whose trade was in a deplorable condition, were clamorous for the ratification of the treaty. The Senate therefore made a pretense of complying with the public demand. It ratified the treaty March 19, but did so on condition that the treaty would be inoperative until an act should be passed to put it into operation. It was well known that this could not be done at that session. Thus the matter was left over, and the President in consequence called Congress to meet in extra session on November 9 to complete the ratification of the treaty. This was done, but not until after the opening of the regular session in December.

The buildings of the World's Fair, to be held at St. Louis in 1904, were dedicated on April 30, the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of sale in Paris. The Alaskan boundary commission, sitting in London, decided (October 17) the dispute between the United States and Canada concerning the western boundary of British Columbia, in favor of the United States, except for two small islands in the Portland Channel, which went to Canada.

THE ISTHMIAN CANAL

One of the great public questions of the time was that concerning the construction of a ship canal across the isthmus at some point between North and South America. For more than fifty years this subject had engaged the attention of the United States and, to some extent, of all civilized nations. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was framed in 1850 with reference to this great project. But in the early fifties the slavery question came to absorb public attention in the United States, and this, followed by the Civil War and reconstruction, caused the canal project to lie dormant for many years. In 1870 the United States government again turned its attention to the canal project. Two exploring expeditions, one to Darien and the other to Tehuantepec, were sent out that year; but their reports were not acted on, and the subject was left for ten years longer.

In 1881 Mr. Blaine, while secretary of state under Garfield, had a sharp controversy with Lord Granville concerning the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Blaine contended that the inter-oceanic canal should be under the political control of the United States, that the United States would view with grave concern the interference of any European power, and that the treaty of 1850 should be so modified as to conform with the changed conditions. Secretary of State Frelinghuysen, under President Arthur, went still farther; he claimed that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was obsolete and not binding on either power. Great Britain denied this, and refused to yield her rights under the treaty. After this correspondence little was done on the part of the United States for a number of years, and meantime a French company made strenuous but fruitless efforts to join the two oceans at Panama.

The French company was organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal. Terms were made with the government of Colombia, and the work was begun in 1881. But the company, after expending more than 770,000,000 francs and



Courtesy of the World Book Company.

THE PANAMA CANAL
(From Elson, *The Story of Our Country*.)

failing to obtain a loan of 600,000,000 more, went into liquidation in 1889. A new company was formed, however, and in 1894 the Colombia government extended its concessions for ten years longer on the condition that the work be immediately prosecuted. Some 3000 men were then employed to continue the work, mainly in reducing the Culebra hill. But this company found the work too onerous, and suspended operations.

While the French were operating at Panama, the United States had focused its attention on Nicaragua. In June, 1897, President McKinley appointed the Walker-Haupt commission, with Admiral John G. Walker at its head, and Professor Lewis M. Haupt as one of its members, to examine the Nicaragua route. While this commission was making a survey in Nicaragua, attention was directed to Panama, by the collapse of the French company, and by an offer of that company to sell its interests to the United States for \$109,000,000. Thereupon a new commission was appointed, or, rather, the old one was enlarged, to examine every available point, and to determine the most feasible one for a canal. This included Panama. The commission reported (December, 1901) for the Nicaragua route; but made it clear that the Panama route would be preferable, but for the excessive price at which the French held their interests, the real value of which the commission estimated at \$40,000,000.¹ The French company then, fearing that it might lose all, reduced its price to this figure. The commission then made a report in favor of the Panama route.

This important turn in the affair led the United States to give serious attention to Panama. The Panama route was, for various reasons, considered preferable. Though over 300 miles farther from the United States, the canal at Panama would be but 49 miles in length, while at Nicaragua it would be 184 miles — more than 100 of which, however, would be through Lake Nicaragua and the channel of the San Juan River. It was said, also, that Nicaragua lies more nearly in the volcanic belt than Panama. But the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty stood in the way. With that treaty in force, the United States could not act with a free hand at any point. Accordingly, Secretary of State Hay arranged with Lord Pauncefoot a treaty, which was signed in November, 1901. This proved acceptable to both countries, was duly ratified, and went into operation in February, 1902.

¹ Less than \$90,000,000 of the vast sum spent by the French had been actually spent on construction; the remainder went to promoters, politicians, and newspapers.

By this Hay-Pauncefote Treaty the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 was superseded, and the neutrality of the canal secured, while the United States became the sole builder, owner, and protector. The treaty further provided that the canal shall never be blockaded, and that no act of war shall be committed within it. Though the vessels of a belligerent may use the canal, they shall not take on stores or provisions, except what may be necessary, while passing through it, nor remain more than twenty-four hours within three miles of either terminus.

The report, made by the commission in favor of Panama, was sent to Congress by President Roosevelt on January 20, 1902. At length, late in June, a bill was passed authorizing the President to purchase the French interests for \$40,000,000, and to construct the canal at Panama at a cost not exceeding \$130,000,000 additional; or, in case the French company could not give a clear title, or in case the necessary territory and jurisdiction could not be secured from Colombia, the President was directed to construct the canal at Nicaragua, at a cost not exceeding \$180,000,000.

After a careful examination, Attorney-General Knox reported that the Panama Company could convey a good title, and it was decided to accept its offer, subject to the mutual ratification of a treaty between the United States and Colombia. Secretary Hay and Dr. Herran, the Colombian commissioner, after some months of negotiation, signed the Hay-Herran Treaty in January, 1903, but it had not been ratified on the 4th of March, when the Fifty-seventh Congress expired. The President, therefore, called an extra session of the Senate for March 5, and on the 17th the treaty was ratified by a large majority. This treaty provided for the lease to the United States by Colombia, for the term of one hundred years, with the privilege of perpetual renewal, of a zone across the isthmus six miles in width. The United States was to pay Colombia the sum of \$10,000,000 on the ratification of the treaty by both countries, and, beginning nine years later, an annual rental of \$250,000. The sovereignty of the canal zone was to remain with Colombia.

The arrangements on the whole were very favorable to Colombia, for the canal would become a wonderful stimulus to Colombian prosperity, and that country could well have afforded to grant the privileges free, rather than miss the opportunity. But a strong opposition to the treaty

**The Hay-
Herran
Treaty**
**Colombia
rejects
treaty**

soon developed in the Colombian Senate, the motive of which, as generally believed, was purely mercenary. On August 17 the treaty was rejected by a unanimous vote of the Colombian Senate sitting at Bogota. The cause of this action was quite plain when, in October, Colombia practically offered to make a new treaty if the ten million bonus be raised to twenty-five millions.

Scarcely had the Colombian Congress adjourned when the people of Panama, who greatly favored the canal project and who had been restive under Colombian rule for many years, rose against their government and set up a provisional government, proclaiming Panama an independent republic. The United States had expected the movement; and but three days after the revolt our government recognized the new republic. Colombia saw her blunder when too late; her wail of despair was unavailing. She offered to grant all canal concessions free if the United States would permit her to send troops to subjugate Panama; but the United States had taken the infant republic under its protection, and the offer was declined. The administration was severely criticised by many for such precipitate action; but the people generally approved, not only because of an intense desire to secure the canal, but also because of the contempt felt for the trifling, mercenary methods employed by Colombia. Why should this insignificant government, in which half a hundred revolutions had occurred in as many years, now in the hands of a clique of venal politicians, be permitted to hold up for an indefinite time this vast work in the line of progress and modern civilization? The criticisms of the administration were greatly softened by the fact that France, England, and other powers were also prompt in recognizing the new republic of Panama.¹

The next move in the rapid progress of events was the framing of a treaty with Panama. This was soon done by Secretary Hay and M. Bunau-Varilla, who represented Panama. The treaty was signed on November 18, and was ratified by Panama on December 2. It is very similar to the Hay-Herran Treaty; the same bonus of \$10,000,000 was to be paid to Panama that was offered Colombia, while the French company received its \$40,000,000. The independence of Panama is guaranteed by the treaty.

Revolt of
Panama
November 3,
1903

The Hay-
Bunau-Varilla Treaty

¹ In 1914 a new pact with Colombia was drawn up by which that country was to receive \$25,000,000 formerly demanded. It was lost in the Senate because of its apologetic tone. In 1921, the objectionable phrases were removed, and the treaty was accepted by both countries. The payment of this sum to Colombia was merely a bonus for South American good will.

The treaty is in one respect far more satisfactory to the United States than was the Hay-Herran Treaty: it grants to the United States practical sovereignty over the canal belt (ten miles wide instead of six) across the isthmus. This fact is highly important in view of the frequent revolutions in the Latin-American states.

President Roosevelt discussed the subject at length in his annual message in December; and again in a special message on the reassembling of Congress on January 4, 1904 (the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty being then before the Senate), he defended the course of the administration with great force. He declared that the United States had nothing whatever to do with bringing about the revolt in Panama, that it simply recognized the new nation, as it had a right to do, that "he would not for one moment discuss the possibility of the United States committing an act of such baseness as to abandon the new republic," and that the only question now to be considered was whether to build the canal or not to build it. After some weeks' debate the United States Senate ratified the treaty, February 23, 1904. In April a bill passed Congress for the government of the canal zone, almost identical with that of 1803 for the government of Louisiana (p. 363).

Diplomatic negotiations out of the way, the government undertook the great work under the agency of the War Department. The first great problem to be grappled with was the sanitary conditions. The natives of the towns were utterly careless in their way of living. The streets abounded in refuse. Mosquitoes hatched in billions in open rain barrels and in the swamps and morasses of the jungles. The task of removing the causes of yellow fever and malaria, of making Panama a safe place to live in, was given to William C. Gorgas, a surgeon in the United States army. In the course of two years, with 2000 assistants, Gorgas brought about a wonderful transformation and from that time the general health on the isthmus has been quite as good as in other parts of the world.

Excavation on a large scale was begun in 1906, many thousands of men — at times more than 45,000 — being employed. Clerks, foremen, engineers, and sanitary officials were Americans, but the common laborers were nearly all foreigners, Spaniards, Italians, and West Indian negroes. Colonel George W. Goethals was chief engineer and manager. With huge steam shovels and 800 dirt trains of twenty-three cars each the work proceeded rapidly and the great canal was finished in August, 1914, the

cost having been nearly four hundred millions. By 1923 more than 5000 vessels a year were using the canal and the tolls exceeded \$22,000,000 a year.

The two great features of the canal are the Gatun Dam and the Culebra Cut. The Gatun Dam, a third of a mile thick at the base, stops the flow of the Chagres River and creates a lake of about a hundred square miles. Through this lake the canal passes to Culebra Hill, one of the lowest points in the vast mountain system extending from the Behring Sea to Patagonia. Culebra Cut is nine miles long and at the highest point the walls of the canal rise 245 feet above the water.

The Panama Canal is an incalculable benefit to the commercial world. The saving in distance from New York to San Francisco is more than 8000 miles and from Liverpool to San Francisco it is above 6000 miles.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE presidential campaign of 1904 was uneventful. Roosevelt naturally aspired to an election on his own account. He had won the rank and file of the party and after the death of Mark Hanna in February, 1904, who might have become a formidable rival, all opposition melted away. Roosevelt was nominated in the convention on the first ballot.

The Eastern Democrats constituting the conservative wing of the party were anxious to get rid of Bryan, who had twice led the party to defeat. The West was not averse to trying an Eastern candidate and the nomination fell to Judge Alton B. Parker of New York. For second place Henry G. Davis of West Virginia was chosen. Parker was a man of ability and of admirable character, but he was little known outside his own state, and as a campaigner he was no match for Roosevelt. No doubt Parker lost many votes of Bryan adherents by his decisive stand against the free coinage of silver. Roosevelt won an easy victory.

SECOND TERM OF ROOSEVELT

The second term of President Roosevelt will not be remembered in history for its legislative record, but rather for the steady progress on the Panama Canal and for certain unusual events, such as the life insurance probe in New York, the destruction of San Francisco by an earthquake (April, 1905), the Treaty of Portsmouth between Russia and Japan (August, 1906), and the anti-Japanese crusade in California.

It had long been suspected that the great life insurance companies of New York City were not strictly observing the law in the management of their finances. An official investigation was ordered and took place in the summer of 1905. It was revealed that these giant institutions, managed by a coterie of men who had not been required to make an accounting, had been recklessly mismanaged. The result was that many culpable officials were dismissed and more

Life insurance probe

stringent laws were passed for the regulation and supervision of the life insurance business. In the end public confidence was strengthened rather than weakened. Life insurance was more than ever recognized as a great beneficent institution, and was placed on a higher and safer commercial basis.

The whole country was startled on April 18, 1906, by the news from the Pacific Coast that the city of San Francisco had been destroyed by an earthquake, the most destructive yet known in North America. In the early morning the sleeping city was awakened by seismic tremors, soon followed by falling buildings and crashing timbers. Fires quickly caught in the wreckage and the conflagration swept over the ruins and completed the work of destruction. A great portion of the beautiful city of the Golden State was swept out of existence.

Earthquake
at San
Francisco

Many people lost their lives in the great catastrophe, but the percentage of casualties as compared with the population was very small. During the coming weeks thousands of the people, losing all sense of rank and station, camped in the streets and public parks and laid plans for rebuilding their ruined city. Within the next few years a new city, more beautiful and more substantial than the old, rose rapidly on the site, and ten years after the earthquake, when the Panama Exposition was held at San Francisco, there was little to remind the visitor of the calamity through which it had passed.

Again, the year following the great earthquake, the Pacific Coast drew the attention of the whole country, owing to an anti-Japanese agitation centering in San Francisco. At the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1892 the Japanese on the western coast were few in numbers and the act was not made applicable to them. But as the years passed they began to come in considerable numbers and the American inhabitants raised against them the same sort of cry that had brought about the exclusion of the Chinese. The incident that brought the matter into international prominence was the passing of an ordinance by the San Francisco school board excluding Japanese children from schools attended by white children. This was in violation of a treaty we have with Japan which guarantees that Japanese residing in this country are entitled to the same treatment accorded our own people.

Anti-Japanese
agitation

President Roosevelt was much exercised lest the incident cause complications with Japan. He sent a member of his Cabinet to California to investigate. It developed that a molehill

had been made into a mountain. Fewer than a hundred Japanese children had been attending the San Francisco schools. The school board at length agreed to rescind its order and the administration agreed to take steps toward prohibiting the continued coming of the Japanese to America. This proved an easy task. It was embodied in a treaty that the President be authorized to refuse admittance of laborers into this country from the Panama Canal zone or from our island possessions. This was applied to the Japanese and it solved the problem for the time at least, for the Emperor of Japan does not issue passports authorizing his people to come directly to the United States.

The Japanese are an admirable and courageous people, but their ideals and civilization are so unlike our own that the two peoples cannot blend into one. In this respect they must be classed with the Chinese, and if they were to come to our shores in great numbers the result would be a race problem more serious than the Indian and the Negro problems. Not on economic but on racial grounds we owe it to the future of America to refuse the admission of large numbers of Orientals to this country.

The ending of the great war between Russia and Japan was an event of primary interest to the whole world. For two years these mighty powers had battled up and down Manchuria and Korea and on the sea with frightful destruction of life and property. Both were ready for peace and the President of the United States furnished the occasion. In accordance with a provision of The Hague Conference of 1899 he dispatched identical notes to Russia and Japan urging them to agree to make peace and tendering his services in selecting a time and place for a conference. Both nations accepted the proposal and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was chosen as the place of meeting. The agents of the two belligerents met as agreed and peace was concluded in August, 1905. For bringing about this meeting President Roosevelt was highly praised and in 1906 he was awarded the Nobel prize.¹

The Congressional elections of 1906 revealed no serious discontent with the administration. It is true that in the House of Representatives the Democrats made gains, but the Republicans retained a comfortable working majority in the new House.

¹ The Nobel prizes are a series of five, averaging \$40,000 each, which are awarded each year for important inventions, discoveries in science, literary productions, services in the interests of peace, etc. They are derived from the interest of a fund of \$9,000,000 left for the purpose by Alfred B. Nobel (1833-96), a Swede, the inventor of dynamite.

Of almost greater interest than the national election was the choosing of a governor of New York. The Republicans put in nomination Mr. Charles E. Hughes, a lawyer of great ability, who had made himself a national reputation by his masterly management of the life insurance probe. The Democrats nominated Mr. William R. Hearst, proprietor of a chain of newspapers reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Mr. Hearst had organized a new party, the Independence League, which first named him for governor, and the Democrats, having no strong leader and fearing that Hearst would draw heavily from their party, ratified the nomination. The great significance of this state campaign lay in the fact that if Hearst had been elected, he would have become the logical Democratic leader of the whole nation and would have almost surely won the nomination for the presidency two years hence. But he was defeated by Mr. Hughes and the continued leadership of the Democracy remained in the hands of Mr. Bryan.

Elections
of 1906

The year 1906 was marked by the enactment of a few very important laws. The most notable of these was the Hepburn Law dealing with the railroads, express companies, and the like. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 created the Interstate Commerce Commission of five members and gave it power to inquire into railroad rates, but not to control them. The law forbade rebating and discriminating in rates, but for many years it was almost a dead letter. The railroads went on doing as they had done before. The Sherman Law of 1890 forbade contracts, combinations, and conspiracies in restraint of trade, but the exact meaning of "in restraint of trade" was never defined and the Sherman Law was little more effective than its predecessor.

The Hep-
burn Law

The Hepburn Law of 1906, however, was more explicit. It increased the Interstate Commerce Commission to seven members, gave it power to reduce unreasonable rates and extended its jurisdiction to pipe lines, express companies, and so forth. The law compels the railroads to publish uniform freight rates and prohibits the giving of passes except to their own employees. Senator La Follette of Wisconsin urged an amendment providing for the physical valuation of the railroads as a basis for rate-making, but both the President and Congress refused to accept his proposal. Seven years later, however, in 1913, the Wisconsin senator had the satisfaction of seeing his measure enacted into a law.

The Pure Food Law, of June, 1906, was passed because of a

general public demand that the government protect the people from adulterations of food and drugs. The law was brought about largely through the untiring efforts of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, who had been in the government's service for many years. It met with great opposition from fake patent medicine concerns, many of which were forced to go out of business. It prohibits the misbranding or the adulterating of foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors by persons and corporations engaged in interstate commerce. The law has been fairly well enforced and no doubt has saved many thousands of lives. A companion law to this one, passed the same year, provides for the inspection of meats by government officials.¹

Two other laws of importance, enacted in the latter part of Roosevelt's administration, were the Employers' Liability Law which enables employees of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to collect damages for injuries sustained while in service, and a law limiting the hours of trainmen and telegraph operators. This latter law was intended not only to secure humane treatment for the men who run the trains and send the telegrams, but also to protect the traveling public from disastrous railroad accidents, caused in many cases by overwork, by long and sleepless hours of toil. Railroad accidents are still too frequent, but no doubt they have been reduced in number by this salutary law.

One of the most disastrous financial panics in our history struck the country like a cyclone in the fall of 1907 and it was soon followed by an industrial depression throughout the country. Banks refused to cash checks, business was greatly disturbed, and hundreds of thousands of men were thrown out of employment. This condition continued far into the next year, when gradually the business of the country resumed its normal state.

The most conspicuous world event of 1907 was the meeting of the Second Hague Conference, the first having been held in 1899 at the suggestion of Czar Nicholas II of Russia. The sessions continued during the summer and autumn and within that period the cornerstone was laid for a magnificent Peace Palace at The Hague, due to the generosity of the American philanthropist, Mr. Andrew Carnegie. This second conference included representatives from nearly

¹ These laws, the laws regulating railroads, and many others, including all our tariff laws, are authorized by the clause in the Federal Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 8), which gives Congress power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states."

fifty nations. It attempted to do many things which for want of space cannot here be enumerated. The ultimate purpose of the tribunal was to reduce armaments, to establish universal peace, and to foster the spirit of brotherhood among the nations; but the coming of the great European War in 1914 proved most disheartening to the lovers of peace throughout the world.

The administration of President Roosevelt was drawing to a close. Roosevelt was a unique figure in American history. A more interesting and versatile personality would be difficult to find. Loquacious and irascible, courageous and vindictive, he pleased and often amused the public with his unexpected caprices. His weaknesses were human and natural and therefore condoned, but he made many enemies as well as friends. He took the lead in the tidal wave of reform that swept over the country during the first decade of the century. Vast numbers of people believed in him and accepted him as their leader; but he was not without his merciless critics who questioned his sincerity and declared that he had a secret understanding with the great trusts and predatory interests to the end that they should not take too seriously his public railings against them. His critics point to the facts that very few reformatory laws were enacted during his administration and that he refused to prosecute many trusts that were known to be violating the law. Nothing he ever did was more distressing to his followers than his approval of the consolidation of the Tennessee Fuel and Iron Company with the United States Steel Corporation. It seemed to disprove the sincerity of his opposition to trusts and great financial interests. It was said that the steel magnates went to the White House and convinced the President that the consolidation was the only thing that could avert a panic. One of his admirers, a western senator, said, "I wish he had said, 'Excuse me, gentlemen, I desire to send for the United States marshal to place you under arrest . . . for conspiracy against this nation.' Had he taken such action when those money kings threatened a money panic, he would have become a still greater popular hero."¹

Theodore
Roosevelt

Despite Roosevelt's many enemies he held his party as in a leash and would have received the nomination for reelection in 1908 had he desired it; but he preferred to hunt lions in Africa and selected William H. Taft, a member of his Cabinet, as his party's candidate. Mr. Taft had served his country as governor of the Phil-

Nomination
of Taft and
Bryan

¹ Dunn, *From Harrison to Harding*, II, p. 43.

ippines and later as secretary of war. He was a man of ability and high character, but it is doubtful if he would have received the nomination but for the preponderating influence of his chief. When the convention met in Chicago in June he was chosen on the first ballot and James S. Sherman of New York was nominated for second place.

The Democrats met in national convention at Denver early in July. The disastrous defeat of Parker four years before had caused the party to swing back to Mr. Bryan. His nomination at Denver was a foregone conclusion. The mention of his name before the convention brought enthusiastic cheers that continued for more than an hour before order could be restored. His nomination followed on the first ballot by an almost unanimous vote. John W. Kern of Indiana was chosen as his running mate. The platform was very definite and very radical in its anti-trust planks.

Several minor parties were in the field as usual in this campaign. The Socialists named their well-known leader, Eugene V. Debs, for the presidency, and the moribund Populist party chose the brilliant Georgian, Thomas E. Watson, for the same office. The Prohibition party named Eugene W. Chafin of Illinois as its standard bearer. But the minor party attracting most attention at first was the Independence League founded a few years earlier by William R. Hearst of New York. Mr. Hearst, however, did not deem it wise to become a candidate and in a convention of his party Thomas Hisgen of Massachusetts was named for first place and John Temple Graves of Georgia was chosen for the vice presidency.

The campaign was clean and dignified. All the leading candidates "took the stump," each presenting his case as best he could. Mr. Taft made a good impression wherever he went, the people believing him a man of sound judgment and ability; but he was no match for Mr. Bryan in handling a great audience. As a platform orator Mr. Bryan had no peer. But great numbers of his admirers who listened to him gladly voted straight-way for Mr. Taft, believing him a safer man to fill the great office.

Each party in its platform promised a revision of the tariff, but the Republicans had not designated whether it should be an upward or a downward revision. The Democrats promised, also, that the government should guarantee bank deposits and Mr. Bryan made much of this in his speeches.

The election brought a great victory for Taft, who secured 321 electoral votes to 162 for Bryan; no votes were received by any

of the minor party candidates. Taft's popular plurality exceeded a million and a quarter. Thus, for a third time, Mr. Bryan led a great political party to defeat.

Between the election and the inauguration a spectacular cruise of the American fleet around the world was completed (February, 1909), the final run having been made direct from Gibraltar to Hampton Roads. The fleet had left Atlantic waters in December, 1907, passing around Cape Horn to California. Thence it sailed across the Pacific to the Orient, visiting Australia and Japan, returning by way of the Suez Canal and calling at various European ports. The applause with which it was received in all parts of the world was a matter of gratification to the American people.

The fleet
sail round
the world

THE TAFT ADMINISTRATION

In the midst of the greatest snowstorm of the winter Mr. Taft was inaugurated on March 4, 1909. The usual street parades were held with the greatest difficulty and trains bearing thousands of people were stalled in the snow and they reached the capital city only after the ceremonies were over. The new President retained but two of the members of his predecessor's Cabinet, one of whom was Mr. James Wilson, secretary of agriculture. For secretary of state Mr. Taft chose Senator Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania.

The first great problem to be solved by the new administration was the tariff. The Dingley Tariff had been in force for twelve years. It was out of date. The country was clamoring for a revision, which had been promised by both great parties during the campaign. Though Roosevelt never publicly pronounced for tariff revision, Taft had done so in a speech in Maine while a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet. He now called Congress to meet in special session on March 15 to grapple with this knotty problem.

The new President, like most new presidents, had well-defined ideas of the separate duties of the legislative and executive branches of the government. He took little part in the shaping of the new tariff. He played golf and enjoyed the exhilaration of his new office. Representative Payne of New York, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, soon brought in a tariff measure that was passed by the House and which elicited praise from all parts of the country. It cut the steel and lumber duties in half and put leather

The Payne-
Aldrich
Tariff

on the free list. It reduced the duties on many necessities of life and provided for an inheritance tax. Had it become a law it would have become a tower of strength to the Republican party.

But that was not to be. The pampered "interests" that had grown fat on the protective tariff became alarmed and set their lobby to work on the Senate, under the leadership of Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island. The Payne Tariff bill was warped and twisted into the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, one of the most highly protective measures that ever passed an American Congress. The differences between the two houses were adjusted and the new tariff measure became a law on August 5, 1909. The President was not pleased with the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Law, but signed it, declaring that it was the best that could be had at the time. It was not passed in Congress, however, without fierce opposition from such leading Republicans as Senators La Follette of Wisconsin, Dolliver and Cummins of Iowa, Beveridge of Indiana, and Bristow of Kansas. These men, all of whom voted against the new tariff measure in defiance of party regularity, were called Insurgents. This episode may be considered the beginning of the progressive movement that was to wreck the Republican party a few years later.

In June of the following year (1910) a law was passed at the recommendation of the President establishing a system of postal savings in connection with the post offices. This proved very popular, especially among the laboring classes, and within a few years many millions of dollars had been entrusted with the government for which the depositors received two per cent interest. This law was followed by another establishing a system of parcel post, by which the government carries parcels in the mails at a moderate cost. Such a system had long been in operation in nearly every civilized country. In the United States it had been contemplated for many years, but the unrelenting opposition of the express companies had prevented it from becoming a law. But this opposition was borne down at last and the will of the people was enacted into law. The Parcel Post Law, passed in August, 1912, became operative on January 1, 1913. It has proved immensely popular, as shown by the fact that during the few days preceding Christmas, 1916, one hundred and twenty-five million parcels were delivered through the mails.

Mr. Taft made a noble effort to bring about conditions to ensure universal peace among the nations. He arranged treaties

of arbitration with France and Great Britain. Both were signed on the same day, August 3, 1911, one at Washington and the other at Paris. But they could become operative only when ratified by the United States Senate and by that body they were so emasculated with amendments that they became worthless and were abandoned.

Peace
treaties

The anti-trust cases attracted more than usual attention during the year 1911. Mr. Taft used fewer words than Mr. Roosevelt, but was more vigorous in action. Within the first three years he secured nearly twice as many indictments as his predecessor had done in seven and a half years. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was somewhat obscure as to its meaning; for many years after its passage, in 1890, it was not fully enforced and the trusts multiplied greatly. More and more the people demanded the enforcement of the Anti-Trust Law.

The President determined to force to a finish the two famous cases against the Standard Oil Company and against the American Tobacco Company, both of which had been pending for years. In May, 1911, the Federal Supreme Court handed down decisions in favor of the government, dissolving both these great corporations. But the victory was a barren one. The constituent parts into which these gigantic concerns were dissolved by the court were expected to reestablish competition with one another. But no such result followed. The various parts continued to work in harmony as before and no reduction in prices was visible. Indeed, oil and its products rose in price to levels never reached before. It was evident that the law was incapable of reaching and correcting the evil.

Anti-trust
decisions

The Taft administration was not popular and the signs of Republican disintegration were unmistakable. The results of the elections of 1910, preceded by the overthrow of Speaker Cannon, were ominous of the future.

Speaker
Cannon

Joseph G. Cannon, speaker of the House of Representatives, had built up a machine by which the entire business of the House was gathered into the hands of a few leaders. The speaker appointed all committees and designated their respective chairmen. Thus he controlled legislation by having smothered in committee any measure distasteful to him. He could refuse the privileges of the floor to any one and the younger members of his own party were treated with scant courtesy until they yielded themselves to "party discipline." All this was extremely obnoxious to a considerable number of insurgent Repub-

licans, chiefly from the West, who at length determined on heroic measures to break the chains that bound them. In March, 1910, they succeeded in getting before the House an amendment to the rules providing for the election of the committees by the House and for the excluding of the speaker from the Rules Committee. Mr. Cannon ruled the motion out of order, but an appeal from his decision, supported by Insurgents and Democrats, resulted in his defeat. The speaker of the House was thereupon shorn of a large portion of the power that he had wielded since the founding of the government. The speakership of Mr. Cannon came to an end on the following fourth of March and the sturdy Missourian, Champ Clark, was chosen to fill the office.

The autumn elections of 1910 revealed an irresistible current toward the Democratic party. The Republicans, on the defensive, put forth every possible effort to stem the rising tide of Democracy. Former President Roosevelt, having returned from a year's hunting trip in Africa, threw himself into the campaign with all his well-known vigor, but in vain. The Democrats made notable gains in nearly every section of the country. The Republican majority of fifty in the House was replaced by a Democratic majority of sixty, and in seven of the Northern States Republican governors were succeeded by Democrats. Perhaps the most striking personal victory was that of Dr. Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University, who was elected governor of New Jersey by a majority of fifty thousand.

To an observer who could view the matter from a non-partisan standpoint the result of the elections was gratifying. The two great political forces of the nation were equalized and the Democrats, out of power for sixteen years, would have at least an equal chance with their great rival in the next presidential contest. Nothing is more unwholesome in politics than an abnormal preponderance of any political party over its nearest rival.

The growing discontent with the party in power was due, not to the personality of Mr. Taft, for he was a genial man, but chiefly to the increasing conviction that the party was dominated by the great moneyed interests and not by the rank and file. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff, dictated by these interests and for these interests, as the majority of the people believed, was a standing monument of the popular conviction.

To offset the discontent with the tariff, the President, in the early months of 1911, arranged a Reciprocity agreement with Canada, by which the duties on several hundred articles of

trade between the two countries were removed or reduced. The agreement received the sanction of Congress, with the aid of Democratic votes. Canada, however, more Demo- **Reciprocity**
 cratic in this instance than the United States, referred the matter to the people in a general election (September, 1911), and it was defeated by a large majority, — and another of the President's fondest dreams failed of realization.

Singularly unfortunate was President Taft in the failure of every important project on which he had set his heart. Under his guidance and for the first time in sixteen years the Republicans lost control of the House of Representatives. The treaties of peace with the great powers of Europe were destroyed in our own Senate, Reciprocity met with a like disaster in Canada, and even the anti-trust decisions failed to bring the results that had been expected. Except for these failures the name of Mr. Taft would mean more to the historian of the future than it will ever mean. But the crowning failure was yet to come — in the complete disruption of his party in the presidential election of 1912.

President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt, like Jackson and Calhoun, had been close friends for many years, though utterly unlike in temperament. Taft was a poor advertiser; he knew not how to play to the galleries; or to sound a trumpet on his achievements; he never could dramatize himself or shine in the dress parade. Roosevelt was a past master in all these. After years of ardent friendship they became estranged and grew apart until bitterly hostile. Roosevelt accused Taft of being bound by the predatory interests and of not carrying out the progressive policies that he himself had inaugurated. Had Taft been a keen and tactful politician he might have convinced the public that his administration, though not spectacular, had been as progressive and efficient as that of his predecessor. The great party to which both had always belonged was torn by their rivalries, and while they contended with each other the enemy stole in and captured the prize for which they fought.

We have noted that certain restive Republicans, known as Insurgents, had opposed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. These same men early in 1911 organized the National Progressive Republican League and their leader was Senator Robert M. La Follette. They attacked President Taft for signing a bill revising the tariff upwards and for praising it later as the "best tariff ever enacted," and for many other things. Mr. La Follette was set forth by this faction as the next Republican presidential candidate. But there was a discordant

**La Follette
 and Roose-
 velt**

note. Some of the followers of the doughty Wisconsin senator seemed half-hearted in their allegiance, and it was suspected that they longed for Roosevelt as their leader, if only he could be induced to join the movement and to agree to enter the lists for the presidency. The suspicion proved to be well grounded. The growing estrangement between Mr. Roosevelt and the President, the espousing by Roosevelt of the most radical doctrines of the Progressives, and finally, in February, 1912, the appeal of seven Republican governors, urging him to yield to the demands of his friends, — all these tended to break down his resolution not to be a candidate and he threw his "hat into the ring."¹

It was evident that the Progressives, as they came to be called, meant to capture, if possible, the regular Republican nomination. In various states preferential primaries were held and in nearly all of them Mr. Roosevelt received a far greater vote than did Mr. Taft. But the administration had received many delegates from the non-Republican states of the South and when the convention met early in June, in Chicago, the old-line Republican leaders were in control. Contested delegations were decided in favor of Taft and his nomination was assured.

Mr. Roosevelt, with most of his followers, seceded from the convention, declaring that it had won by fraud and that any one accepting the nomination of such a body would forfeit the right to ask the support of any honest man. The methods employed by the convention were high-handed beyond a doubt; but they were the same as those employed four years before by Roosevelt himself in securing the nomination of Taft. Senator La Follette, the sometime leader of the Progressives, remained in the Republican camp, declaring that the reactionary policies of Taft were preferable to the "mock heroics" of Roosevelt.

The Democratic convention met in Baltimore on the twenty-fifth of June. Leaving out Mr. Bryan, who had little hope of capturing the nomination this year, there were four strong men available as candidates: Governors Wilson of New Jersey and Harmon of Ohio, Mr. Champ Clark, speaker of the House, and Mr. Oscar Underwood, the Democratic leader on the floor. For seven days the convention was dead-locked; no one could foretell the outcome. The four leading candidates were reduced to two — Governor Wilson

¹ The letter sponsored by the "Seven Governors" appealing to Roosevelt to become a candidate was not written by them. It was composed by Roosevelt and his friends in the office of the *Outlook*, New York City — a clever bit of strategy unknown to the public. Harlow, *Growth of the United States*, p. 733.

and Speaker Clark. Mr. Clark would probably have been nominated but for the opposition of Mr. Bryan. Convinced that Clark was too favorable to the conservative wing of the party, Bryan espoused the cause of Wilson. He was by far the strongest leader in the convention and with consummate skill he swayed the members and on the forty-sixth ballot brought about the nomination of Wilson — the greatest victory of Bryan's life. Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana was chosen for second place.

Governor Wilson proved a happy choice. For many years he had been a student of politics and writer on governmental subjects. As reform governor of New Jersey he had made a conspicuous record, but he was almost new in public life and his enemies were few.

Mr. Roosevelt determined to organize a new party. It was called Progressive. It met in convention at Chicago on the fifth of August. Eighteen of its members were women and the famous Jane Addams of Chicago made one of the key-note speeches. Mr. Roosevelt, after making an address radical in its progressiveness, called his "Confession of Faith," was nominated unanimously on the first ballot. That Roosevelt expected to draw to himself great numbers of progressive Democrats and to win the election there can be little doubt. The claim of his friends that he was guided by principle without hope of election is disproved by the fact that four years later he went back to the old party, though it stood for the same things against which he protested in 1912. Roosevelt, like many an ambitious public man, was incapable of setting bounds to his own ambition. The public had to do that for him.

Space forbids us to follow the campaign. All the candidates, including Mr. Eugene V. Debs, the nominee of the Socialists, entered the lists and made speaking tours. Many weeks before the November election it was clear to all that the great schism in the Republican party would be fatal to the success of either faction and that Governor Wilson would be elected. He won by a great majority in the electoral college — 435 to 81 for Roosevelt and 15 for Taft. But Wilson's popular vote fell short of a majority of the whole.¹

FIRST TERM OF PRESIDENT WILSON

The newly elected President had long been a student of great questions; as a writer on governmental subjects he had no supe-

¹ The popular vote was as follows: Wilson, 6,292,718; Roosevelt, 4,057,429; Taft, 3,369,221; Debs, 812,731; Chapin (Pro.), 170,626; Reimer (Soc. L.), 17,312.

rior in America. He had spent many years of his life as professor and later president of Princeton University; and for only two years, as governor of New Jersey, had he been in the political arena. He had awakened few antagonisms and a universal shout of welcome greeted him at his inauguration.

The fourth of March, 1913, was a beautiful day and the crowd that gathered, estimated at half a million, was one of the greatest that ever filled the streets of the capital city. The brief inaugural address closed with these words:

"This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

As expected by every one, President Wilson chose William Jennings Bryan, for many years the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party, as his secretary of state. William G. McAdoo was chosen secretary of the treasury. Mr. McAdoo was southern born, but a resident of New York. He was widely known as the builder of the Hudson tunnels connecting New Jersey and New York City.¹

A special session of Congress was called to meet on April 7. Its chief purpose was to enact a new tariff measure. Grover Cleveland on becoming President a second time had waited till the regular session of Congress to revise the tariff and it was not completed until the summer of 1894, but a few months before the next Congressional election. The people were therefore called to pass judgment on the new tariff before it had had time to adjust itself to the business of the country. Mr. Wilson took the wiser course. He disposed of this troublesome question more than a year before the next election, thus giving the people time to see it work, time also to get interested in other public questions so that the tariff need not be the sole issue in the next election.

President Wilson broke the custom of a hundred years by read-

¹ The other members of the Cabinet were, Lindley M. Garrison of New Jersey, secretary of war; Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; Franklin K. Lane of California, born on Prince Edward Island, secretary of the interior; Albert S. Bursleson of Texas, postmaster general; David F. Houston of Missouri, secretary of agriculture; James C. McReynolds of Kentucky, attorney general; William C. Redfield of New York, secretary of commerce; and William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania, born in Scotland, was chosen as the first to fill the newly created Cabinet position, the department of labor.

ing his message in person to Congress instead of sending it to be read by a messenger.

Champ Clark was reëlected speaker of the House and Oscar W. Underwood was the floor leader of the House and chairman of the all-important Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Underwood was therefore the chief framer of the new tariff, which in history will bear his name. The Underwood Tariff

His ability and his extraordinary knowledge of the subject could not be questioned. His House Report giving a general survey of the subject is pronounced by experts one of the greatest papers on public finance ever produced in this country.

The Underwood Tariff after months of debate passed both houses and on October 3, 1913, was signed by the President. When it was before the Senate the "interests" made their usual efforts to influence that body, but through the direct interference of the President the lobby was checkmated and the new tariff bore scarcely a trace of its sinister influence. The duties were greatly lowered on most woolen and cotton goods, also on silk and iron products and a great many other things. The free list was extensively enlarged. It included wheat and flour (except when imported from a country placing a duty on our wheat and flour), cattle, swine and most of their products, hides, leather, lumber, coal, harvesting machinery, and a large number of food products.

The McKinley Tariff of 1890, the Dingley, and the Payne-Aldrich tariffs had all averaged on dutiable goods about 50 per cent; the Underwood Tariff averaged 26 per cent. While far from a free trade measure, the new tariff marked a sharp reverse to the prevailing policy of the country since the Civil War.

One of the important features of the Underwood Tariff measure was the provision for an income tax, which had been made possible by the 16th amendment of the Constitution.

Another great measure, comparable to the Underwood Tariff, the Federal Reserve Banking Law, was chiefly the work of this special session of Congress, though it did not pass finally until after the regular session had begun. The Federal Reserve Banking Law The debates on it continued through the summer and fall simultaneously with those on the tariff.

On the passing of the tariff bill President Wilson had declared that only half the journey had been traversed, that this measure had freed the country from a condition making monopoly easy, that it must next be freed from the financial power that creates monopoly. This great measure, which replaced the out-worn

banking system of Civil War times, having passed both houses, was signed by the President on December 23, 1913. Only a brief outline of its main provisions can be given here.

The Federal Reserve Banking system is under the control of a board of seven directors, including the secretary of the treasury, the comptroller of the currency, and five members appointed by the President. The term of service is ten years and the salary is \$12,000. Instead of one central bank there are twelve "regional reserve banks" located in as many cities scattered over the country. Each of these banks is in the center of a large district. Every national bank is required to join the system and each one is obliged to subscribe for stock in the regional bank of its district to the amount of six per cent of its own capital stock and surplus. State banks may also join the system, but are not forced to do so. A regional bank is under the control of nine directors, subject to the central board of seven whose headquarters are at Washington.

One of the great purposes of the new system is to supply the financial needs of any section of the country in time of special requirement, as in crop-moving time in the middle West, or cotton-harvesting time in the South. A regional bank is supplied with large government deposits and with enormous supplies of its own reserves. It is prepared at all times to supply its member banks with what money they need. It makes loans to them on a safe basis, discounts notes, drafts, bills of exchange, and "prime commercial paper." The regional banks also issue "paper money" in the form of Federal Reserve treasury notes. Their redemption is carefully provided for and the law is such that they will increase in volume automatically when business needs of money are greatest and contract when the need subsides.

This law is one of the greatest financial measures ever enacted. Hitherto Wall Street had controlled the "money market" and where business needs were greatest the interest rates were highest. By the Federal Reserve Law the control of the nation's finances was wrested from the hands of the "money kings" of Wall Street and placed in the hands of the government. The new law provides an elastic currency; its volume will expand when most needed and contract when least needed. It seems improbable that a financial panic in this country will ever again occur.

Hard upon the passage of the two great laws above noted — the Underwood Tariff and the Federal Reserve Act — Congress addressed itself to the framing of anti-trust laws. Nearly all

party platforms for many years promised the people relief from the growing power of the trusts. The Democrats now determined to fulfill their promise, to supplement the defective law of 1890, and to define the limits of business enterprise as it had not been defined before.

In a special message to Congress on January 20, 1914, the President outlined a program for trust legislation, declaring at the same time that the business of the country should be disturbed as little as possible. Congress responded by enacting two laws in October. The Federal Anti-Trust Act, known as the Clayton Bill, goes much farther than the Sherman Law and is more definite in its meaning. It prohibits the selling of commodities at different prices to different purchasers (with certain exceptions) when such discrimination tends to lessen competition; it forbids a manufacturer from binding a dealer not to handle goods of other manufacturers; it forbids one corporation from holding the stock of another for the purpose of controlling its business. This law also provides that decrees in government trust suits shall constitute *prima facie* evidence for private suits against a trust for damages.

Anti-trust
legislation

The Trade Commission Act, the second of these measures, creates a commission of five members whose powers in the business world are similar to those of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the field of transportation. The Trade Commission's duty is to inquire into business methods. It can order a hearing in cases of apparent unfair competition and it may require annual or special reports from any corporation. It may be called on by the President, by either house of Congress, or by the attorney general to make special investigations. In fact, the powers of this commission to investigate and scrutinize the corporations are such that it is difficult for any one of them to violate the anti-trust laws without being discovered.

Various other measures of importance were enacted into law during this long session of Congress, only one of which, the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls bill, will here be noticed.

When the canal bill was passed in 1912 it provided that American vessels engaged in coastwise trade be exempted from paying tolls. On its face it seemed to be a patriotic law for the benefit of the American people. But there was much opposition to it and early in 1914 President Wilson set about with his usual energy to have it repealed. In a special message on March 5, 1914, he urged Congress to repeal the law, declaring that it was in "plain contravention of the treaty with

Panama
Canal tolls

Great Britain" (the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of November 18, 1901) and that "the large thing to do" was to retrace our steps and set ourselves right before the world. Another fault found with the tolls-exemption law, though not mentioned in this message, was the belief that its benefits would accrue only to the shipping monopoly.

The bill for repeal met with great opposition in Congress, but was at length passed and signed by the President. The debate was non-partisan. Senators Root and Lodge favored repeal while Speaker Clark and Representative Underwood strenuously opposed it.

The longest continuous session of Congress in the history of the country came to a close on October 24, 1914, just before the biennial autumn election. The extraordinary session, which had begun on April 7, 1913, had merged without a break into the regular session in December, and so it continued on until the following autumn, covering in all eighteen months and seventeen days.

The great legislation that had been accomplished was due chiefly to one man — the President, who had proved himself a leader of unusual power. The tariff bill would have been Aldrichized in the Senate but for the timely direct attack by the President on the lobbyists, putting them to flight. The Federal Reserve Act as it passed the House was attacked by the vast concentrated money power of the United States and would have been torn to pieces but for the inflexible determination of President Wilson. Never before since the founding of the nation had a chief magistrate held so firmly for so long a period the allegiance of the dominant party in Congress, nor could the loftiness of his motives be questioned even by the enemies he had made.

The elections of November, 1914, indicated no great discontent with the administration. The Democrats gained three United States senators from the Republicans,¹ but in the House their abnormal plurality of 167 was reduced to 40. The most striking result of the election of this, the 64th Congress, was the falling off of the Progressive party; its representation in the House was reduced from nineteen to seven and it lost heavily in the state elections. The Socialists and Prohibitionists also lost ground, but the Republicans showed unmistakable signs of reviving strength.

¹ This was the first general election in which senators were chosen by popular vote in accordance with the seventeenth amendment.

During the Wilson administration our foreign relations were the most complicated and most difficult in the history of the country. In treating this subject, as in our domestic affairs, our brief narrative must be confined to the larger aspects. The first perplexing foreign problem, inherited from the Taft administration, was the Mexican situation. A successful revolt in that country had deposed and driven out Diaz, the dictator of thirty years. Francisco Madero was elected President of Mexico. He was a man of gentle spirit and possibly not of the type necessary to bring order to the distracted republic. But he was given no chance. Soon after Madero was installed into his office, the power was usurped by Victoriano Huerta. Madero was murdered and the crime was laid at the door of Huerta. President Wilson refused to recognize the usurper and his downfall was inevitable. He followed the example of Diaz and fled to Europe. The policy adopted by Mr. Wilson was one of "watchful waiting"; he determined to avoid war if possible with this weak southern neighbor.

Soon after the flight of Huerta, Carranza and Villa, two of the leading men who had opposed him, disagreed and became leaders of opposing factions. At length the United States recognized Carranza as the *de facto* chief of the Mexican government. This angered Villa beyond measure and he reverted to what is said to have been his vocation of earlier days — that of bandit and outlaw. In revenge for our recognition of his enemy and in the hope, no doubt, of provoking the United States to declare war on Mexico, he made raids across the border and murdered American citizens in their own homes. In one of these border raids, at Columbus, New Mexico (March 9, 1916), Villa, with a desperate band of 1500 men, killed seventeen people. It was clear that Carranza had no power to keep order in Mexico.

President Wilson thereupon determined to send forces not only to the border, but into Mexico to hunt down the bandits; he called out the organized militia for the purpose (June 18). For months thereafter the American forces, aided at times by the Carranza forces, made futile efforts to capture or destroy the raider and his troopers. But Villa and his marauding bands knew the mountain passes well and always succeeded in eluding their pursuers. Later our forces were withdrawn; but not until 1923, after Obregon had succeeded Carranza, did our government recognize the Mexican government.

The Mexican imbroglio in one respect proved an advantage to the United States; it was the occasion of establishing better

relations between us and the South American republics. While dealing with Huerta our President found occasion to occupy Vera Cruz with American marines. War seemed South American republics imminent. Thereupon the three leading South American republics, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, addressed a joint proposal to the United States offering to act as mediators between this country and Mexico.¹

For nearly a century the South American peoples have resented the assumed superiority of the United States as implied in the Monroe Doctrine, but it was clear that they assumed their equality in offering mediation to the President. Instead of resenting their offer, or of reminding them that we are able to take care of our own affairs, he quickly and cordially accepted their offer.

In view of the fact that we have long been anxious for better relations with our Latin neighbors, the action of the President was a true stroke of statesmanship. The editor of the *Springfield Republican* declared that "the incident is worth hundreds of tours of South American capitals by our Secretaries of State, with innumerable banquet speeches on Pan-American solidarity. It is worth dozens of Pan-American conferences . . . it establishes a precedent; possibly it opens an era."

Again the President made a master stroke when, on January 6, 1916, he spoke before the Pan-American Scientific Congress at Washington and proposed that the American republics should unite in guaranteeing to each other political independence and territorial integrity. Such a union if brought about would render the Monroe Doctrine needless and obsolete. The proposal was especially pleasing to the small republics, as it placed them on a plane of equality with the great nation whose President had made it.

The outbreak of the Great War in Europe during the last week in July, 1914, changed the whole aspect of our foreign relations in that direction. That such a gigantic conflict deeply and vitally affects neutral nations Beginning of the Great War admits of no question. The United States was the only great power in the world not involved in the war, and to keep out of it and at the same time to maintain our honor and our rights was a most difficult task.

¹ The agents of the American powers met in the spring of 1914, at Niagara Falls, and it was no doubt partially through their efforts that the danger of war between the United States and Mexico was averted. But the internal troubles of Mexico still continued. It seemed that no outside agency could restore peace and quiet to that unhappy land.

The President issued proclamations of neutrality as is usual in such crises and Congress passed a law permitting, under certain conditions, the registering of foreign-built ships under the American flag. It also passed an emergency revenue law and, strange as it may seem, for once cut down the Rivers and Harbors appropriation. The original bill, calling for fifty-three million dollars, was cut to twenty million, thanks to the filibustering of Senator Burton of Ohio, aided by Senator Kenyon of Iowa. On the whole, however, the Democratic party did not fulfill its promise to the people by reducing the expenditures of the government.

To return to our war subject, our first contention due to the war was with Great Britain. It was most natural that England with her great fleet would attempt to blockade the ports of her enemies. But almost from the beginning of the war she took account of the fact that the ports of Holland and of other neutrals were receiving far more goods from the United States than usual. It was assumed, therefore, that much of this was finding its way into Germany and the remedy lay in refusing to permit these ports to carry on a greater foreign trade than that to which they had been accustomed before the war. England began, thereupon, to detain American vessels bound for neutral ports. Against this practice President Wilson registered a decided protest. The British government replied that there was no intention to annoy neutrals and that any injury done them would be repaired.

Great
Britain

The controversy continued at intervals for more than a year longer and meantime the detention of American ships and cargoes went on. A most vigorous protest was finally made by the United States on October 21, 1915, declaring the blockade "ineffective, illegal, and indefensible," and that "the American government cannot submit to a curtailment of its neutral rights." This was more effective and with a further readjustment about interference with American mails the two nations managed to get along fairly well.

More serious were our relations with Germany during the first two years of the war. In no former war had submarines played much part. Their extensive use in this war was sure to give rise to new questions of international law. Unable to cope with the British fleet, Germany could attack British and French shipping only by means of underseas craft. In February, 1915, the German government issued a declaration that the waters around the British

Germany
and the
Lusitania

Isles should constitute a war zone and that her submarines would attack all merchant ships within the zone. The United States immediately took notice and informed Germany that she would be held to a "strict accountability" in case American vessels were attacked or American lives lost. Various notes were exchanged, but nothing was settled when on May 7 the world was startled with the news that the great Cunard steamship, the *Lusitania*, had been torpedoed and sunk off the Irish coast by a submarine. The loss of life was 1152, and of these 114 were American citizens.

A few days later a note was received from Germany expressing regret that American lives were lost and throwing the blame on England for having attempted to starve the civilian population of Germany through the blockade. This note did not soften the protest of President Wilson, sent on the 13th. In it he pronounced the act a breach of international law, declared that neutrals had the right to travel on the high seas in unarmed vessels, and he called on Germany to disavow the act, to make reparation as far as possible, and to take immediate steps toward preventing a recurrence of such an act. In her answer Germany modified her "war zone" policy, declaring that neutrals would not knowingly be attacked even within that zone and that if mistakes should occur the Imperial government would assume responsibility and make reparation. The American President determined to yield nothing of his former demands and at this juncture Mr. Bryan, an avowed pacifist, resigned from the Cabinet because he could not agree with the President. Mr. Robert Lansing succeeded Mr. Bryan as secretary of state.¹

The next note of the President renewed in more vigorous language the demands made in the earlier one. Germany haltingly yielded as the months passed and at length promised definitely that no more liners should be attacked without warning and without giving the passengers a chance to save their lives. Various other vessels of lesser note than the *Lusitania* that had been attacked were also the subjects of this controversy. A controversy with Austria in the early autumn of 1915 resulted in the

¹ Mr. Bryan died suddenly in Tennessee, July 26, 1925. His career was very notable. From the time he made his "Cross of gold" speech to the end of his life, twenty-nine years, he was constantly in the public eye. He addressed millions of people; as an orator he had scarcely an equal in our time. He was a sincere reformer, incorruptible, courageous, unselfish, but at times wanting in judgment. He seemed to study but one side of a question. He lived to see many of the reforms for which he stood adopted by the country. Among these were the income tax, prohibition, woman suffrage, and the direct primary. On one occasion he said: "Why should I bother about losing offices when my opponents are steadily adopting my policies."

recall of Dr. Theodore Dumba, Austro-Hungarian ambassador to the United States. His offense was an attempt to foment strikes among his countrymen who worked in American munition factories, the object being to cripple the sale of munitions to the Allies.

American opinion was divided with respect to the German-American controversy. German sympathizers believed that the President was too harsh in his demands on Germany and also that he showed his sympathies with the Allies in that he refused to favor a prohibition of the sale to them of munitions of war. They also criticized him for refusing to warn Americans against traveling in vessels belonging to belligerents, while he warned American citizens in Mexico to seek safety by leaving the country.

To a communication from the Austrian government protesting against the sale of munitions, the President made answer that the sale of munitions in times of war to either belligerent had always been recognized as a right by all nations and if the customs were to be changed it would be an unneutral act for one nation to make such change in time of war. If such a change in international custom were to be made it should be made in times of peace by a general agreement. Against such change, however, the President argued, saying that if no nation could buy ammunition in time of war, every nation would be obliged to keep in stock a vast supply of its own at all times, a needless burden, especially to small countries. As to warning our citizens to quit Mexico and refusing to warn them not to sail in ships of belligerents, it was answered that the high seas are public property and should be open to all neutrals at all times, while Mexico, like any other country, is not public property and foreigners have rights there only in so far as Mexico sees fit to grant them.

**Rights of
neutrals**

The session of Congress just preceding the presidential election of 1916 was responsible for several very important laws. Chief among these were the new Army law, the Rural Credits law, and the Child Labor law. The new Army bill, approved by the President on June 3, provided for a regular army which should not exceed 175,000 men (excluding the Philippine Scouts and certain other classes) except in case of actual or threatened war. The militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens and others having declared their intention of becoming citizens, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. The National

**The new
Army law**

Guard is that portion of the militia which is organized, armed, and equipped.

The Federal Farm Loan act became a law in July, 1916. It creates a Federal Farm Loan Bureau in connection with the treasury department and under the control of a Federal Farm Loan Board of five members, at whose head is the secretary of the treasury. The country was divided by this board into twelve districts, in each of which was established a Federal Land Bank. The purpose of these banks is to do business with farmers, to make loans to them for the purpose of developing agriculture, on first mortgage security. The act has been highly praised and it has been criticized as a dangerous precedent.¹

The Child Labor law was approved on September 1, 1916, to take effect one year after its passage. It was based on the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. Later it was pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

ELECTION OF 1916

The campaign preceding the presidential election of 1916 was one of interest and considerable excitement. The torchlight procession feature of our campaigns has passed into the by-gones, but public speaking still holds a prominent place, though perhaps with diminishing power in these days of voluminous printing. As the time for making nominations for the presidency approached, the Republicans discussed various possible candidates, among whom the most prominent were Justice Charles E. Hughes of the Supreme Court, former Senator and Cabinet member, Elihu Root of New York, and former Senator Theodore Burton of Ohio. The Progressive party as a party had lost heavily in the last four years, but a coterie of Progressive leaders made a most determined effort to capture the Republican nomination for their idol, former President Roosevelt. The convention met at Chicago, on the 7th of June. The old line Republicans determined to prevent the selection of Roosevelt and succeeded. The choice fell upon Justice Hughes with Charles W. Fairbanks as his running mate. Many of the Progressives accepted the result of the con-

¹ A scathing criticism by Myron T. Herrick is found in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1917. The writer pronounces the system "a hodge-podge of blunders — wrong from any angle of vision."

vention, but a large number of them refused to do so, met in another hall, and nominated Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt, however, declined to make the race, and later joined the followers of Hughes.

The Democrats had no second choice. The united party demanded the renomination of President Wilson, regardless of the one-term plank in the platform of 1912. The convention met in St. Louis on the 14th of June and ratified, with a single negative vote, the choice of the party. For Vice President Thomas R. Marshall was also renominated.

Nomination
of Wilson

Mr. Hughes and President Wilson were both men of the highest personal character and intellectual attainments, self-reliant, independent in thought, and somewhat reserved and wanting in the suave cordiality, the personal magnetism so often looked upon as an essential qualification for a successful political career. Each was probably the strongest man that his party could have chosen.

During the months preceding the time of the meeting of the convention Mr. Hughes remained silent, though his possible candidacy was widely discussed. On receiving the nomination, however, he resigned from the Supreme Court and entered on a most vigorous campaign. He crossed the continent from ocean to ocean on speaking tours, meeting vast numbers of people. He was on the road for nearly five months and traveled 28,000 miles.

Mr. Wilson declined to "take the stump" as undignified for a President, but he accomplished the same end by making carefully prepared speeches at intervals to visiting delegations at Shadow Lawn, New Jersey, where he spent the summer. The Socialists had named for the presidency Mr. Allan L. Benson of New York and the Prohibitionists former Governor Frank A. Hanley of Indiana. But these minor parties made little impression in the battle of the giants, the grappling of the two mighty political forces of the nation.

During the first part of the campaign the Republicans felt confident of success. Wilson had alienated a large number of Catholics by recognizing Carranza, who was unfriendly to their church, as President of Mexico; also the German vote, by his diplomatic methods after the *Lusitania* affair. But the last item was neutralized in a great measure by the fact that Roosevelt, who was supporting Hughes, was still more hostile to the Germans than Wilson. The Republicans attacked Wilson's

vacillating Mexican policy and his weakness in dealing with the European war situation. The Democrats retorted with the taunting question, "What would you have done?" a very difficult question to answer. They pointed with pride to the constructive legislation of the past three years and referring to the President they declared, "He kept us out of war," reiterating the statement millions of times throughout the land. For the first time in twenty-four years it was impossible to forecast the result of the election with any degree of certainty.

On the night of the election, November 7, the word was flashed over the country that Mr. Hughes had won. Next morning all the great Democratic dailies had conceded his election. Hughes had carried all New England (except New Hampshire), New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. With such a lead for Hughes it was taken for granted that Wilson had no chance. But the Great West had not been fully heard from, and as the returns came in during the day (November 8) a serious doubt began to be cast over the early reports of the election of Hughes. For several days the result of the election hung in the balance and at length the final decision was left to be made by California. It voted for Wilson and he was elected for a second term.¹ It is believed that about one fifth, possibly one fourth, of the Progressives who left the Republican party with Roosevelt in 1912 refused to return and voted for Wilson.

For the first time in our history the election went against the combined vote of the great, often pivotal, states of New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois. Hughes swept every northern state east of the Mississippi, except Ohio and New Hampshire. These gave him a long lead over Wilson with his Solid South, when they met at the line of the great river to contend for the Great West. Here were nineteen states (excluding Texas and Arkansas as part of the South), constituting the entire western half of the country. The majority of them are normally Republican, but in order to win the election Mr. Wilson had to secure about three fourths of these states. He won fifteen of them, Mr. Hughes securing only Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Oregon. Never before had the West played so great a part in an election.

¹ The total vote for President in 1916 was 18,529,406. The respective candidates received: Wilson, 9,127,748; Hughes, 8,515,765; Benson, 590,322; Hanley, 216,999; Reimer (Soc. L.), 13,132. Wilson received 581,983 votes more than Hughes. In the electoral college he received 277 to 254 for Hughes. As compared with the vote of 1912 the Prohibitionists gained about 6000 and the Socialists lost over 220,000.

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

We, the American people, are all democrats — nearly all. We believe in the sovereignty of the people; we believe that the people should control the public officials and should not be controlled by them. In our extreme love of democracy we are apt to forget its weak points. Some of us forget that even liberty, glorious as it is, must yield the chief seat to efficiency. The weakest thing about democracy lies in the fact that it fosters in the common man the notion that he is as competent to govern and make laws as is the expert or the statesman.¹

We cannot do without our democracy. It is true that class rule is more intelligent than mass rule and it would be more nearly ideal but for the fact that its tendency, born of human selfishness, is to oppress the masses. Best of all would be the monarchy but for this element of selfishness and the fact that a weakling or a profligate can inherit a throne. Were all rulers of the type of Alfred the Great, George Washington, or William the Silent, democratic government would not be needed. The people could go about their affairs and leave the matter of government to the professionals. But human nature being what it is and the business of government being a trust of such vast importance, the people cannot leave their government wholly to a few or to any class; they must look after it themselves. Hence we have democracy.

Our democracy has been advancing steadily since colonial days. Long before the Civil War property, religious, and educational qualifications in the voter were abolished. The electoral college had become a mere rubber stamp to register the will of the people. Since the war many notable strides have been taken in the same direction. The trusts have been curbed by legislation. A few decades ago the railroad magnates could raise freight and passenger rates "all the traffic would bear" with none to hinder; to-day they can change their tariffs only by begging the privilege of a Commission appointed by the President. Then they could hand out free passes to their political friends; now they are not allowed to do so. The direct

¹ Some years ago a certain university professor, who had spent his life studying problems of government and teaching and writing history, was a candidate for a State Constitutional Convention. The candidate against him, the proprietor of a little village store, had not taken a high school course. The election was non-partisan, as both belonged to the same party. The professor won by the narrowest margin. Nearly half the voters preferred one of their own class to help frame their constitution. Said professor was the author of this book.

primary, the initiative, the referendum and the recall, and the Australian ballot have brought the people and the government nearer together in many states.

In 1913 two democratic amendments were added to the federal Constitution. One of these, the sixteenth, authorized a federal income tax, the other took the election of United States senators from the state legislatures and gave it to the people. To the last mentioned, the seventeenth amendment, a little special notice must be given.

The people came to believe that too often a legislature in choosing a senator was controlled by special and selfish interests. For more than half a century there was agitation for reform. Again and again the House passed an amendment by the necessary two-thirds providing for popular election of senators, but the Senate refused its assent. At length the states began to apply the direct primary for nominating candidates for the Senate. Oregon passed a law to compel the legislature to accept the nominee of the people. By 1910 three fourths of the states nominated candidates for the Senate by means of the primary. The Senate then yielded. It saw that the battle with the people was lost and in 1911 it passed the amendment. Had it not done so, it is more than probable that the state legislatures would have become as impotent in choosing senators as the electoral college is in choosing a President.

The adoption of this amendment by the state legislatures furnishes one of the most conclusive proofs on record of the irresistible sweep of modern democracy. The legislatures by adopting it voted to rob themselves of this most important function and to pass the power over to the people. The more remarkable it seems from the fact that this very amendment was based entirely on the people's distrust of state legislatures.

The prohibition amendment, adopted in 1919, though not necessarily a democratic movement, was very important. The causes that brought this reform were various. Not the least of these was the continuous cry of the little Prohibition party for more than forty years against the evil of the land. Later the movement was piloted by the well-organized Anti-Saloon League. Religious and moral sentiment played but a minor part, nor was the movement based on a desire of one class of people to control the personal habits of others. Far more potent are the facts that the saloon became a nuisance and a lawbreaker, that the liquor interests got into politics and controlled elections and legislatures wherever possible, and that the use of strong drink

even in a moderate degree makes for inefficiency in every walk of life. Great railroad companies and other industries adopted the practice, in choosing their employees, of discriminating against the drinking man. Finally it must be added that the younger generation of Americans had been informed of the lurking poison of alcohol through text-books widely used during the past twenty or thirty years in the public schools.

The prohibition wave came first as a state issue with little or no partisan coloring and made its great record in the West and South. At the opening of the Great War there were scarcely half a dozen states west of the Mississippi or south of the Mason and Dixon Line that had not adopted prohibition by a vote of the people. The movement was then greatly hastened by the war. Congress enacted laws prohibiting first the manufacture of spirituous liquors and later of beers and wines during the war period.

The advocates of permanent nation-wide prohibition were greatly encouraged by the war measures to launch a movement to secure it by a federal constitutional amendment, and the fact that new states continued to enter the "dry" column indicated that the people were ready for such an amendment. Congress responded to the will of the people and in December, 1917, a prohibition amendment passed both houses by the necessary two-thirds majority and was sent to the states for ratification. The conditions were that one year after the ratification by three fourths (thirty-six) of the states the amendment was to go into operation, and that the ratification must take place within seven years.

Prohibition
amendment

With astonishing rapidity the state legislatures adopted the new amendment and on January 16, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution became operative.

Never in history had a great nation attempted permanent prohibition of intoxicating drink. The whole world will eagerly watch the experiment. Some predict that there will be a reaction and that the new amendment will not stand, but for various reasons this prophecy seems without foundation. First, the almost universal popularity of the movement is shown by the fact that even after the necessary three fourths had been secured, state after state continued to ratify until all but three — New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island — had done so; second, the desire for strong drink being acquired and not natural, the rising generation will have no such desire, and as the years pass the people will have less and less reason to turn back to the old habits.

In 1869 sparsely settled Wyoming, as if in a half-jesting mood, established woman suffrage, though there were few women in the territory. Thus began a movement that was destined to reach large proportions. Twenty-four years passed, when Colorado followed the example of Wyoming (1893). In 1896 Utah and Idaho granted suffrage to women, and, after an interval of fourteen years, Washington (1910) did so. Other western states followed rapidly until all west of Colorado and Wyoming had granted full suffrage to women.

The movement, however, received many serious checks. The question was submitted to a vote of the people in various states east of the Mississippi and in every one it was defeated. In Ohio and Michigan the adverse majority was far greater when a second attempt was made than at the first. In 1917, however, the friends of equal suffrage won a great victory when they captured New York in a popular election. It is possible that the movement would have had clear sailing in a great majority of the states but for the fact that the women were by no means united in their desire for the ballot. A vigorous organization in favor of suffrage was balanced by an organization of women opposed to it.

The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution having passed both houses of Congress was sent to the states on June 4, 1919. The legislature of Wisconsin being in session ratified it the next day. This amendment in substance had been before Congress half a dozen times or more during the last century, but not before had it received the necessary majority in both houses. It is short and direct. It provides that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Wisconsin did not long stand alone in ratifying the amendment. Before the end of June, Michigan, Kansas, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Texas had ratified. Others followed in July and August; but many state legislatures were not in session, a few in the South voted adversely, and as the fall and winter passed the friends of the amendment were anxious lest the necessary thirty-six states be not secured in time for the presidential election in November, 1920.

On March 22 Washington became the thirty-fifth state to ratify the amendment. The goal seemed almost won, but when a few weeks later the legislature of Delaware voted adversely, and when two northern governors refused to call special sessions to consider the subject, the friends of the amendment were discouraged.

Five months longer the matter pended until after the conventions had made their nominations for the presidency. In August the amendment was taken up by the legislature of Tennessee and for the moment the eyes of the country were turned toward Nashville. On the 8th the necessary majority was secured. Tennessee thus became the thirty-sixth state and the amendment became a part of the Supreme Law in time to give the women full voting power at the coming election. The dream of Susan B. Anthony had become a reality.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR

NEVER in the annals of the world's history has there been another great nation so devoted to peace as is the United States.

Why Amer-
ica prefers
peace

One reason for this lies in the fact, no doubt, that, with a great ocean east of us and another one west of us, we are separated far from the nearest neighbor strong enough to give us concern. Furthermore, our democracy, in the absence of all hereditary caste, has fostered a spirit of brotherhood that places a special valuation on the individual life. War, whatever its achievements, means wholesale destruction of men. Why, asks the American, should a man be cut down in his youth; why should he be offered as a sacrifice to the war god at the very threshold of life, before he has an opportunity for self-development? Perhaps it is this feeling more than anything else that makes us a peace-loving people. Had we the spirit of ancient Rome or Assyria, how fragile would be the hold on liberty of the weaker nations of our hemisphere! But we love peace next to our liberty and our democracy. And yet, when forced into war, no people ever wielded the sword with greater energy or prowess or devotion to a cause.

WHY WE ENTERED THE WAR

As the first years of the World War passed, it seemed more and more improbable that we could maintain a neutral position. The sinking of the *Lusitania* had strained our relations with Germany almost to the breaking point; but a conditional promise of the German Government to refrain from such acts in the future gave us renewed hope, — soon to be dashed to the ground. It is true that Britain had also greatly offended us. She had stopped many of our ships at sea and confiscated their cargoes; she blacklisted our business men and even arrogantly assumed to supervise our trade with South America. Our grievances would have been almost as great against her as against Germany, but for the fact that she destroyed only property while Germany

destroyed American lives. However, there was a deeper cause that brought us into the war.

The underlying cause of our entering the great conflict was the growing belief that Germany was aiming at world dominion and that her final triumph would prove a menace to human liberty and civilization. No one could doubt that German victory on the continent of Europe would mean the dismemberment and subjection of France and perhaps Italy and the overthrow of the British Empire. That such an event would be of deepest concern to us with our vast commercial relations and our altruistic interest in humanity, it is needless to discuss. It is true that no level-headed American can believe that Germany, even though she dominated all Europe, could ever subdue and control the United States; but she could force us to a militaristic standard, could force us, either with or without a coalition with Canada and South America, to develop our civilization under arms.

For a hundred years and more the world had been moving toward a greater democracy and self-government, toward universal brotherhood. Should Germany succeed in what seemed to be her war aims and what the average American, whether right or wrong, sincerely believed to be such, the world's political progress of centuries would have been obliterated at a stroke. That the United States had the power to prevent such an outcome of the war by going before too late to the aid of the hard-pressed Allies, and that we ought to do so, was no doubt in the subconscious mind of a great majority of the American people. It was this conviction that brought us into the war. The occasion came opportunely through a decision of the Imperial German Government for a reckless and ruthless submarine campaign.¹

Late in January, 1917, the German ambassador to the United States, Count von Bernstorff, informed our government that Germany had decided to launch a submarine campaign, beginning February 1, throughout an extensive zone around the coasts of her enemies, and that neutral or belligerent vessels would be subject to attack and destruction without warning. This was in direct violation, not only of the rules of war, but also of the pledge that Germany made

**Submarine
campaign**

¹ Germany steadily lost friends in America through reports of her treatment of the Belgians, her bombing of hospitals, killing doctors and nurses and wounded men, of sinking hospital ships on the false claim that they carried munitions, and her attempts to stir up hostility against us in Mexico while professing friendship with us. There is little doubt that the German leaders, the Junker class of militarists, sought to hold the support of the German people by false reports of what their enemies were doing. That the German masses approved of the methods of their leaders is not to be believed.

in the case of the *Lusitania* and the *Sussex*; and yet the count had the effrontery to say that his government would have done this sooner had it been prepared to do so. Thus abruptly the mask was thrown off. Under the guise of friendship Germany had long prepared for a course of action that meant to drive all neutral vessels from an important part of the high seas, or to imperil the lives of large numbers of innocent men, women, and children. A great many German Americans were completely won to the American cause when the state department disclosed the fact that months before this time Germany had made an effort to unite Japan and Mexico in a war against the United States, with a promise that Mexico should have Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico as a prize.

The purpose of the German High Command in launching the submarine campaign was to destroy the British merchant marine. It was believed that England could be starved in less than six months. The new policy was an affront to all the neutrals, to be sure, but the only neutral to be feared was the United States, and it was well known that we could not put a large army in the field in less than a year. Within that year Germany expected to win in the Great War. No doubt many Germans believed that we would not fight. Had we not preached peace for many years and had not President Wilson won election on the slogan, "He kept us out of war"? Even should we declare war, the Germans believed that they could prevent our sending men and supplies across the Atlantic until they had won a victory.

No nation ever made a more costly blunder than Germany when she goaded the United States, with its boundless potential military power, into the war. Other serious miscalculations she had made, as when she believed that England would not fight for "a scrap of paper," that Paris could be captured before Russia could mobilize, and that Italy would come in on her side or remain neutral, but her crowning and fatal blunder was this one.

President Wilson instantly dismissed the German ambassador and severed all relations with his country. Our merchant ships were armed and an overt act awaited. It was not long before the submarines had sunk several American vessels and in April, the month that had witnessed the opening of the war of the Revolution, the Civil War, and the War with Spain, Congress declared war upon the German Empire (April 6). Four days earlier the President had read to Congress his great war mes-

sage in which he defined our war aims in the following eloquent language :

"We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense upon them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included ; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make."

Our declaration of war proved a tremendous moral stimulus to the Allied nations of Europe, weary and almost exhausted as they were. Former Premier Asquith declared it the most disinterested act in history. For the first time the American flag waved over the houses of Parliament in London. The German leaders might accuse England and Italy of entering the war for sordid and selfish reasons, but no such accusation could be brought against America. They took refuge in belittling our power and declared that if we attempted to send an army across the Atlantic they would send it to the bottom with the submarines.

As the spring months passed hundreds of merchant vessels fell victims to the lurking assassins of the sea. With a bravery worthy of a better cause the submarine crews plunged into the dark waters on their mission of destruction ; but many of them returned to their home and friends no more ; they found their final rest beneath the rolling waves.

Small swift vessels known as destroyers were responsible for many of the unreturning submarines. Other devices for fighting them were the depth bombs, great wire nets, and extensive mine fields. Sometimes they were discovered by airplanes and balloons hovering above the water.

The darkest hours of the Allied cause came in the summer and autumn of 1917. In a secret conference in London an American War Mission of ten men met, November 20, with the British War Cabinet. Premier Lloyd George disclosed the actual conditions. He showed that the condition of Italy was desperate and that the downfall of Russia would release vast numbers of German soldiers for the Western front, and he urged that America put forth immediate and most strenuous efforts to replenish the dwindling armies in France and the diminishing shipping on the sea.¹ But already the submarine campaign had passed its zenith.

¹ *Current History*, Secret Document, July, 1925.

The destruction of ships by the submarine reached its greatest heights in April and May, 1917. Then began, thanks to the efficient means of combating them, a gradual decrease in their victims. At no time did they seriously menace the food supply of the British Isles. Of the 5000 or more vessels arriving at or clearing from British ports each week scarcely one per cent became victims of the U-boats. By the coming of autumn it was clearly apparent that the whole submarine venture would end in failure.

EFFICIENT DEMOCRACY

Nothing was more conclusively proved by the World War than the fact that the general belief that an autocratic government is more efficient than a democracy is erroneous. The United States in the war set this question at rest for all time. The dynamic energy, the astonishing enthusiasm that characterized our soldiers and citizens after we entered the war were never equaled by Prussia or any other autocratic state. Nor is that all. Our ability to organize on a colossal scale, to enlist our vast national resources almost to the last farthing, became a matter of amazement to the whole world. The explanation is that a democratic people, living under laws of their own making, with all their political blundering, from happy-go-lucky ways in piping times of peace, are yet possessed of a reserve strength, a power of initiative, that enables them in times of national crisis to rise to supreme heights of energy and efficiency. America proved all this in the Great War.

Grandly the American people responded to the nation's call to arms. Not only those capable of bearing arms, but men and women of all ages enlisted their energies in the country's cause. No self-denial was too burdensome. The farmers everywhere increased their planting at the government's behest; women and children gave their time and money to supply the wants of the soldier boys; people cheerfully accepted meatless days and wheatless meals to help maintain food supply to the Allies. A request by the government that automobiles be not run for pleasure on Sundays for a few weeks was so generally observed that a million barrels of gasoline were saved for the army. The liberty loans were oversubscribed by hundreds of millions; great industries, as the Ford automobile factory and many others, were turned over entirely to government service; business men of national reputation gave their time for a dollar a year to the service of the country.

The first great need was a food supply for the Allies and the necessary ships to convey it across the sea. A special board for shipbuilding was created and in a few months every shipyard in the land, from the coast of Maine to Puget Sound, many of them being newly built, was in operation day and night. The greatest of all shipyards was at Hog Island, Philadelphia. Here were employed 35,000 men, and at one time 180 ships were under construction. No country ever approached us in the amount of shipping put out in a single year, and in one year we sent four billion dollars' worth of supplies to Europe.¹

Preparations on a gigantic scale

But all these things, great as they were, seemed commonplace when compared with the more spectacular business of raising and transporting a vast army. Here again America broke all historic records. The administration decided early on a selective draft and again American patriotism showed at its best. The draft meant the taking of the young man from his home, without consent of his parents, or his friends, or even himself, and placing him in the forefront of the battle. And yet the people accepted the draft with only a faint murmur of disapproval here and there. They did not ask to vote on it. In England and Canada it took a year to persuade the people of the necessity of the draft, while in Australia it was defeated twice by vote of the people.

The draft

All the young men of the country between the ages 21 and 31 were required to register on June 5, 1917, and the total registration on that day totaled 9,586,508. At a later date all other men from 18 to 45 were required to register and the grand total of the two registrations reached 23,456,021. Here indeed was a potential army of vast dimensions. But many of the men were found physically or mentally deficient, and by a most careful sifting through the selective draft only those most fit were called to the military camps.

For the training of this great army sixteen immense cantonments sprung up within a few months as if by magic in various parts of the country. Each was a veritable city with lighting,

¹ Our colossal preparation for war is shown by the following figures: At the time of our entrance into the war we had 61 shipyards; a year and a half later 137 more had been constructed. Our 600,000 rifles were increased to 3,000,000, with 50,000 more each week being produced by the factories. In aircraft our supply at first stood almost at zero; but Congress voted \$610,000,000 for the building of airplanes, the Liberty Motor was developed and 37,000 of them completed, thousands of lumbermen were sent to the spruce forests of the Northwest to secure the needed supplies, automobile, typewriter, and cash register factories were assigned to make the various parts, and had the war continued half a year longer our airplanes in Europe would have outnumbered the German by many thousands.

heating, drainage, and water systems, and capable of housing nearly 50,000 men. To these training camps the young men were called from all parts of the country — from the farms and from the mines, from the stores and the offices and the workshops. The son of the millionaire rubbed elbows with the farmer boy, the miner, the common laborer; the college graduate and the illiterate marched in line together, lived on the same fare, and wore the same khaki garb. The war proved a great leveler.

Canton-
ments

ON THE SEA AND OVER SEA

After several months of intense military training the young men, great numbers of them, were taken from the camps, and aboard a "troop train" were rushed with all the speed of steam power to the eastern seaboard, there to embark upon the Atlantic for the foreign battlefields. Nearly all were not only willing but eager to go. In fact, in the spring and summer of 1918 there was a veritable stampede of the young men of war age to enlist in the service. The perils of the sea and of the battlefield seemed to be forgotten; they thought only of having a personal part in the Great Adventure and of doing their bit in winning victory.

Many of these youths had never been far from home. Nearly all were without previous war experience, nearly all were crossing the great dark sea for the first time. Some were illiterate and to them Europe was merely a land unknown and far away; others were educated and one can imagine their burning eagerness to cast their eyes on the land of their ancestors, the land they had known through history and literature, through song and story.

In a little less than one month after the United States declared war an American squadron of battleships and destroyers under

Admiral William S. Sims reported in British waters. "When will you be ready for business?" asked the British commander. "We are ready now," answered Sims, "we made our preparations on the way over."

From this time our fleet, added to the fleets of France and England, rendered valiant service in strengthening the blockade and in clearing the seas of the submarines. An English naval expert said, "When the war is over, the nation will form some conception of the debt we owe the American navy."

In one year after our declaration of war our naval force increased from 70,000 men to more than 200,000. Many new naval vessels were under construction in our shipyards, and as

Our battle
fleet

fast as they were finished they were sent to European waters or added to the large patrol fleet guarding our own coast.

Our merchant marine was rapidly increased and one of its largest added units was the German and Austrian vessels, about 110 in all, that had been interned in American ports at the beginning of the war. One of these was the German *Vaterland*, renamed the *Leviathan*, which carried as many as 12,000 soldiers to France on a single voyage.

Interned
ships

It was feared at first that the U-boats would prove a formidable obstacle to our transporting troops and supplies across the sea, but so vigilant were the thousands of submarine chasers in European waters and so careful were the authorities to send our ships in squadrons, guarded by patrols of swift destroyers, that the danger became negligible. In transporting our vast army to France only a very few hundred men were lost and these were chiefly on British vessels. Great as our merchant marine came to be before the end of the war, it was not great enough to answer our needs, and a large portion of our transporting was done in English ships.

General John J. Pershing was made commander of the A. E. F. (American Expeditionary Forces) in Europe. He was made General by act of Congress, a title hitherto held only by Washington, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. The arrival of Pershing and his staff in London and Paris in June, 1917, was hailed with wild demonstrations of joy, but still greater was the enthusiasm a few weeks later when the advance guard of the American troops marched through the streets of the French capital. At first but a few thousand were landed each month in France. This little stream was swollen into a river, and by midsummer, 1918, it reached the enormous total of more than 300,000 a month. At the close of the war America had landed in France an army of two million men.

Americans
land in
France

American preparations in France were on a gigantic scale. After reaching France, our soldiers had to undergo several months more of intensive training before being transferred to the battle-front. In the way of accommodations France could offer us little except space; her warehouses and railroad lines were already taxed to the limit. Thousands of workmen, skilled and unskilled, were sent across the sea. The Americans constructed in France, from American materials, hundreds of miles of railroad, hundreds of warehouses and barracks, and the greatest aviation training camp in the world. Under the strictest discipline the men were trained, largely by French officers, their instruction including

bayonet practice, artillery firing, scouting, trench warfare, bombing, and in fact everything that belonged to the latest methods of warfare. It was proved that the "doughboys," as they were often called, were as well prepared for battle with six months intensive training as the Germans had been with six years.

ORGANIZATION AT HOME

An army, however great and however brave, is powerless without a nation back of it to sustain it. The United States had to furnish food and supplies not only for our great army in France and another equally great in training at home, but also for our allies in Europe. Could we rise to such an emergency? No people perhaps ever lived more free and independent of government regulation than the American people. Aside from the postal system, the weather bureau, and a few such public necessities, our great industrial United States was in private hands. Our competing railroads had grown to vast proportions, but without a semblance of organization on a national scale. The same was true of practically all our industries, great and small. Could the government commandeer the private holdings of the people in so far as necessary to win the war? That it did so on a grand scale and with marvelous efficiency we have already noticed.

Nothing demonstrated our efficiency in organization more than our production and conservation of food supplies. Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, who had shown his great organizing capacity while in charge of the American relief work in Belgium, was made head of the food administration of the United States. In every state and every county a food administrator was appointed. Many of them were able business men, who served without salary. Through these subordinates Mr. Hoover organized the nation's food supply with a masterly hand. The farmers were called on to redouble their efforts in raising crops and they responded cheerfully. City people raised vegetables in their back yards and in vacant lots. At the same time the use of meat, flour, and sugar was restricted even on the family table. The people gladly responded to the call of their country and the result was that we sent millions of tons of foodstuffs to Europe.

The fuel administration was carried on in the same fashion, with Mr. H. A. Garfield as administrator. It was absolutely necessary that our outgoing ships and the great factories engaged in war work have an adequate supply of coal. To insure this

supply the usual output had to be increased and the ordinary consumption restricted. The price of coal was fixed by the government, and on one occasion (January, 1918) the factories not engaged in war work throughout the eastern part of the country were ordered closed for a period of two weeks.

Even the food and fuel supply was not more essential to war activities than adequate transportation. Our railroads, being under private control and without any coöperative methods, practically broke down under the strain. Transportation The government thereupon took under its control the entire vast railroad system of the United States. William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury, a man of business capacity unsurpassed in our times, was made director general of railroads.¹ The change proved very beneficial. All private traffic, passenger and freight, was made subordinate to war work. In consequence the actual earnings of the railroads were greatly reduced and the people were obliged to make up a deficit of some hundreds of millions of dollars through taxation. This was merely a part of our war expense; the great war purpose was admirably met. The government also took over the telegraph, telephone, and express business of the whole country for the remaining period of the war.

A great war means a vast expenditure of money and the final outcome may hinge on the skill with which the finances are managed. Our expenditures in the Great War reached fifty million dollars a day. No government could safely keep in its treasury the money necessary to finance a great war. In two ways it may raise large sums in a short time, — by loans through the sale of bonds and by increasing the taxes. Our government resorted to both in the recent war, and our financial system was greatly stabilized by the Federal Reserve banking law, passed in 1913.

The sale of bonds, known as Liberty Bonds, was directed by the skillful hand of Secretary McAdoo; the final one, called the Victory Loan, was conducted by Secretary Glass, successor of Mr. McAdoo in the treasury department. Raising money To reach all classes of people the bonds were made as low as \$50. Every bond sale was oversubscribed. Thrift stamps as low as twenty-five cents were sold, and great numbers were purchased by school children. At the end of the war our national debt had reached the great total of twenty-six billion dollars, about ten billion of which had been loaned to our allies in Europe.

¹ The railroads were returned to private companies on March 1, 1920.

By means of increased taxation a nation at war may meet part of its expenditures and, continued after the war, it must in this way liquidate the loans. Our taxes were enormously increased during the war. A new tax law passed in 1917 and another the next year resulted in raising vast sums for the government. Among the items was a graduated income tax on all incomes above one thousand dollars for unmarried persons and above two thousand dollars for married people, with an exemption of two hundred dollars for each dependent child.

Another source of large revenue was the tax on excess profits and still another the increased tax on liquor and tobacco. Other methods of raising money were the taxing of deeds, mortgages, freight and express shipments, motion picture and theater tickets, automobiles and various commodities, also in raising postal rates. Five or six billion dollars a year was the result of these tax laws. Some of these taxes, including the postage rate, were reduced within a year after the war closed.

The great organization of the resources of the country for war purposes enlisted the services of many of the ablest business men. In addition to Secretary McAdoo, Mr. Hoover, and Mr. Glass, already mentioned, the list included the steel king, Charles M. Schwab, who became head of the shipbuilding interests, John W. Ryan of the production of aircraft, and E. R. Stettinius of the production of munitions. Each of these men was a master in his field. Thomas A. Edison, "The Wizard of Menlo Park," headed a band of scientists and inventors who devoted their time to bringing out new devices and inventions with the object of aiding war activities.

THE WAR BEFORE WE ARRIVED

A history of the World War, excepting America's part in it, does not belong to the scope of this book, but a rapid survey of the events before the spring of 1918 is necessary to a correct understanding of the final scenes.

When in midsummer, 1914, the mighty conflagration was about to burst over Europe, England, through Sir Edward Grey, her foreign minister, proposed a concert of the Powers to settle if possible the Austro-Serbian quarrel without bloodshed. Germany flatly refused. Then it was suggested that Germany propose some other plan by which the war could be averted, for it was clearly seen that if war

Why Ger-
many went
to war

came it would be one of stupendous dimensions — Germany, Austria, Russia, France, England — half the world! Again Germany refused.

Certainly Germany was prepared. The army she sent into Belgium a few days later was the most formidable fighting machine the world had ever seen. Contrary to all rules of war and of international law, this mighty army would trample the little kingdom into the dust in order to capture Paris in one great, impetuous dash and thus, holding France by the throat, could prevent the English from crossing the channel — and win the war in the west within two or three months. Then Germany could turn and defeat Russia at her leisure.

But Belgium resisted with all her strength and detained the German forces at least ten days. Within those ten days France mobilized a great army before Paris and England sent across the channel 100,000 men. The French and English went out to meet the Germans, but were pressed back day after day. In spite of the Belgian detention it seemed that the German goal would be won; the spires of the French capital were in view, but little more than twenty miles away. The people of the city fled in hundreds of thousands. Then came the order of General Joffre, the French commander, for his men to hold fast at any cost, to die on the field rather than to retreat another step. This brought the battle of the Marne, September 6–10, 1914. The Germans were defeated; they retreated fifty miles to the banks of the Aisne River, where they halted and burrowed into the ground. The Allies did the same and thus began trench warfare, new to history. The deadlock on the Western Front with an occasional tremendous battle continued for nearly four years.

One cause of the defeat of the Germans on the banks of the Marne was the fact that they were obliged to withdraw part of their forces to meet the Russians on the east. With surprising rapidity Russia had mobilized an army of three quarters of a million men under the Grand Duke Nicholas, an uncle of the czar, and had penetrated East Prussia when confronted by a great German army under Von Hindenburg, a veteran commander of the War of 1870. In a great three-day battle the Russians were defeated and 70,000 of their number made captives. The Russians had planned a mighty sweep to Berlin. They fell far short of their goal, but they helped to save Paris by drawing from the Western Front a large section of the German army.

Another Russian army, sent into Austrian Galicia, was more successful. It captured the fortress of Przemyśl with 120,000 prisoners. But in the summer of 1915 the Austrians and Germans came in vast numbers, recaptured the fortress, drove the Russians from Galicia and Poland, captured Warsaw, and penetrated far into Russian territory. But no success of the Central Powers in the east could retrieve their fatal loss at the battle of the Marne.

At the behest of Germany Turkey entered the war in November, 1914. The following year the Allies planned a bold expedition — the forcing of the Dardanelles and the capture of Constantinople. Could this be accomplished, Russia would be enabled to ship her surplus grain to the outside world and to import much needed munitions. But the narrow straits were so guarded by fortifications, built under the direction of German experts, that their passage was found to be impossible. After a bitter failure, with a loss of 50,000 men, the Allies withdrew and gave up the project.

The Balkan region and Italy became also a scene of great activity. Italy, Rumania, and Greece entered the war on the side of the Allies, and Bulgaria joined the Central Powers. Austro-German armies, aided by the Bulgarians, overran Serbia and subdued the whole country, also a large part of Rumania. Still later a mighty drive in northern Italy almost prostrated that country.

In the spring of 1917 came the crash of a falling empire — the collapse of Russia. This momentous event seemed to play into the hands of Germany. It enabled her to force upon the defenseless Russians and Rumanians the disgraceful treaties of Brest-Litovsk and of Budapest, enabled her also to transfer hundreds of thousands of her fighting men to France and Belgium.

Here on the Western Front, after all, the issues of the Great War must be decided. Here the warring nations had concentrated their supreme strength, and whatever the outcome in Italy or the Balkans, in Poland or Mesopotamia, it was the world's opinion that the titanic conflict must find its decision on Flanders Field, on the plains of Belgium and France.

Since we left the Western Front after the Marne, battles of great magnitude had occurred. In the spring of 1916 the Germans determined to capture the historic fortress of Verdun, with its thirty-six forts bristling from the surrounding hill-tops; the French determined that they should not. The battle began on February 21, continued through the

spring and long into the summer. The Germans gained many square miles of ground, but they did not capture Verdun. In the fall the French won back in one day nearly all they had lost. This great battle cost the Germans half a million men and the French almost as many.

Before this battle had ended another had begun on the banks of the Somme River, northwest from Verdun — the battle of the Somme. Beginning on June 30, it raged almost day and night for several months, and the losses in men were even greater than at Verdun. The next year, 1917, witnessed various important gains by the Allies on the Western Front, the Germans being pressed back for many miles; but there was no decisive victory. The war was to be decided the next year, after the coming of the Americans.

THE LAST YEAR AND VICTORY

With the opening of the spring of 1918 the hopes of Germany for a final victory were still high. We say Germany, because her allies were so feeble in comparison as hardly to deserve being mentioned in the same class with her. It is true that Germany had lost her colonies in Africa, her fleet was bottled up, her merchant marine was swept from the sea, the submarine campaign had failed, and her people were hungry; but her successes for three years in Central Europe had been most gratifying. Above all, Germany was now in a position to transport large forces from the Russian front and add them to her already great army in the west.

Under the leadership of Hindenburg and Ludendorf this great army began its forward movement on March 21, after a five-hour bombardment with thousands of heavy guns. The battle thus begun raged for several weeks, day and night, with indescribable fury, and beyond a doubt it was the greatest clash of arms in the history of the world.

**Greatest
battle in
history**

The object of the Germans was to press the British back to the channel, to divide the British and the French armies, and to rush through the gap thus made and capture Paris. It seemed for a time that they would succeed. They cut one English army to pieces, they advanced twenty-five miles, to a point within six miles of the city of Amiens. Both sides suffered appalling losses. The Germans advanced in solid masses, wave on wave, thus furnishing an open target, and in consequence their losses were greater than they inflicted on the Allies.

At this time, March 29, the Allies for the first time in the war agreed to place all their forces under a single commander-in-chief.

Foch commander Hitherto their divided command had proved a costly experience. The great honor fell to General Ferdinand Foch, a man of sixty-seven who had seen service in the War of 1870. Beyond a doubt he was the greatest military genius brought out by the war. From this time the Allied armies of the world, from the North Sea to Bagdad, were to move at the command of this one master mind. President Wilson sent Foch his congratulations and General Pershing went to him and gave him the disposal of all the American forces in Europe.

The Germans had made a great showing in their March-April drive. They had gained much territory, captured 90,000 prisoners and 1300 guns; but they were far from their base of supplies and their goal had not yet been won. **The Lys** The second phase of the battle, beginning April 9, was farther north, in Flanders, and is called the battle of the Lys. It was no more successful than the first. There was little fighting in May, both sides spending the month in intensely active preparation for another conflict.

The next great German attack, begun May 27, was farther south, in the valley of the Marne. It was quite as terrific as any that preceded. The invaders reached the Marne River and crossed it. Their goal seemed almost won. They were within forty miles of Paris. Ten more miles and they could reach the city with their great guns, throw thousands of shells into it, and destroy it at their leisure. The Allies were dismayed, but General Foch seemed undisturbed. He seemed to know what he was about. He now made ready to strike with all the cumulated power he had been gathering, while the enemy was far from his base.

It was here on the banks of the Marne that the enemy became fully convinced that the Americans had arrived. On June 4 two American divisions drove a German force back across the river at Château-Thierry, and a few days later in a fierce two-day conflict the Americans swept Belleau Wood free of the enemy. **The counter charge** The Germans were slow to believe that the Americans were arriving in great numbers. One captured officer when convinced that his captors were Americans burst into tears and exclaimed, "Woe to the Fatherland, we are lost!"

The last of the great German assaults was begun on July 15

on a front of sixty miles. It continued but three days and brought no result. Along the entire line the Germans were held in check and even pressed back at some points. This was the beginning of the end. The German High Command saw clearly now that the war was lost. Their best troops had been sacrificed, the zenith of their power had passed, while the Americans were coming, 300,000 a month. The tide was turning and the German and Austrian empires were falling. The German Empire was born on French soil and here it was to receive its mortal wound.

The most spectacular feature of this great contest was the war in the air. During the first few days of the German drive, in March, the air above the raging armies was alive with aircraft. In squadrons or single-handed they met their antagonists among the clouds and engaged in their death duels. Whirling round and round one another, or darting above or beneath, each daring aviator sought his opportunity to pour a machine-gun volley into his antagonist. Some were successful and lived to tell the story; others fell to earth with their wrecked and often burning machines and the battleground was strewn with their mangled bodies.

Air battles

In America the Liberty Motor was perfected and it proved to be one of the best, if not the best of its kind, in existence. Not many of these reached the battlefield, but had the war continued some months longer, thousands of them would have been in use. By far the greatest advance in this war over preceding wars came through the use of aircraft.

As noted above, the German army was fought to a standstill in the middle of July. Then began the great counter offensive. General Foch had been massing his strength along the whole vast battle front, preparing to strike with irresistible power. The blow came on July 18.

**Allies
advance**

The Germans, far from their base of supplies, jaded and worn by their strenuous campaign, thousands of their best troops in the hospital or lying dead on the gory field, were utterly unable to withstand the shock of the Allied onslaught. The first day they were pressed back several miles. As this attack (it was on a front of twenty-eight miles) slowed up, another was made in another quarter with equal success. So day after day attack was made in this or that sector. The Germans, pressed back at all points, were yet strong enough to prevent the Allies from breaking through their lines, which would have meant wholesale losses in prisoners. By the end of August the Germans had lost

all the land they had taken since March 21, when their great drive began. September 6 witnessed a magnificent advance by the Allies on a front of a hundred miles. The foe yielded at all points, giving up cities and strongholds and hundreds of villages, many of which they had held for four years.

What was known as the St. Mihiel salient, which the French had tried several times to wipe out without success, was assigned by General Foch to the Americans. Until the first of August our troops had been brigaded with the French and English, but in August a separate American army under General Pershing was organized. A "salient" is an extension of an army's lines into the territory occupied by the enemy, often in the shape of a pyramid. The St. Mihiel salient was an extension of the German lines across the Meuse River near Verdun and was very annoying to the French. After a fierce bombardment, September 12, the Americans leaped into the conflict and after two days of fierce fighting they had overrun the whole territory, cleared it of the enemy, and captured 16,000 prisoners.

As the weeks passed General Foch continued his hammering; he gave the enemy no rest day or night. The Belgian coast, including the German submarine base, was captured, also the French cities of Lens and Lille and scores of smaller towns; the famous Hindenburg Line was broken. In nearly all these operations American soldiers fought side by side with the French and English. A British commander pronounced the work of the Americans valiant and magnificent. In fact the dash and energy of our soldiers elicited the highest praise on all sides.

THE BATTLE OF THE MEUSE-ARGONNE

The greatest battle in American history — the battle of the Meuse-Argonne — is yet to be noticed. This battle began on September 26 and continued for forty-seven days. It far surpassed in magnitude any battle of our Civil War.

The Germans had been driven from the valleys of the Marne and the Aisne, but they still held an important section of the valley of the Meuse, between Verdun and Sedan and eastward from that river to the forest of Argonne, a distance of twenty miles. Should this territory be captured by the Allies, they would be in a position to cut the trunk railway line through Sedan, one of the only two lines by which all the German forces in France and Belgium were supplied and over which flight would

be necessary in case of complete disaster. The country was also the key to the iron mines of Lorraine and coal fields of northern France and Belgium. It was, therefore, of the greatest importance to the Germans to hold this territory at all costs.

Along this sector the Germans were confronted by a large portion of the American army, and it was decided to attack and drive them if possible from the whole region. It was the most difficult battle ground in France – wooded hills, swamps, ravines, and rugged slopes. The hills and slopes bristled with batteries and machine-gun nests, cement emplacements, and barbed-wire entanglements. General Foch ordered an advance at the Argonne under General Pershing. It began on September 26. After a tremendous bombardment of several hours, tens of thousands of the men on a front of twenty miles rushed across No Man's Land in spite of the barbed wire and the shell craters. So fierce was the onslaught that the enemy fell back seven miles at some points the first day, abandoning his various lines of defense. After the first day the advance was checked by the desperate resistance of the enemy, but day after day the Americans gained mile after mile of the rugged country. By the first of November the German resistance was broken and thereafter what had been a slow and stubborn retreat became almost a rout.

American
advance

The Americans suffered fearfully from the deadly machine-gun nests. These nests were carefully concealed in great numbers along the hillsides, each with three or four men, left behind to protect the retreating army. Often these men refused to surrender; they fought to the last, and great numbers of the invading Americans fell before their deadly volleys. On November 7 the Americans reached historic Sedan, made famous by the surrender of the French to the Germans in 1870. The goal of the campaign had been reached; the great railroad system centering in Sedan was now in the hands of the Allies. A few days later the armistice put a stop to all further operations.

The Americans actually engaged in this battle numbered slightly more than 630,000 men, aided by about 140,000 French. Not more than 300,000 were engaged at any one time. As the divisions became worn and war-torn they were withdrawn and fresh ones sent to take their places. The number of the Americans killed, wounded, and disabled by gas and other causes was 115,529, a greater number than the entire army of Meade at Gettysburg or Napoleon at Waterloo. A spectacular feature of the battle was the episode of the "Lost Battalion," cut off from

the rest of the army for three days before it was rescued. During this time it was fired on from all sides, but it refused to surrender.

The battle of the Meuse-Argonne ranks among the great battles of the war and of all time. It is also considered one of the most important of the war. Had the Germans continued to hold the region of the Argonne it is doubtful if they could have been forced to surrender before the following year. The war thus prolonged would have cost many thousands more lives and would have added billions of dollars more to the vast war debts. And without the Americans this victory would have been impossible.

During the month and a half this battle continued great things were happening in other parts of the war-torn world.

The British and French, aided by the Canadians,
Enemy the Australians, and the Belgians, were striking
loses sledge-hammer blows along the Western Front.

The Hindenburg Line was shattered to pieces; the Germans were falling back at all points; they lost the whole Belgian coast and large sections of Belgium and France. Allied arms were also successful in other parts of the world — in Italy, in Palestine, and in Asia Minor. It was clear to all observers that the power of the Central Empires was crumbling and that the war was coming to an end. In early October the German commanders reported to Berlin that the war was lost and that the best terms possible should be made with the enemy.

Germany had within two years put out several peace feelers, but they called for a "German peace," which the Allies would not consider. On August 1, 1917, Pope Benedict XV made a notable peace proposal, and President Wilson answered showing how impossible it would be to return to the same conditions that made the war possible.

On October 6, 1918, the German chancellor made a request to President Wilson for a peace conference for an immediate armistice, agreeing to base the peace on his famous Fourteen Points and subsequent addresses. To this
Peace pro- and a later note the President replied in substance
posals that it would be necessary first for the Germans to withdraw from France and Belgium and that the Allies would treat only true representatives of the German people and not the Kaiser and his Junker crowd. Meantime the war on the Western Front went on with frightful slaughter of men while Germany's allies fell away from her one by one and gave up the contest.

Bulgaria was the first to give up the ghost. Driven eastward through Albania and Serbia, the Bulgarian army was rendered powerless, and the authorities of Bulgaria asked for peace. It was granted and she withdrew from the war. Thus Turkey and the East was entirely cut off from the Central Empires. Turkey's power was broken. The British general, Allenby, through his brilliant campaigns in Palestine and Syria, aided by the Arabs, had destroyed three Turkish armies. Turkey, menaced also by a large army at Saloniki, saw the hopelessness of continuing the struggle, and surrendered on October 30. Three days later the once proud Austrian Empire, the land of the Hapsburgs, bowed to the will of her conquerors and signed a humiliating armistice.

Surrender
of Bulgaria

Of Turkey

Of Austria

Germany now stood alone, but it was clear that she could hold out but little longer. This condition was vividly brought to the attention of the war lords by uprisings of their own people in various parts of the empire. The men of the German navy, when ordered to make a final dash against the Allied navies, knowing that it meant certain death, rose against their masters and refused to obey. The rebellion spread to many cities; the people demanded immediate cessation of the slaughter of the battlefields. For the first time in seventy years the German people demanded the right to shape their own destiny. The war lords were broken and crushed at last. The Kaiser and the crown prince fled to Holland. The armistice was signed on November 11, a great day in the history of the world. The great guns, whose deep, tremendous roar had been almost incessant day and night for more than four years, now ceased to roar and silence reigned over the vast battle front.

The
armistice

The Germans urgently sought an armistice, even an armistice dictated by their enemies, simply because it was the only means of averting absolute disaster. Had the war continued two or three weeks longer, it is more than probable that the whole German army in France and Belgium, a million men or more, would have been surrounded and captured, and that the Fatherland would have been open to immediate invasion. It is a remarkable fact that the losing side in the war fought on the soil of its enemies, while its own soil was scarcely touched by invading armies.

The armistice was elaborate and its terms were severe. The main features were the following: the Germans were required to hand over to the Allies many thousands of cannons, machine guns, airplanes, freight cars, and almost their entire navy, in-

cluding the submarines. They were required to withdraw their armies from France, Belgium, and other occupied territory, to cede Alsace-Lorraine to France, and to renounce the disgraceful treaties with Russia and Rumania. They were required, furthermore, to pay a vast sum of money, the final amount to be fixed later, to rehabilitate France and Belgium. Germany yielded more than any self-respecting nation could have done, except from sheer exhaustion or internal rebellion — and both these elements figured in bringing about her humiliating surrender.

Frightful was the condition of Europe at the coming of the armistice. For fifty-two months the contending armies had surged to and fro over thousands of square miles, plowing up the farms and gardens with millions of bursting shells, destroying factories and cities and towns, leaving death and desolation everywhere. With the coming of the armistice this ruin became more apparent than it was before, while the world's attention had been centered on the more spectacular scenes of the battlefield. Not only were the cities and factories and farms destroyed, but also the governments were broken down. Generations must pass before the devastated regions can fully recover from ruin wrought by the Great War. No other war in history can be placed in the same class with this one in magnitude. The inhabitants of the belligerent nations embraced nine tenths of all the people on the globe.

The return of peace brought the mighty task not only of demobilizing the armies, but also of getting the people back to the ordinary pursuits of life. In addition to the sixty million men who were mobilized, three fourths of whom were actually engaged in combat, it is estimated that two hundred and forty millions were engaged in making munitions, guns, ships, and other war materials, and this does not include the farmers who raised the crops to feed the armies, nor the women and children who spent part of their time making articles for the soldiers. In ordinary production the world was far behind at the close of the war.

The Peace Conference met in Paris on January 18, 1919. It was the greatest and most important of its kind that ever met.

President Wilson went to Paris to aid in the settling of the great questions of the war. Most of the sessions were held at Versailles, the royal city near Paris, built by Louis XIV. The five great nations, United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, were represented

by five delegates each. Other countries, including the British colonies, Canada, Australia, India, South Africa, and New Zealand, had from one to three delegates. The "Big Four" of the conference were President Wilson, Premier Lloyd George of England, Premier Clémenceau of France, who was elected presiding officer, and Premier Orlando of Italy.

THE TREATY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Among the many great questions to be grappled with by this conference was the future safety of the nations from the aggressions of militarism. Hitherto such irresponsible rulers as the emperors of Germany, Austria, and Russia could make war on any country for any cause or for no cause without consulting their own people. Such a condition in this late age was intolerable; it belongs rather to the age of feudalism, when men made no pretense of self-government. In order to insure the world against militarism in future it was necessary to form an agreement, a compact, a league of the powers. The great purpose of such a league is to keep the peace of the world, by force, if necessary, to protect the weak nation from the aggressions of the strong one, as any nation now protects its weak citizens from the violence of the strong.

In prehistoric times men fought one another with little thought of moral responsibility. It was not a crime for a man to kill his neighbor and to live by plunder. But as time passed and the rights of private property came to be recognized, it was found that local and private warfare was too destructive. They thereupon formed clans or tribes. After this the tribes fought one another; but at length various tribes would join together and form a nation, for the same reason — to prevent the destructive ravages of tribal warfare. A good example is found in the Iroquois nation of American Indians, formed by a union of several tribes.

The world never got any farther. Up to 1919 a nation was responsible to no human authority and if it chose to play the rôle of a prehistoric man and plunder its neighbor, it could legally do so. When Austria in 1914 fired on Serbia for no adequate cause, it violated no law in doing so. The League of Nations makes it a crime to do such a thing. It protects the nations as our national government protects the states or as our laws protect the citizen. It creates a tribunal of the nations as our Supreme Court is a tribunal of

Object of the
League

the states or the citizens. It constitutes the greatest governmental advance in the world's history — the greatest question that mankind has ever brought under consideration.

If the League of Nations fails of its purpose, if from local jealousies or from any cause it fall to the ground, the reason lies in the one fact, however humiliating to acknowledge, that our civilization is too crude, that the world is not yet far enough along in its moral development to appropriate an idea so grand and so sublime. It is sure to come sometime, if civilization is to endure; and this is the momentous question: Must the nations wade through a few more centuries of blood, or are we ready for this great thing now?

The idea of such a league is centuries old; the present movement had its origin in America. Its chief sponsor was President Wilson; one of its earliest advocates was former President Taft — both men of true vision. At the Peace Conference Wilson declared that "the arrangements of the present peace cannot stand a generation, unless they are guaranteed by the united forces of the civilized world." With him at its head a committee of fifteen drew up the plan of the League of Nations and presented it to the conference on April 28, 1919.

The Covenant of the League of Nations provides for a Council and an Assembly. The Council is composed of representatives of the five great powers — the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan — and of four others to be chosen by the Assembly. The Assembly is a much larger body with less power. All the members of the League are represented in the Assembly. Thirty-two nations were at first included and others soon joined. Geneva, Switzerland, was chosen as the permanent seat of the League.

The League Covenant was made an inseparable part of the peace treaty. The latter was an elaborate document filling a volume of 80,000 words. In its preparation President Wilson was obliged to yield some points of his high ideals, but the treaty as a whole is a far better one than it would have been but for his presence. It is true that the President had been weakened at home by the adverse results of the congressional elections in the fall of 1918, brought about in part perhaps by his ill-advised preëlection letter calling on the country to support him with a Democratic Congress. None the less Wilson insisted on an open peace founded on "unselfish, unbiased justice." Europe was still inclined toward backstair intrigue, on balance of power and rival alliances; but the President with his League of Nations and

his altruistic theories succeeded in greatly modifying the old-time methods of European diplomacy.

The peace treaty followed rather closely the suggestions of the armistice. Its greatest achievement, perhaps, aside from adopting the League of Nations, was the providing for the continued existence of a number of new nations in central Europe — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and others. Such nations can become permanently established only through the support of the League of Nations. Germany was deprived of all her colonies in Africa and elsewhere and her home soil was reduced by about 35,000 square miles.

Contents of
treaty

The treaty was presented to the German delegates at Versailles on May 7, four years to the day after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. A wave of wild protest swept over Germany owing to the severity of the terms, but with the threat of invasion of German soil by Marshal Foch, she accepted the treaty and her delegates signed it on June 28.

Germany was greatly humiliated by the terms of peace; the Austro-Hungarian Empire was literally torn to pieces. Austria had started the war and Austria paid the penalty; she drank of the cup of humiliation to its bitterest dregs. Austria proper, by a treaty signed in July, was reduced to a pitiable little state of seven and a half million people, with Vienna as its capital.

The treaty was presented to the United States Senate by President Wilson on July 10, 1919. The wrangle over the treaty during the next nine months constitutes the most distressing chapter in the recent history of America.

Reserva-
tions

The merits or demerits of the opposing views or of the partisan basis of the long and tiresome debates over the League of Nations need not here be discussed. With the exception of a few "irreconcilables" who opposed any League of Nations, the division in the Senate was for the most part on party lines. The Republicans, led by Senator Lodge, presented "reservations" of such a nature that the President and his followers refused to accept the covenant thus changed. A speaking tour of the West made by the President in the interest of the treaty, cut short by his sudden illness and followed by many weeks of executive inactivity, had no appreciable effect on the Senate, and on November 19 this body rejected the treaty. Again, in January, 1920, the treaty was taken up in the Senate and after many more weeks of debate it was rejected a second time, in March.

The other powers had one after another ratified the treaty, including the covenant of the League of Nations. Strange it must have seemed to Europeans, not understanding our politics, that the United States, first to advocate a League of Nations, was the only one to reject it. For many years we had been the foremost advocate of peace, we had arranged many treaties of arbitration based on the very principles of the League of Nations, though least of all in need of such protection; but now when the greatest of all treaties is offered to us, the supreme world reform of the ages, we reject it! It is most unfortunate that our little partisan ways could not have been kept in abeyance, as they had been during the war, until this great question was settled.

**Treaty
rejected**

The League of Nations is not a super-state in any sense; it does not interfere in any way with purely domestic affairs in any country. It is a great international forum; its chief purpose is to mobilize and direct the public opinion of the world and it is world opinion that will direct the course of the nations. The League has no army; it will probably never need one. If one nation, by a mere decree, can maintain a Monroe Doctrine for a hundred years without a drop of bloodshed, what can fifty-five nations do? The League will no more need an army than our Supreme Court needs an army to enforce its decrees. It is true that the Supreme Court has back of it all the power of the United States, which it never needs to use. So back of the League lies all the power of the nations that compose it. The League has grown mightily during the last few years. It made possible the treaties of Locarno. It is evident that Europe has decided to make use of it. In the words of Lloyd George, it has become "an essential part of the machinery of civilization." General Smuts of South Africa says, "The League must succeed, because there is no other way for the future of civilization."

**The League
of Nations**

Here, indeed, is a stupendous thought! Here is a great new thing in human experience — a power that can command nations. In all the historic past no nation has been subject to command, except from another that had conquered it. Here is an authority that can call a halt on the nation that is moving to despoil its neighbor and it will heed and obey. It is the voice of the world.¹

¹ In October, 1925, Greece and Bulgaria were rushing into war. Hostilities had begun when the president of the League Council wired both to stop instantly and withdraw their armies within 24 hours. Raging in anger as they were, both obeyed without demur. Later Greece was fined \$219,000 for violating the Covenant of the League.

This commanding voice must be used, like our criminal law, only when needed. If misused, it would quickly lose the support of world opinion, and all its power depends on that.

We, the United States, have not joined the League of Nations. If we choose, we may remain on the outside in company with Russia and Turkey and Mexico, with Afghanistan and Hejaz; we may leave to others the expense and the responsibility of the enormous work, the many activities, devolving on the League, but fortunately we shall none the less enjoy all the benefits along with the rest.¹

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREAT WAR

A great war always deflects the course of civilization; it severs many threads in the skein of life; it changes the face of the world. Aside from the demoralization of society, the most serious charge against the heinous business of war is that it devours geniuses, men who would have become leaders in all lines of human activity. It cuts down young men before they have had a chance; it robs them of opportunity and thus robs the world. Of the sixteen million people who died in this war, how many would have become famous in human leadership? No one can tell. It can never be known what the world lost. But barring this one unknown quantity, war often brings greater good than harm. This was certainly true of our American Revolution and of the Civil War; but it is not always true. Many a war has greatly retarded human progress, as in the case of the Tartar invasion of Russia and the Turkish invasion of Europe. What may be the final results of the World War time alone can disclose. Generations must pass before all the results can be known.

Our earlier belief that Germany was almost wholly responsible for bringing on the war must no doubt be modified. But

¹ A monument to "Woodrow Wilson, Founder of the League of Nations," has been erected at Geneva. Why Wilson during his last years was pursued with implacable hatred by many of his own countrymen remains a current mystery of our time. Whatever his faults, no historic character was ever more unselfishly devoted to the welfare of mankind than Wilson. General Ian C. Smuts, premier of the Union of South Africa, who helped frame the League of Nations Covenant, was asked by the *New York Evening Post* in 1921 to give an estimate of Wilson at Paris. Smuts answered that though Wilson had yielded much of his fourteen points at Paris, it was not he that failed, it was humanity itself; but withal he had taken an immovable stand for the League and thereby had "achieved the most enviable and enduring immortality." General Smuts closes his article thus: "Americans of the future will yet proudly and gratefully rank Wilson with Washington and Lincoln and his fame will have a more universal significance than theirs."

See *Current History*, April, 1921.

it is certain that the German people had been misled and mis-educated for many years by the Junker class, the military caste, that dominated the empire. Germany's military and naval program, far greater than she needed for mere protection, which she refused to curtail, furnish proof that she meant to find "a place in the sun" regardless of the rights of her neighbors. And yet all this was needless. Germany had important concessions in Asia Minor and Turkey, she had great possessions in Africa, and an immense prestige in Europe. She had made vast strides in commercial and industrial development in the past fifty years and her greatness was rapidly increasing. Within a few decades she could no doubt have won, without war, all that she hoped to win by war. To blame England for the war is to pervert the facts. That England wanted war because she was jealous of German trade is answered by the fact that every British market in the world was open without duty to every German trader. That England had designs on Germany is disproved by the fact that the war caught her unprepared and without an army.¹

¹ Who Started the War? — A controversy as to the war guilt of the contending nations started soon after the close of the war. It is not yet fully settled and, as usual with such questions, a full agreement may never be reached. The overthrow of the German, Austrian, and Russian governments revealed their secret documents and greatly aided the historians in obtaining facts that otherwise may have remained long hidden.

The common belief in America has been that Germany was almost wholly responsible for the war. Her refusal to agree to the proposals of Sir Edward Grey, her giving Austria a free hand on July 5, the famed Potsdam Conference the same day, and, when Austria was weakening at the last moment, her rushing in and preventing mediation and thus making war certain — these items combine to lay the guilt on Germany.

Several expert investigations have thrown new light on the subject and have materially modified opinion. They have clearly shown that the Potsdam Conference was a myth. Mr. Henry Morgenthau, our minister to Turkey, started the story in good faith, but he had been deceived. No such conference took place. Again, it is not true that Germany braced up Austria in a moment of weakness. On the other hand, Austria, relying on her *carte blanche* from Germany of July 5, determined to stop at nothing before opening her guns on Belgrade. It is hardly disputable that Kaiser William and Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, after stupidly giving Austria-Hungary a free hand, regretted their action and made efforts to avert a general war. On July 27 the Kaiser offered to mediate between Austria and Russia and sent a telegram to that effect to Vienna. It was not answered. Again as late as July 30 he and Bethmann-Hollweg telegraphed the Cabinet at Vienna "urgently and emphatically" declaring for mediation — the opposite of what we all believed in America for several years. When apprised of the humiliating reply of Serbia to the Austrian ultimatum, the Kaiser and his chancellor were satisfied with it and the Kaiser pronounced it a great diplomatic victory for Austria, "a brilliant result for a time limit of only forty-eight hours." He evidently expected the trouble to end at this point.

These writers have shown, on the other hand, that in France and Russia there was a militarist party plotting for some years for a war with Germany. In France this party was led by Premier Poincaré. With the Russian minister at Paris Poincaré plotted to win over the French people by subsidizing the French press and it was to be paid for with Russian gold. About three million francs were used for this purpose. It seems clear and indisputable that the ruling class in both France and Russia, however innocent the rank and file may

In magnitude all preceding wars are dwarfed by the Great War. The greater battles were titanic conflicts that no pen could ever describe. Such historic battles as Blenheim, Austerlitz, Waterloo, or Gettysburg were surpassed by minor conflicts, on the side, receiving but meager notice in the news reports. It is said that the artillery firing exceeded in one day in the Argonne forest all the artillery firing of the whole four years of our Civil War. On the sea the record is equally astonishing.

**Magnitude
of the war**

The number of men mobilized for the Great War reached 60,000,000, about three fourths of whom were engaged in battle. The men killed or mortally wounded in battle numbered 7,800,000, about 16% of those engaged; 40% were wounded, 6,000,000 of them were totally disabled. To all this must be added the death of 9,000,000 civilians, men, women, and children, caused by the war. Of the American soldiers 49,000 were slain in battle, 57,000 died of disease, and 230,000 were wounded.

**Killed and
wounded**

The cost of the war reached a stupendous figure — about \$200,000,000,000 as direct outlay and more than twice that sum if the loss to industry be included — more than all the wealth of the United States and Canada and Mexico combined. The expenditure of the United States alone rose to \$50,000,000 a day. To pay the cost of the war will require the toil of millions for many years. The tax burdens in Europe will be crushing. The want of raw material, the loss of shipping, the ruin of mines and factories and farms, together with the great

Cost

have been, worked ardently during the last days of that fateful July, 1914, to bring on a general war, and their great fear was that England might discover their secret plottings and become lukewarm or alienated. Earl Grey, says one writer, was shamefully deceived. It is well known also that in Germany there was an equally militaristic party (though it did not include the Kaiser or the chancellor) whose ardent wish was to make sure that nothing should prevent the coming conflict. It is probable that in all the countries the masses of the people would have opposed the war if they had had a chance to express themselves. As a nation it is possible that Austria-Hungary was more guilty of the war than any other. Among statesmen there were certainly a few in each country, Austria, France, Germany, and Russia, whose names can never be cleared of bloodguilt. The war was the natural result of Europe's false diplomatic system which it is hoped has passed away forever. The following is from the pen of Prof. George P. Gooch: "The root of the evil lay in the division of Europe into two armed camps, which dated from 1871; and the conflict was the offspring of fear no less than of ambition. The Old World had degenerated into a powder magazine, in which the dropping of a lighted match, whether by accident or design, was almost certain to produce a gigantic conflagration. . . . The outbreak of the Great War is the condemnation not only of the performers who strutted for a brief hour across the stage, but of the international anarchy which they inherited and which they did nothing to abate."

See H. E. Barnes in *Current History* for May, 1924; also Gooch, *Recent Revelations on European Diplomacy*.

loss in man power and the disability of millions of wounded men, made the conditions in Europe pitiable beyond expression.

The most spectacular outcome of the war was the downfall of three mighty world empires — Russia, Germany, and Austria.

Fall of empires

Of these three events any one, even in time of peace, would be considered a great occurrence in the world's history, greater indeed than the fall of Rome, which historians have for fifteen hundred years referred to as a landmark in history. With these empires fell the three most prominent and most important royal dynasties in the world — the Romanoff, the Hohenzollern, and the Hapsburg. These events alone would make the year 1918 the most memorable year since pre-historic times, unless we except the time of the founding of the Christian religion. But this is not all.

Next to the falling empires must be placed the rise of new nations. The birth of a nation, an independent, self-governing state, is no small historic event. The creating of

Birth of new nations

Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the rebirth of Poland, make this period by far the most prolific on record in state building. These are changes of great significance and a return to former conditions would be wholly undesirable.

The Great War will be considered for all time a momentous turning point in human history; it is even possible that the time may come when it will be regarded, in spite of its horrors, as an advance step in human progress. A few of the advantages brought by the war here follow:

The League of Nations abolishes secret diplomacy, the bane of European politics for hundreds of years. If this provision of the League is permanently observed, if all future treaties are published to the world, one of the most fruitful sources of war and strife and political perfidy will be a thing of the past.¹ The establishing of the right of self-determination of the peoples of the fallen empires and of other nations great and small, under the protection of the League of Nations, will, if that right is permanently secured, prove one of the most far-reaching reforms of modern times or of all times. Dynastic wars for the purpose of aggrandizing this or that royal family, such as were often waged in the past, will in the future be impossible. These new and better conditions were brought about by the World War. It democratized the world as nothing else ever did. It brought a feeling of international brotherhood unknown before in history. The

¹ In November, 1925, the League announced that it had published 1000 treaties.

bitterness of feeling engendered by the war will disappear in the not distant future. The peoples will come to realize, if they have not already done so, that they were misled by their war lords; they will cast off their militaristic spirit, if they have not already done so; they will work out their salvation as best they can.

Some of the liberated peoples went wild with their new-born freedom. Especially was this true of Russia. But Russia must go through her baptism of blood and fire and work out her salvation. Her present Soviet government **Bolshevism** under a Bolshevist régime is but temporary. It is not democratic. It is class rule by the class least fit to govern. It cannot endure because it is unnatural. Nature will have her way in the end. It is no doubt safe to predict that there will be a general uprising in Russia that will overthrow the Bolsheviki, or, if the present rulers remain in power, they will modify the government and place it on a sane basis.

The demands of war served to stimulate invention in several fields. In aircraft and in many other lines of industry the development was hastened many years. The discovery of a new anti-septic fluid — the Carrell-Dagken solution — rendered possible the prevention of a great mortality from wound infection and resulting amputation. It is easily and cheaply made, and renders unnecessary 80% of the amputations, necessary under the former practice. It is being used everywhere in the great industries where accidents are frequent.

A sequel to the war is found in the reduction of armaments on land and sea. If the League of Nations proves effective, laws and regulations will not be needed to bring about this result. The matter will adjust itself. No nation will continue spending hundreds of millions every year on armies and navies if it is known that they are not needed, and the saving of wealth and energy through the changed conditions will be incalculable.

The benefits to the United States were by no means meager. An accompaniment of the war was national prohibition, which, if faithfully carried out, will result within a few decades in the saving of enough wealth to pay our entire war debt.

Our relations of friendship with South America were greatly strengthened during the war period. This change resulted not only in an enormous increase of trade with Latin America, most of which we hope to retain, but in a far more friendly feeling between them and us, also in dispelling much of the suspicious distrust in which they have held us in the past. Our firm stand for the rights of the small nations impressed the South Americans

deeply, and thirteen of the Latin-American republics followed our example in declaring war on Germany or severing relations with her.

The relations between capital and labor have been improving, as the exigencies of war taught us the necessity for coöperation and industrial organization in production. A War Labor Board was created and to the end of the war it exercised great power in adjusting the relations between labor and capital. It became the compulsory arbitrator in the industries directly necessary in carrying on the war and exercised great influence in other industries.

Discovery of widespread physical defect has directed greater attention to the national health. The enforced economies during the war period for the purchase of liberty bonds and war savings stamps and necessary conservation of food resources taught the nation lessons in frugality.

Finally, the war made the United States the monetary center of the world, a distinction held by London for many years past. Our indebtedness to Europe before the war, chiefly through the ownership of American securities in Europe, reached billions of dollars. That has all been changed through our immense loans to Europe, and we are now a creditor nation. In other respects also the war gave us a world prestige greater than we have ever enjoyed before. The time of our isolation is past and with our enlarged horizon come greater responsibilities. The world's interests are our interests; the world's responsibilities are also ours. With our vast resources, our boundless energy, it would be little and narrow and selfish in us to refuse to do what we can toward the reconstruction of the countries of Europe and Asia Minor who have been ruined and prostrated by the Great War.

THE CARIBBEAN SEA

The extension of American authority in and around the Caribbean during the first quarter of the twentieth century has been amazing. Both great political parties have pursued the same policy and the change has come about with no sound of trumpet, almost unobserved by the majority of the people. It came through an expansion of the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. Its chief purpose is to safeguard that great new artery of trade, the Panama Canal, and the sea lanes that lead to it.

The Caribbean Sea, the "American Mediterranean," a vast body of water of more than a million square miles, is enclosed on the north and east by Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico, and the West



Indies, on the south by Venezuela and Colombia, and on the west by the states of Central America.

Our special interest in the Caribbean began with our acquisition of Porto Rico and our protectorate over Cuba at the close of the war with Spain, and it was greatly increased when we decided to dig a canal at Panama. As the canal approached completion it was clearly seen that to preserve its perpetual usefulness it must be protected from possible bombardment, from a hostile fleet or from the air. For this reason the canal was fortified. But it often happened in those turbulent tropical countries that, when one administration succeeded another, it would repudiate the other's debt and thus give a pretext to European creditors to send war vessels to collect their debts. In 1902, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain sent ships to blockade the coast of Venezuela because of long-overdue debts. At length Italy and Great Britain agreed to arbitration, but Germany refused to do so until President Roosevelt sent an ultimatum and demanded a decision within forty-eight hours.

In 1904 Santo Domingo was heavily indebted to several European countries and they were about to occupy the ports of the island and take charge of the customs revenue. Roosevelt took the ground that we had no right to interfere with the European procedure of collecting debts unless we were willing to become responsible for their payment. The United States thereupon interfered and became responsible for the collecting of the debts. By an agreement with the Dominican republic American naval officers took charge of the customs, turned a part of the revenues over to the creditors until their claims were satisfied. Owing to chronic disorder in the island, American occupation, begun in 1905, was not terminated until 1924. In 1916 Haiti and Nicaragua made treaties with us, not without pressure, placing both those countries, especially Haiti, under American domination. The treaty with Nicaragua gave to the United States the right of naval bases and the exclusive right to construct a canal across that country in case the one at Panama should prove inadequate. The same year, 1916, witnessed the purchase from Denmark of the Virgin Islands for \$25,000,000.

It will be seen that our domination in Caribbean lands is very extensive and it will probably increase. We own outright Porto Rico, the canal zone, and the Virgin Islands. We exercise protectorates over Santo Domingo, Haiti, the Republic of Panama, and Cuba, while Nicaragua and also Honduras are subject to our dictation in the matter of finances.

It is a fact, however, that these people, nearly all, including the Cubans and Panamans, resent our interference with their home affairs and their feeling is shared generally by the people of all South America. They accuse us of not practicing what we preach — self-determination, government only by the consent of the governed. They fail to realize that our control of the Caribbean is essential to the protection of the Panama Canal and that, as Secretary Hughes put it, "We do not threaten independence, but seek to conserve it. We are not aiming at control, but endeavoring to establish self-control." They fail also to appreciate the fact that wherever our authority has been established there has been a wonderful change for the better in government, in finances, in sanitary conditions, and in public education. While the chief purpose of the United States in securing naval supremacy in the Caribbean is to remove every pretext for sending European fleets thither, the occupation has resulted incidentally in a great social and political uplift of the people.

The Latin American peoples have for a century been passing through a stage of civilization similar to that of Europe during the Middle Ages, and they seem to prefer to be left alone to fight their own battles and work out their own salvation in their own way and we have left them alone except where their turbulence affected us. Many of them, but not all, have learned that it is better to settle public questions by the ballot than by the bullet. Several times the United States has found it necessary to interfere in Cuba and it is not hard to believe that but for the Platt Amendment Cuba would pass through a long period of disorder and bloodshed before settling down to a stable government.

That there is a touch of pure self-interest, aside from our guarding of the canal, in our southern expansion is not to be denied. We desire to maintain closer trade relations with the Caribbean lands. We need their sugar, their hard woods, and their tropical fruits. Since our occupation of the Caribbean, our trade with these peoples has increased enormously, to their advantage as well as ours. With the government of the South American republics the United States has not the slightest desire to interfere, but we are greatly interested in having their good will and in maintaining our trade with them, which has immensely increased during the past few years.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE ASCENDANCY

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HARDING

THE most important elective office in the world is that of President of the United States, and no more solemn duty devolves on the American people than the choosing, every fourth year, of a statesman, a man of character and capacity, to fill the great office. Never should a great party put forth a candidate as the puppet of scheming political groups, or as a mere vote-getter. A candidate should be a man of broad horizon, of judgment and executive capacity, of high personal character; a party man albeit, he must be capable, if elected, of rising above party trammels and of being the true Magistrate of the whole people. Such a man only is of true "presidential size."

This generation had no occasion of going begging for presidential timber. Perhaps never before was there a more admirable set of strong men aspiring for the great office than in 1920.

The Republican group was headed by General Leonard Wood. A native of New Hampshire, a graduate of the Harvard Medical School, Wood had served as an army surgeon and had risen to the position of senior major general in the army. As governor of Cuba he had shown much capacity. He was a popular favorite and in the state primaries of 1920 he outdistanced all his competitors.

Next to Wood, as judged by the primaries, stood Frank O. Lowden, governor of Illinois. Born on a farm in Minnesota, Lowden as a young man became a lawyer in Chicago. A brilliant public speaker, he soon rose to the top of his profession. As governor of his adopted state he made an enviable record.

Farther down in the line of primary favorites stood Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, of whom there is more to be said hereafter. The Pacific state of California offered two candidates — Mr. Herbert Hoover and Senator

Hiram Johnson. Hoover had proved himself during the war a great business man, but he knew nothing of the intricacies of party machinery and he refused to play the game of politics. His views were cosmopolitan, he favored the League of Nations, and he might have received the Democratic nomination had he not refused to consider it. Johnson was narrow in comparison, unable apparently to think in world terms. As an "Irreconcilable," he was wild and almost frantic in his opposition to the League of Nations.

On the Democratic side William G. McAdoo was the foremost figure, though he refused to announce himself as a candidate. McAdoo is Southern born, a native of Georgia. After 1892 he made his home in New York, where he practiced law and, as president of a railroad company, completed the first tunnel under the Hudson to the Jersey shore. As a member of Wilson's Cabinet he showed wonderful capacity in conducting the Liberty Loans, in managing the railroads, and as chairman of the Federal Reserve and Farm Loan boards.

But little below McAdoo stood Governor James M. Cox of Ohio and A. Mitchell Palmer of the Wilson Cabinet. Farther down the line of aspirants we find Alfred E. Smith, the popular and efficient governor of New York, John W. Davis, American ambassador in London, and Oscar Underwood, Democratic leader in the United States Senate.

The Republican convention met in Chicago June 8. On the first ballot Wood led all competitors, Lowden coming second. Senator Harding was fifth in the list. After several ballots had been cast it was clearly seen that neither Wood nor Lowden could secure a majority; still less could Johnson. Hoover had no chance. A few months earlier he seemed to be the coming man. The leaders of the party did not want him. He was too independent and his Republicanism was questioned. They might have accepted him in the fear that he would become an independent candidate or accept a nomination from the Democrats, but when he innocently declared that he would do neither, they speedily cast him aside.

As the ballots proceeded, Harding's fortunes rose and on the tenth ballot he received the nomination. Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts was given second place on the ticket. Coolidge had won national fame in dealing with a policemen's strike in Boston.

The Democrats met in San Francisco on the 28th of June. The convention was noisy and enthusiastic. For eleven ballots

McAdoo led, followed closely by Cox and Palmer. For many weary hours the balloting went on, when Cox on the forty-fourth received more than the necessary two-thirds and became the nominee of his party. **Democratic convention** Franklin D. Roosevelt, a distant relative of former President Roosevelt, was chosen as Cox's running mate.

The Socialists named their many-times candidate, Eugene V. Debs, for President. Debs at the time was serving a sentence in prison for having opposed government war measures. **Eugene V. Debs** The newly-founded Farmer-Labor party, akin to the Socialists but more radical, named for President Parley P. Christensen of Utah.

Mr. Harding and Mr. Cox, the respective candidates for President of the two great political parties, were both Ohioans by birth and residence. Both had risen from the humbler walks of life and had entered the field of journalism. Each was a newspaper editor and proprietor, one at Marion and the other at Dayton. Both were affable, companionable, and more than passingly eloquent on the political platform. They had been personal friends for many years. **Harding and Cox**

Harding had been lieutenant-governor of his state, had been defeated for the governorship, and had been later elected to the United States Senate, of which he was a member at the time of his nomination at Chicago. Cox had served as a representative in Congress and had three times been elected governor of Ohio, a normally Republican state.

It is needless to notice here the platforms of the two parties. In substance they did not widely differ. There were no violent contrasts. Unfortunately the League of Nations, not in the least a partisan question, became the leading issue in the campaign.

Had not President Wilson made the profound mistake of rejecting the Lodge reservations, we would to-day be a member of that great and promising world organization and Mr. Cox would have been spared the heavy burden of making a semi-foreign question the main issue in his race for the great office. Cox had no choice, and the same would have been true of anyone the convention might have chosen. The issue was determined at Washington long before the conventions met. As the summer and autumn passed the tide flowed steadily toward Harding and he was elected by a majority greater than ever before given in this country. His **Election of Harding**

party won also both houses of Congress, the Senate by a majority of twenty, and the House by one hundred and seventy-six. The electoral vote given Harding was 404, to Cox 127.¹

What was the meaning of the election of 1920? It is not easy to say. The League of Nations was not really on trial. The two great parties had worked shoulder to shoulder during the war; their respective attitudes on foreign questions during the last half century were almost indistinguishable. That they should now divide sharply on this question is unthinkable. It has no basis to stand on. Many Republicans opposed the League because it was sponsored by a Democratic President; many favored it and yet supported Harding in the belief that he would more likely than Cox be able to secure our membership. Among these were such leaders as Taft and Root and Hughes and Hoover. It is true that, aside from all partisan feeling, there are some that honestly oppose our joining the League with or without reservations. Their attitude is temperamental, and no amount of argument can change them.

**Meaning of
the election**

What caused the Republican avalanche? It was for the most part a protest against Wilson, whose popularity from various causes had suffered an eclipse. Wilson was a great President and history will do him justice. But he had alienated various classes — the Italians, by his firm stand on the subject of Fiume; the Irish, because he had shown too little sympathy, as they believed, for their struggling countrymen; and above all, the Germans, who believed that he had failed at Paris to keep faith with the Fatherland by not insisting on the adoption of his famous Fourteen Points.² It was Wilson rather than Cox that was so overwhelmingly defeated in 1920.

Mr. Harding, a kindly, genial, mild-mannered man, reminded one of William McKinley or of James Monroe. He had always been a decided partisan, and belonged to the conservative section of his party, but in the Senate he had never been classed among the leaders.

Mr. Wilson closed his public career riding in a carriage by the side of the incoming President from the White House to the Capitol; but, owing to his frail health, did not remain for the ceremonies. The inaugural address was simple and straightforward. It made a good impression on the country.

¹ The popular vote was: Harding, 16,091,804; Cox, 9,014,667; Debs, 914,157; Christensen, 280,488; Watkins (Pro.), 201,927.

² Mr. George S. Viereck, the well known German publicist, had made the extravagant boast that he would lead six million German-American voters into the Harding camp.

There was much speculation about the possible Cabinet he would choose. The people have no direct choice in the making of a Cabinet; but they are free to advise and criticize as is their right, for the business of every department of the government is their business. The Cabinet members were announced and promptly confirmed by the Senate. Mr. Charles E. Hughes, widely known as former governor of New York, justice of the Supreme Court, and Republican candidate for President in 1916, was chosen secretary of state. Mr. Andrew W. Mellon, a Pittsburg banker and business man of great wealth, who was nearing his three score years and ten, became secretary of the treasury. These two, with Mr. Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce, were the leading figures in the new Cabinet. The others, among whom also there were strong men, were John W. Weeks, former senator from Massachusetts, secretary of war; Edwin Denby of Michigan, secretary of the navy; Will H. Hays of Indiana, postmaster general; Albert B. Fall, former senator from New Mexico, secretary of the interior; Harry M. Daugherty of Ohio, attorney general; Henry C. Wallace of Iowa, secretary of agriculture; and James J. Davis of Pennsylvania, a native of Wales, secretary of labor.

The new administration had before it many great questions growing out of the war -- caring for the disabled soldiers, revising the tax laws, grappling with the colossal war debt, and guiding the industries of the country back to normal conditions.

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

The one outstanding event of Harding's administration was the meeting of the Arms Conference. After the fearful baptism of fire and blood brought by the World War the people of all nations cried -- Peace, peace for the future. And yet, strange as it may seem, the great powers, including our own country, were steadily planning and building larger navies. Why this frantic rivalry, this enormous expense, if the peace-cry is really sincere? In consequence of this general feeling that something tangible ought to be done toward the limitation of armaments, President Harding extended an invitation to several of the leading powers to meet in conference at Washington for the purpose of considering this and a few other great questions.

Without hesitation the nations responded and appointed their most eminent statesmen. From England came Arthur J. Balfour, one of the leading world-figures of our time. Premier

Lloyd George planned to join the conference, but found it impossible to leave his duties at home. The French delegation was led by Premier M. Briand, the Japanese by Baron Kato, and the Italian by Senator Carlo Schanzer. To represent America the President appointed Secretary of State Hughes, Mr. Elihu Root, and Senators Underwood and Lodge. This was the first conference of great powers to be held on American soil.

Leading
members



CENTER OF POPULATION

1790-1920

Nine nations took part in the Conference — the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal. Some of these were invited because of their interest in the Pacific.

The first session was planned for Armistice Day, November 11, but that day was taken up with the ceremonies of the burial of the Unknown Soldier. From the battlefield of France the body of one of our fallen heroes had been brought in a sealed casket. For two days it reposed in the rotunda of the Capitol. On the 11th it was borne through the streets of the city, followed by the President and members of his Cabinet on foot and a great procession, and was laid to rest in the beautiful cemetery at Arlington, overlooking the Potomac.

The
Unknown
Soldier

The Conference met next day in Continental Memorial Hall, a marble structure of great architectural attraction. After a

speech of welcome by President Harding, Secretary Hughes, who was chosen chairman of the Conference, presented a series of naval reduction proposals that created a world sensation. **The Hughes proposal** He bluntly proposed that the three great naval powers, Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, scrap sixty-six capital warships (1,878,043 tons) and that the navies of the two former be reduced to 500,000 tons each, and that of Japan to 300,000 tons. Later it was decided that France and Italy be limited to 175,000 tons each. These figures were based roughly on the present navy of each country and on the length of their respective coast lines.

The proposals were startling. The newspapers of every civilized country were soon full of the subject. Would the great nations agree to such a sudden and drastic reversal of their age-long policy? The United States had in 1916 laid down a naval program that in a decade would have given us a naval strength greater than any other country had ever possessed, and had already spent three hundred million dollars on it. Japan was busy carrying out a formidable naval program. Could they suddenly reverse their programs and scrap their half-built ships? America had answered in the affirmative by offering the proposals, prepared in advance by our delegates and the President. Japan could not be expected to hold out against the greater powers whom she could never hope to rival on the sea. But how about Britain?

Since the days of Elizabeth and the defeat of the Spanish Armada England had boasted of being mistress of the seas, and no song was more popular than that which told of Britannia ruling the waves. Could she give up this proud eminence and accept the new program? Intense was the interest when A. J. Balfour rose to speak. With a voice full of emotion he asserted that his country would accept the new plan sincerely and unreservedly.¹ Japan and France protested at first against the quota assigned them, but yielded later.

Before the naval treaty was signed, however, another matter of momentous importance had to be attended to, and without **The Four Power treaty** first disposing of it the naval treaty could never be accepted by the United States. For nearly twenty years England and Japan had been in alliance and until that alliance was broken it would have been folly for

¹ Of course the British realized that the United States could surpass all other nations on the sea if it chose; and our naval program of 1916 indicated that it chose just that. What this fact had to do with the ready yielding of the British can only be surmised.

America to disarm on the sea; for at any time those two powers might have joined against us in the Pacific Ocean. The Four Power treaty was therefore proposed. This treaty, signed on Dec. 13 by the four great powers, the United States, England, France, and Japan, provides that these nations respect one another's island possessions in the Pacific, and that differences that might arise with respect to the Pacific be settled by conference of the signatory powers, and it cancels the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It was provided further that by separate agreements with Holland the Dutch East Indies may also have the protection of the four powers.

This treaty cleared the way for the naval limitation treaty, signed on Feb. 1, 1922, known as the Five Power treaty, Italy being added to the above list. This treaty provides that the powers reduce their navies gradually during the coming years, that no new capital ships be built for ten years, and then for the next five years only those necessary to replace old ones.

The naval
treaty

Of all the naval victories in the world's history this is the greatest. It may not prevent war, but it is a long step in the right direction. And it will save vast sums to the taxpayers, two billion dollars in our country alone.¹

This Conference has also much more to its credit. It did not limit the number of smaller naval vessels that might be built, but it limited them in tonnage and in the size of guns they might carry; it prohibited the use of poison gas in war, and the destruction of merchant shipping by submarines. The Conference furthermore settled the dispute between this country and Japan concerning the island of Yap; it provided for the return of Shantung to China by Japan, for the removal of foreign troops and foreign postoffices from China, in short, for the "open door" and complete future independence of that great and populous country.

Other
treaties

The work of the Conference, which framed and signed eight treaties in all, must be classed among the great events of modern times. The one sincere regret is that it did not grapple with the subject of reducing land as well as naval armaments. From doing this it was blocked by the attitude of France, who seemed to be obsessed with a fear that Germany was planning again to invade the country.

But the actual work of the Arms Conference, great as it was,

¹ The naval treaty was ratified by the United States Senate on March 24, and the other treaties were ratified soon thereafter. Japan was next to ratify and England third.

was surpassed by psychological effect on the world. It gave an immense impetus to the peace sentiment and to the feeling of universal brotherhood among the nations. "In Japan," said Baron Kato, "we realized that a new spirit of moral consciousness had come over the world."

The League of Nations might in time have accomplished all the Conference did, as part of its regular program; but without our consent or membership in the League the task would have been difficult if not impossible. The work of the Conference strengthened the League by lifting a heavy burden from its shoulders and giving it a freer hand in dealing with other matters of world-wide interest. In September, 1921, the League created the "Permanent Court of International Justice." It is a World Supreme Court of eleven members, one of whom, John Bassett Moore, is an American citizen. This Court holds its sessions in Holland at the Peace Palace in The Hague. Its first decision was on August 10, 1922. The possible usefulness of this Court is beyond calculation.

CONGRESS IN SPECIAL SESSION

On April 11, 1921, at the call of the President, began the first session of the Sixty-seventh Congress. The chief objects of the extra session were to make peace with Germany, to revise the tax laws, to adjust the tariff duties, and to consider a soldiers' bonus. Two of the most important, the tariff and the bonus, were left over to the following year.

By a joint resolution of the Senate and House, signed by the President on July 2, 1921, peace was declared with Germany and Austria — more than two and a half years after actual hostilities had ceased.

An emergency tariff was speedily passed in the hope of relieving the farmers — an effect that did not follow. A permanent tariff bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Fordney of Michigan, chairman of the ways and means committee, and it passed that body on July 21. But in the Senate it was left for nearly a year lying on the table. We shall notice it later.

To prevent an influx of laborers from Europe at a time when our soldiers, released from the army in great numbers, were adjusting themselves to industry, an immigration-restricting law was passed. It provided that not more than three per cent of the number of aliens in this country from any European country (based on the census

of 1910) should be permitted to land during the coming year. The law was later extended to June 30, 1925.

Before the law expired another, still more drastic, was enacted. This law placed the quota from each country at two per cent of its nationals in this country in 1890. One object of the law was to cut down the coming of the racial groups from southern and eastern Europe and this was the sole object in basing the quotas on the census of 1890 — before those groups had begun to come in large numbers. This law was to operate until July 1, 1927. After that time the whole number of immigrants should be limited to 150,000 annually, to be apportioned to the several nations in proportion to the racial stock represented by each in our population in 1920. Each country, however, is allowed a minimum of 100 a year, and certain classes, such as relatives of recent immigrants, are admitted in excess of the quotas.

These immigration laws were in some degree the result of the influence of the Ku Klux Klan. This organization, chartered in 1915 by Georgia, took the old name of the secret order of Reconstruction days. It claimed to stand for pure Americanism and excluded from its membership Jews, Catholics, negroes, and alien born. It has been severely criticized as narrow and intolerant, but according to its confessed principles it stands for the better enforcement of law, for the continued separation of church and state and for Protestant, gentile, native, white domination of American institutions. While the Klan lays no claim to being a separate political party, it has taken sides in many city and state elections.

The enacting of the Budget law, signed by the President, June 10, was one of the best things done at this session. In England and many other countries a budget law had long been in operation. Under our system such a law was greatly needed, so as to balance the income and expenditures of the government at the beginning of the year. It was made a bureau of the treasury department and its first director was General Charles G. Dawes, who had made a notable record in France during the war.

Other measures enacted into law at this session were: appropriating \$75,000,000 for road construction; voting \$25,000,000 to Colombia for the loss of Panama; voting \$20,000,000 for the aid of famine sufferers in Russia; the Packers' law, vesting in the secretary of agriculture large powers of regulating commerce in live stock, poultry, and dairy products; and the Sheppard-Towner Maternity law for the better protection of maternity

and infancy. This law, and also the good roads law, operates only in coöperation with the states.

The most important enactment of this session was the revising of the tax laws of war time. The new law reduced the surplus tax on large incomes from 65% to 50%. The transportation tax was abolished, also the tax on various luxuries, such as wearing apparel and soda fountain products. The exemption from the income tax for a family was raised from \$2000 to \$2500, and from \$200 to \$400 for each dependent. The tax on the net income from corporations, however, was raised from ten per cent to fifteen per cent. The bill was severely criticized in the press, but on the whole it has many good features. It reduced the revenues of the government by about \$700,000,000. It was signed by the President on November 23, the last day of the special session.

THE BONUS AND THE TARIFF

The two great subjects left over for Congress to grapple with in its regular session were the soldiers' bonus and tariff revision.

Both had come up the year before and had been left unfinished. A bonus bill was passed by both houses and sent to the President on September 15, who promptly vetoed it. The House passed it over the veto by a large and non-partisan majority, but it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. It was widely believed that many of the senators and representatives who at heart opposed the bonus voted for it in the fear of losing the soldier vote in the coming November elections.

The arguments on both sides of the bonus question are specious. These young men had offered their lives in the service of their country for a pittance of a salary, many of them giving up lucrative positions, while those left at home received high wages and in other ways had opportunities to make money. Why should not the government on discharge of the soldier provide him with a cash bonus sufficient to outfit him with civilian clothing and give him a start toward regaining his position in the world of business activity? On the other side the argument ran: These men are young and strong. Of all classes they are least in need of aid. Their war experience will be a priceless memory. Why should the government try to reimburse them for a patriotic duty that should be above all price? Why cheapen their noble service with a little money? If they grow

old and are in need, the government will take care of them, as it does in the case of the surviving soldiers of the Civil War. Of the ex-service men a large number opposed the bonus.

It was agreed by all that veterans of the Great War who are sick or disabled from their war service should be cared for at any cost. In his veto message President Harding said:

"More than 90,000 veterans are now enrolled in some of the 445 different courses in vocational training. . . . The number eligible under the law may reach close to 400,000 and facilities will continue to be afforded, unmindful of the necessary cost, until every obligation is fulfilled; . . . 416,000 awards of compensation have been made on account of death or disability, and \$480,000,000 have been paid to disabled men or their dependent relatives . . . a quarter of a million checks go out monthly in distributing the eight million dollar payment."

Caring for
the disabled

Upon the failure of the bonus the tariff followed closely, but with a different result. The tariff was scarcely mentioned as an issue in the campaign of 1920. But the Republican party has long been known as the party of high tariff and, under pressure of certain classes of manufacturers, it proceeded to frame a new law raising the duties very considerably above the level of the Underwood Tariff of 1913, though that law was also decidedly a protective measure.

The tariff

As already noticed, a tariff bill, under the leadership of Mr. Fordney, passed the House in July, 1921. Nearly a year later it was taken up by the Senate under the leadership of Senator McCumber, who, on the death of Senator Penrose, had become chairman of the finance committee. The bill took the name of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, and so it will be known in history. Many articles were put on the free list, but fewer by far than in the Underwood Tariff. In a very few instances the duties were lowered; but on many articles they were doubled or trebled or more.¹

The Fordney-McCumber Tariff went into force on September 21, 1922. It was made flexible, the President being given power to raise or lower the rates under the advice of the Tariff Commission.

The bill, while pending in Congress, was attacked on all sides

¹ Here are a few examples: Men's leather gloves, raised from \$1 to \$5 a dozen pairs; plate glass, more than doubled; lemons, quadrupled; hardware, especially cutlery, greatly increased; sugar, raised from 7 1/2¢ to \$1.76 on Cuban sugar and to \$2.20 on sugar from other countries; wool, 31¢ a pound; wheat, 30¢ a bushel.

by press and people. Not only the entire Democratic press, but such great Republican dailies as the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Herald*, and many of lesser note attacked it unsparingly. They contended that the new tariff law would raise the cost of living, that it would put into the pockets of the manufacturers far more than into the government treasury; and that now, since we have become a creditor nation, we should do everything possible to encourage foreign imports. How can foreign nations pay us what they owe if we erect a barrier against their goods? They have nothing else to offer us.

The election of a new Congress, November 7, 1922, resulted in almost a Democratic landslide. In the Senate a Republican majority of 24 was reduced to eight; in the House the former great majority fell to about ten for the next Congress. The administration was left with a working margin, but it was uncomfortably small. Nor was this all. The Democrats won many governorships in the North. Republican governors were replaced by Democrats in New York, Ohio, Nebraska, Oregon, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, Tennessee, Rhode Island, and even in such Republican strongholds as New Hampshire and Kansas. In Michigan a Democratic senator was elected for the first time in seventy years.

Why this political turn-over, so soon after the Republican avalanche of 1920? There were various causes, as usual. Perhaps the most potent was a dislike of the new tariff law. Also there was much fault found with the dilatory doings of Congress, and the President came in for a share of criticism because of his failure to settle the strikes and to show stronger powers of leadership. Such things always militate against the party in power. On the whole the election disclosed the fact that there existed a large and growing independent vote, not blindly adhering to any party — a wholesome condition for the country.

INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE

The war period was a period of inflation of money, prices, and wages. The military and naval demands were so unusual as to disturb greatly the ordinary business of the country. The demand for supplies made commodities scarce, and prices rose to the sky-line. The taking of millions of men from their regular occupations at the time they were most needed to furnish war supplies made labor scarce and wages rose. Thoughtful people knew that such a condition could not be permanent, knew that

there must be a readjustment of the whole economic fabric soon after the close of the war. Who is equal to such a task? Nobody. The system must readjust itself for the most part, and in the process somebody will surely be hurt, as surely as the shrinking of the earth will destroy a city here and there by earthquakes. The rising of prices and wages brings joy to those who have goods or services to sell. The lowering of prices and wages may bring dismay to the same classes.

Prices, however, dependent on demand and supply, will relentlessly adjust themselves. A merchant at a time of inflation buys a heavy stock of goods. Prices suddenly drop. What can he do about it? Nothing. He is helpless; he cannot go on strike. He must take his medicine, and the world moves on about him and gives him little attention. So much for falling prices. Prices

But it is different with wages. Here you have the human element to deal with. Tell a laborer that his wages must go back toward the old level because of falling prices, tell him that his lower wages will buy as much as his higher wages did before, tell him that labor cannot possibly be paid more than its product will bring — and he cannot understand you, or he will not believe you. He will go on strike. Wages

For these reasons prices fell more quickly after the war than wages. Labor resisted and refused to accept the inevitable change. Thousands of factories had to be shut down because their product did not warrant the high wages. It was this and the home-coming of millions of soldiers that brought the "hard times," the industrial depression, and six million men walked our streets unemployed in 1921.

No one wishes to see wages go back to the pre-war scale. The greatest hope of high wages for the future lies in new inventions, in improvements in machinery. If a man with a machine can produce five times as much as he could before its invention, he ought to have more pay than before. He should share in the benefits of the extra product with the inventor and the public.

The two great strikes of 1922 resulted from the painful process of reducing wages. First came the strike of the coal miners, beginning April 1. The operators sought to reduce wages; the miners demanded more. The result was a deadlock and by midsummer 610,000 miners were on strike. This number included all the anthracite miners, 155,000. About 185,000 non-union bituminous miners remained at work. The miners' strike

As there were 63,000,000 tons of surplus coal in stock the public at first gave little heed to the strike. At length the factories and railroads began to feel the pinch; by August the whole country was roused to the dangers of a coal shortage. President Harding did everything in his power to bring an end to the strike, but without result. In many places the strikers attempted to interfere with the men who remained at work. At Herrin, Illinois, twenty-two men were murdered in cold blood for no crime. They had merely chosen to work while their fellows were on strike. In several states the governors sent troops to protect the mines.

The bituminous coal strike was settled on August 15, and the anthracite strike on Sept. 2. In both settlements the miners went back to work at their old wages. The coal output soon reached normal conditions, but the shortage was seriously felt until far into the winter. Meanwhile the situation was partially relieved by the importation of a million and a half tons of coal from England.

One serious defect in our coal industry is that it is overmanned. There are about 150,000 more miners than are needed to supply the demand for coal. The result is that great numbers of miners have only three or four days' work a week. Wages are kept high because men cannot live on part time work at low wages. If a fourth of all our coal miners would find other employment, the remainder would have full-time work. They could then afford to take lower wages, and the price of coal would be lowered to the public.

While the coal strike was at its height a railroad strike was foisted on the public. By a ruling of the Railroad Labor Board the wages of the maintenance-of-way men were reduced \$48,000,000 a year, and of the shopcraft men \$60,000,000. The number of workers in these two groups reached about 800,000, and the reduction in wages averaged a little under twelve dollars a month per man. Great numbers of them went on strike (July 1), but by no means all.

The railroads warned the strikers that their places would soon be filled and that they would lose their seniority rights unless they returned by a certain time. Most of them refused, but some weeks later they agreed to return at the reduced wages if they could retain their seniority rights.

The railroads, unwilling to break faith with those who remained at work and with their new employees, refused the offer and the strike dragged on till September, hinging almost entirely on the seniority question. Gradually the men went back

to work singly or in small groups at the reduced wages. By the end of September nearly all the railroads had made a settlement with the strikers, none of whom had gained anything by the strike. Many of them had lost their seniority privileges.

On August 31, 1925, the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania again went on strike on the refusal of their employers to grant an increase in wages and a few other demands. The strike continued throughout the autumn and far into the winter. It brought much suffering, most of all to the striking miners and their families. The bituminous mines remained operative and great numbers of people used soft coal for heating their homes. The strike ended February 17, 1926. It brought little substantial benefit to the strikers.

Nothing in the Harding administration was more troublesome than agricultural conditions in the middle West; but Mr. Harding did not interest himself deeply in the subject.

During the war the farmers enjoyed great prosperity owing to the unusual demand for their products.

Agri-
culture

Wheat rose to \$2.14 a bushel and other products in proportion. The farmers increased their crop acreage as never before. Then came the end of the war. The European demand for American foodstuffs almost ceased; there was a general deflation; farm products fell to half their former prices. The same was true of land values. A man, for example, bought a farm for \$50,000, paid \$10,000 on it, and gave a mortgage for \$40,000. Two years later the farm would not sell for more than \$25,000. There could be but one result. The farmer went bankrupt — and that was true of 600,000 within a few years.

A similar fate overtook the banks that were dependent on agricultural prosperity. In ten states west of the upper Mississippi there were 1474 bank failures in the five years ending June 30, 1925 — about one sixth of all the banks in that section.

What could be done for the western farmer? Various farm organizations sprang into existence, the most important of which were the American Farm Bureau Associations. Through these a system of coöperative marketing and purchasing was inaugurated and largely through their influence a bipartisan "farm bloc" was formed in Congress in 1921. It was led by Senators Kenyon of Iowa, Capper of Kansas, and La Follette of Wisconsin, and its purpose was to secure legislation favorable to agriculture. It held the balance of power between the two parties and forced the enactment of several measures. In 1921 Congress revived the War Finance Corporation by which more than \$400,000,000

was advanced to aid in the exportation of farm products. By the Agricultural Credits act of 1923 the farmers were enabled to borrow money on farm products and live stock.

During the next few years conditions materially improved throughout the agricultural west, more because of the general trend of things than through any laws of Congress. No doubt the laws helped to bring relief; but it must not be forgotten that economic conditions and problems are not usually shaped and solved by human legislation.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT

President Harding, after serving in the great office for two years and five months, died in San Francisco August 2, 1923. With Mrs. Harding and a party of friends he left Washington on June 20 for a trip to Alaska, not merely for a summer outing but to get first-hand information of the conditions and needs of the most distant confines of the vast country over which he was presiding. On his return journey the President was suddenly taken ill and on the evening of August 2 the news was flashed over the country that he had passed to the Great Beyond. A few hours later Vice President Calvin Coolidge was sworn into the office by his father on the farm on which he was born in Vermont.

This was the sixth time in our history that the people were called to mourn the death of their President. The two Whig Presidents, Harrison and Taylor, died in the eighteen forties; and since the Civil War Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley were struck down by the assassin's bullet.

CALVIN COOLIDGE

President Coolidge was little known to the country before he became Vice President. Many words of encouragement came from press and people when he succeeded to the honor and the burdens of the greater office. He was a graduate of Amherst College and had spent much of his adult life in public office. He retained Harding's Cabinet, but there were several changes within the next few years.¹ Mr. Hughes retired from the Cabinet March 4, 1925, and Mr. Frank B. Kellogg was recalled from

¹ The Cabinet in January, 1926, was as follows: Secretaries, State, F. B. Kellogg, Minn.; Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon, Pa.; War, Dwight F. Davis, Mo.; Navy, Curtis D. Wilbur, Cal.; Interior, Hubert Work, Col.; Agriculture, William M. Jardine, Kan.; Commerce, Herbert C. Hoover, Cal.; Labor, John J. Davis, Pa.; Attorney General John G. Sargent, Vt.; Postmaster General, Harry S. New, Ind.

London, where he had succeeded George Harvey as ambassador to Great Britain, and was appointed secretary of state.

From the Harding administration the new President inherited a series of scandals in public life scarcely equaled since the days of the *Crédit Mobilier* and the Tweed Ring. One of these related to the administration of the Veterans' Bureau. Mr. Harding had appointed, as director of that bureau, C. R. Forbes, who speedily proved himself wholly without conscience and without scruples. He cheated and robbed the veterans and their families with utter heartlessness, and it was estimated that within two years he had stolen or squandered two hundred million dollars of the people's money. His record was one of "almost unparalleled recklessness, waste, and misconduct," declared the investigating committee. Forbes was tried and convicted (February, 1924) of conspiracy and fraud by a federal court.

The Veterans' Bureau

The sensation caused by this national disgrace was followed by the discovery of a less tragic one in the "oil scandals." In 1912 President Taft created two oil reserves in California for use of the navy, and in 1915 President Wilson created one known as Teapot Dome in Wyoming. These reserves were under the control of the navy department until 1921, when Secretary of the Navy Denby, with the consent of President Harding, transferred them to the interior department. Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall, who had steered the transfer, saw his opportunity. He leased the California reserves to his friend, E. L. Doheny, head of a great oil corporation, and the Teapot Dome to the Sinclair oil interests. In each case the government was to receive a small royalty, but the lion's share was to go to the lessees.

The oil scandals

The Senate investigating committee, headed by Senator T. J. Walsh of Montana, soon discovered the crookedness of the transactions. It was revealed that Mr. Fall had received from Mr. Doheny \$100,000 and from Mr. Sinclair \$35,000 under conditions that seemed little short of bribery. The President seemed to take little interest in the disclosures; but the government, forced by public opinion, brought suit for the cancellation of the leases. Mr. Fall had retired from the Cabinet and later he and Doheny and Sinclair were indicted by a grand jury for bribery and conspiracy.

The next attack was made on the department of justice by a Senate committee led by Senator B. K. Wheeler of Montana. Mr. Harding had appointed his friend and campaign manager,

Daugherty, attorney general, long connected with a corrupt political machine in Ohio. The investigation disclosed many unsavory facts. It revealed that Daugherty had shown little sense of responsibility to the public and had surrounded himself with a gang of disreputable politicians and bribe takers. But these men had so skillfully covered their trail as to evade the hand of the law. In vain the leaders of the party urged the President to drop Daugherty from the Cabinet. At length, however, when the attorney general refused the committee access to certain public files, Mr. Coolidge decided to retain him no longer and in March, 1924, dismissed him from the Cabinet.

That President Harding was himself corrupt or that he profited through his corrupt appointees is not to be believed. But certainly he was a poor judge of men and, had he lived through the next campaign, there is hardly a doubt that he and his party would have met with political disaster. He might have saved the party only by refusing to be its candidate again. The Democrats did their best to discredit the Republican party as a whole for the scandals; but the people steadily refused to hold Coolidge responsible for the shortcomings of his predecessor.

NINETEEN TWENTY-FOUR AND AFTER

The presidential campaign of 1924 was less exciting than most of our quadrennial elections. Soon after the death of President Harding a movement for the nomination of Coolidge was launched. It was ably managed by William M. Butler, a Boston business man, an intimate friend of the President, and later a member of the United States Senate. The President's first annual message, December, 1923, made an excellent impression, and the movement for the nomination gathered momentum during the winter.

For a time Mr. Henry Ford, the great business man of Detroit, one of the richest men in the country, was widely spoken of as a possible candidate. His considerate treatment of his tens of thousands of employees made him popular with the masses. But Mr. Ford suddenly put a stop to the movement by declaring that in no case would he be a candidate and by coming out openly for Coolidge. The President in his quiet way thanked Mr. Ford for his support. Thus Mr. Coolidge had a long lead in the presidential race months before it was known who his opponents would be.

The Republican convention met in Cleveland, Ohio, in June and nominated Coolidge on the first ballot. General Charles G.

Dawes was given second place on the ticket after the honor had been declined by Frank O. Lowden, former governor of Illinois. The platform pronounced for the World Court, for the settlement of the foreign debts, and for economy and the reduction of taxes. It promised help for the farmers, protection for the manufacturers, and for the fearless prosecution of all wrongdoers.

The
Republican
convention

There was one very discordant note in the Republican convention. Senator La Follette and his Wisconsin delegation refused to accept the Republican platform and offered one of their own. It promised radical means of relief for the farmer, assailed private monopoly, and even advocated a constitutional amendment giving Congress power to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court.

This element split off from the regular party, formed a new "Progressive" party, nominated La Follette for President and Burton K. Wheeler, a Democratic senator from Montana, for Vice President. This party was later indorsed by the Socialists and by various organizations, including the American Federation of Labor.

The Democrats met in New York City, the first time since the nomination of Seymour in 1868. Of all our national conventions this one was the longest drawn out. The two leading candidates were William G. McAdoo, former secretary of the treasury, and Alfred E. Smith, three times elected governor of New York. For ten hot, sweltering days the convention was deadlocked between these two men, with many scattering votes for other candidates.¹ McAdoo was usually in the lead, but there was an undercurrent of feeling that Governor Smith would have been nominated but for the prejudice against him in the West and South on account of his being a Roman Catholic.

The
Democratic
convention

After 102 fruitless ballots the convention, on the 103d, nominated Mr. John W. Davis, a New York lawyer of great ability and the successor of Walter Hines Page as ambassador to Great Britain. Governor Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska was chosen for second place. The platform by the narrowest margin failed to indorse the League of Nations and to denounce by name the Ku Klux Klan. But Mr. Davis practically did both in his campaign speeches. The platform denounced Republican extravagance and dishonesty, also the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, and promised reform in these and many other lines.

¹ While the convention was in session a young son of President Coolidge died in Washington. The convention sent the President a message of condolence and received an appreciative reply.

Mr. Davis and Mr. La Follette made extensive campaign tours, as did all the candidates for Vice President. President Coolidge remained in Washington, making an occasional address, which was heard, as were those of other speakers, by millions of people over the radio. It seemed for a time that the agricultural West was about to turn to La Follette; but an opportune rise in the price of farm products allayed the discontent of the farmers and Coolidge captured the entire West, except Wisconsin, the only state carried by La Follette. The election gave Coolidge an immense victory. He received 379 electoral votes to 139 for Davis and 13 for La Follette.

THE WORLD COURT

Almost the departing words of President Harding was his suggestion that we become a member of the World Court, created in 1921 by the League of Nations. In February, 1923, supported by Secretary Hughes, he urged that the Senate take action in the matter. But the Senate failed to act. When Mr. Coolidge became President, he heartily indorsed the project and it seemed that a very large majority of the people were of the same mind. But the little band of irreconcilables in the Senate fought bitterly against allowing the matter to come to a vote, knowing they would be badly beaten. Nearly three years passed, when the Senate, goaded by an impatient public, decided on the unusual thing — to apply the cloture rule and limit further debate to two days.

The final vote was taken on Jan. 27, 1926; the result was a great majority of seventy-six to seventeen in favor of our joining the Court. Certain reservations make it necessary that each nation belonging to the Court give its assent before we can become a full-fledged member.

The matter of the World Court being disposed of, Congress turned its attention to the new tax measure. It passed both houses, and was signed by the President on February 26, 1926. The reduction in taxes, as based on the assessments of the preceding fiscal year, will reach \$387,811,000. The reduction might have been still greater had it then been known that the fiscal year would show a surplus of nearly \$400,000,000, as discovered a few months later.¹

¹ The new tax law raises the exemption, in the payment of income taxes, from \$1000 to \$1500 for single persons, and from \$2500 to \$3500 for married persons. The normal tax is reduced from 2% to 1½% on the first \$4000 of taxable income, from 4% to 3% on the next

During the remaining months of the session Congress did nothing of special interest. The two houses wrangled over farm relief measures, being at odds with the President on the subject. Finally, they passed a minor bill providing for coöperative marketing. Congress adjourned on July 3.²

\$4000, and from 6% to 5% on the remainder. The corporation tax was increased from 12½% to 13½% after 1926. Various taxes were removed, among which were the tax on gifts, the special taxes on automobile parts, firearms, jewelry, etc., while others were greatly reduced, such as automobiles, cigars, theater tickets, and the inheritance taxes.

One source of government revenue for many years to come will be the repayment of the European debts contracted during the war. Adjustments were made with nearly all the debtor nations before the close of 1926. Many believe it would have been better policy, as well as more magnanimous and fraternal, for the United States to have canceled at least half of these debts, as part of our war expenses, for the twofold reason that the war was ours as well as theirs and that we are very rich while some of them are almost on the verge of poverty.

²**Dawes and the Senate.** — In his inaugural address Vice President Dawes created a sensation by attacking the custom of the Senate of permitting unlimited debate. In 1811 the House adopted a rule known as the "Previous Question" by which the Speaker, supported by a majority, can limit debate on any question and bring it to a vote. No such rule was ever adopted by the Senate. Any member of that body can talk a measure to death, however important it may be, by holding the floor during the last hours or days of the session, whether he represents a majority, a minority, or merely his own whim or opinion. The Senate cannot call him down, for in so doing it would trespass on its own dignity, which it seems to place above the interests of the nation.

Though Mr. Dawes made a crusade for this reform and the people were generally with him, he made no impression on the Senate and in the end accomplished nothing. He should have gone after larger game in the beginning. Far more serious than the want of cloture in the Senate is the defect in the Constitution requiring a two-thirds majority in ratifying a treaty. A few examples will illustrate, and will show that the Senate often falls far short of representing the will of the people, who give it its power and to whom it should be responsible.

In 1897 when McKinley became President, he inherited from the Cleveland administration the Olney-Pauncefote treaty of arbitration with Great Britain. McKinley urged favorable action by the Senate, "not merely as a matter of policy, but as a duty to mankind." The Senate defeated the treaty. Had the people voted on the subject, it is doubtful if five per cent of them would have sustained the Senate. Roosevelt in 1904 and Taft in 1911 urged upon the Senate agreements or treaties providing for the settling of disputes with other nations by arbitration; but the Senate scented something that might weaken its own power and in each instance it rejected the treaty or emasculated it so as to render it worthless.

If the Constitution were so amended as to enable a majority of the Senate to ratify a treaty a deadlock between that body and the President would perhaps seldom occur.

Could such an amendment ever get past the Senate? Perhaps not; but it would not need to. There are two ways of amending the Constitution, only the first of which has thus far been used. By the second method, an amendment may be secured through the state legislatures and a convention called for the purpose of amendment. The purpose of this method is to enable the people to amend the Constitution without the aid or consent of Congress. And why shouldn't they? In both methods the President is ignored, and also the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, and every state governor.

Our Constitution is not easy to amend and we are a phlegmatic people. Amendments may come about through a great upheaval, as the Civil War, which produced three; or through long agitation, which gave us the last four; or, it may be assumed, through a leadership of some strong man. Had Mr. Dawes addressed himself to this task with his usual vigor, it is quite possible that he could have accomplished it within a few years and thus would have rendered an incalculable service to the American people.

CHAPTER XXXVI

RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE Civil War brought almost an economic and industrial revolution to the United States. The great demand in war time for products of the factory, coupled with a high protective tariff, had proved a mighty stimulant to many industries and to the extension of railroads. During the half century between 1860 and 1910 the number of wage earners engaged in manufacturing increased from 1,311,246 to 6,615,046 and, owing to the continuous improvements in machinery, the proportionate increase in the value of the output was far greater. This economic change brought about many social changes, the most important of which was the phenomenal growth of cities. Armies of laboring men, from the farms and from Europe, settled in the cities to earn their daily bread in the great factories.

GREAT CORPORATIONS

The combination of railroads and the creation of the Standard Oil Trust during the postwar period was speedily followed by other great business combinations until the whole aspect of the industrial world had been changed. The tendency was for the large concerns to buy out or crush out the small ones and thus to reduce the number of factories while increasing the output. In the leather industry, for example, three-fourths of the factories disappeared in ten years while the product during the same period increased fivefold.¹ Between 1880 and 1890 the woolen mills, the iron and steel mills greatly decreased in numbers while the products were rapidly increasing. The large concerns in this or that line of production would often form trusts, as the Standard Oil had done, and put the management under centralized control. Thus we have the Sugar Trust, the Whiskey Trust, the Anthracite Coal Trust, and many others.

¹ Dewey, *American Nation*, p. 188.

In some states action was brought against various trusts and they were so roughly handled in the courts that a new device was resorted to in some instances: the stocks of the independent companies were purchased outright and thus the competing companies would fall under a single management. The most colossal of all trusts, if such it may be called, is the United States Steel Corporation, formed in 1901. It acquired the capital stock of many other companies, including the Carnegie Steel Company. Its interests are so vast as almost to stagger the imagination.¹ The trusts multiplied slowly at the beginning, but the first decade of the present century witnessed a great increase in their numbers, until they came to control the greater part of the manufacturing and commercial business of the country.

United
States Steel

In at least two other respects — in addition to raising prices for the consumers — the trusts offended the American people: first, by unfair, not to say criminal, methods employed in ruining and crushing weaker rivals, and second, in watering their stock and selling it at high prices to the unsuspecting public. The effect was an anti-trust crusade resulting in a number of laws, Federal and state, for the regulation of the trusts.

About two thirds of the states passed laws to this end. But these laws had not proved very effective from the fact that no state could regulate a trust except within its own boundaries, nor prevent a trust outside the state from shipping its goods into the state. The effect of the Federal Anti-Trust Law of 1890 was not great and the trusts in spite of it and of the state laws continued to multiply. Under the law but thirty-two prosecutions were brought against the trusts up to 1906, and the majority of these were dropped. Perhaps the chief reason why the law was so ineffective lay in the fact that it was not carefully drawn up. It declared illegal "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade"; but it did not define clearly what trusts are nor what was meant by "restraint of trade." Senator La Follette and others attempted on various occasions to have this law amended and made more definite, but without success. President Roosevelt in various messages attempted to distinguish between good and bad trusts

¹ The following statistics are from Moody's *Analysis of Investments*, 1916. The United States Steel Corporation owns 112 iron mines, 1,31,450 acres of coking coal lands, 96,618 acres steam coal lands, 178,734 acres of mineral interests and surface coal territory. It controls many railroad properties. The company's assets on December 31, 1915, were \$1,848,541,861 and its revenues for 1915 were \$726,685,589, and there has been large increase since then.

and urged inspection and publicity in the conduct of their business. But aside from the dissolving of the Northern Securities Company, a great railroad combination of the Northwest, and the passing of the Hepburn law of 1906, giving greater power to the Interstate Commerce Commission, little was done during the Roosevelt administration. Under Taft the progress in curbing the trusts was more marked; but it was left for the Wilson administration to pass, in 1915, supplementary laws that proved to be fairly effective.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

At the coming of the Civil War, trade unions and labor organizations were few and of little influence. Soon after the war the masses of workers, becoming more and more conscious of their power and their needs, began to organize and during the following half century the huge combinations of capital and industry were matched by similar changes in the labor world. Through hard experience the laboring class discovered that capital and great industrial combinations were far more interested in making dividends than in caring for the laboring man and his family. The only possible way in which the laborers could maintain their rights was to imitate the capitalists and organize.

Individual workers were powerless when bargaining singly with a hundred million dollar corporation; but if banded together in a solid union, their voice would demand respect.

The Knights of Labor, organized in Philadelphia in 1869, was the logical successor of the dying National Labor Union, organized a few years earlier. The Knights of Labor, the local assemblies of which were composed of all classes of workingmen, stood for shorter working hours and various reforms. It attempted to establish coöperative stores and factories, but they failed for want of efficient management. The Knights of Labor made some serious mistakes. One was its calling of a general strike in 1886 and tying up 6000 miles of railway because of the discharge of one employee for cause; another mistake was its attempt to pass resolutions of sympathy with the Chicago anarchists, and it would have succeeded but for the efforts of T. V. Powderly, head of the order and leader of the conservative element. From 1886 the Knights of Labor declined and at length disappeared.

Two books of this period had much to do with influencing the public mind on the subjects of labor, capital, and industrial

life. *Progress and Poverty* (1879), by Henry George, was a keen analysis of the unearned increment in land values and it advocated that this should belong to the government and should be paid in lieu of ordinary taxes. It came to be called the single tax theory. The other book was *Looking Backward* (1888), by Edward Bellamy. This book presented under the form of fiction a sort of socialism, government ownership in which all the people were employees of the government. Money was dispensed with. Each person received a regular income, whether employed at the moment or not, in the form of non-negotiable coupons, good in making all purchases. These books were Utopian, but their influence in shaping public thought has not wholly disappeared to this day.

The most important labor organization is the American Federation of Labor. It was organized in 1881, but took its present name in 1886. Its guiding genius and president for nearly forty years was Samuel Gompers, who died in the harness in 1924. Mr. Gompers, while deeply devoted to the welfare of the laboring class, was ordinarily a conservative, clear-headed and reliable. It was he above all men that steered the Federation clear of Socialism and prevented it from affiliating permanently with any political party or forming a labor party.

American
Federation
of Labor

The American Federation of Labor now numbers about three million members. As the name implies, it is a federal union, composed of many trade unions each under its own home government. It has stood for the most part on a safe and sane basis and has done much for the uplift of the working classes. Its aim has been to secure better labor laws, higher wages, more sanitary factory conditions, and shorter working hours.

Labor's chief weapon in its contention with capital is the strike. If the workers have a grievance against their employers, if they feel that they are not being treated fairly or are not getting their rightful share of the wealth they are helping to produce, they can go on strike and cripple or stop the business until their demands are granted, or until, weary of the struggle, they go back to work and give up the contest. Hundreds of strikes have been recorded in the industrial world. Many have been successful or partially so, but in the majority, perhaps, the strikers have failed. The historic strikes since the Civil War, all noted in our regular narrative, were the railroad strike of 1877, the Homestead strike of 1892, and the anthracite strike of 1902.

Too often the strikers and their employers forget that a

third party, the general public, is the chief sufferer. The public is inclined to give their sympathy to the strikers; but in many cases the latter have forfeited this by unwise strikes and by the violence of the strikers. The American people as a rule cherish a most kindly feeling toward the man who toils for his living. But too often the worker is led by wily agitators to believe that he earns more with his pick and shovel than the president of a railroad company, who merely sits in an office, meets directors and fumbles with books and papers. He cannot realize that the president may by a single wise decision earn more in an hour than a dozen men with the shovel can earn in a life time. Such perverted views, such false appraisals of industrial values, are fortunately not common in this country. Most of our workingmen have sane views of the relation between brain and brawn, and this fact is due in part, at least, to the salutary influence of Samuel Gompers.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

On an earlier page it was noticed that before the introduction of steam navigation the means of transportation had improved but little for 2000 years — since the days of Cæsar and the introduction of Christianity. During the first half of the 19th century steam power came into use on land and sea and the way was opened for the revolutionizing of the means of travel and transportation. Since 1850 improvements have been so great and so rapid as to bring about a second revolution.

Man had sailed the seas for thousands of years before the first steamship crossed the Atlantic. Improvements were rapid thereafter. The first really great steamship was **Steamships** built in London in 1858, the *Great Eastern*, a vessel 692 feet in length with a displacement of 28,000 tons. But the *Great Eastern* was forty years before her time. The first vessel thereafter to surpass this ship in dimensions was the *Oceanic*, of the White Star line, built in 1899.¹

¹ Since then "ocean greyhounds" have multiplied, among the greatest being the *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, 707 feet in length, with 40,000 horse power engines; the *Lusitania* and *Mauretania* of the Cunard line, each 707 feet long, 70,000 horse power, and a displacement of 44,500 tons; the *Olympic* and *Titanic* of the White Star line, each 883 feet long, with a displacement of 52,000 tons; the Hamburg-American ship, *Imperator*, 909 feet long, 54,000 tons displacement, and 60,000 horse power. But the most gigantic vessel afloat is the *Vaterland*, launched in 1914, also of the Hamburg-American line. This mighty sea monster is 950 feet in length, displaces 56,000 tons, and her engines represent 75,000 horse power. Built in Germany, she came into possession of the United States during the war and was renamed the *Leviathan*.

During the same period warships have kept pace with ships of commerce. Soon after the duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* in 1862, every navy in the world was rebuilt on the basis of the ironclad. One first class battleship of to-day could have destroyed all the Greek and Persian ships at the battle of Salamis, could have sunk the Spanish Armada, or could have put out of action every vessel engaged in the battle of Trafalgar.

Railroad building has shown great improvements in the past half-century, though less marked, perhaps, than those in ship-building. Among the most important are the substitution of a better system of lighting passenger cars; the abolishing of wood and coal stoves and the heating of cars by steam from the engine; the introduction of the sleeping car (1864), of the Westinghouse automatic air brake (1869); the substitution of steel for wooden cars; and the electrifying of many steam roads in and near the large cities.

The
railroads

A marvelous story yet to be written, full of romance, adventure, and self-sacrifice, is the story of the building of the American railroads, especially those of the West where the population was sparse. There were broad rivers to be spanned, wide prairies to be traversed, and innumerable hills and mountains to be climbed or tunneled. But indomitable American energy prevailed and to-day there are many lines of railway linking together the eastern and western portions of the continent. At the close of the Civil War there were 35,000 miles of railways in the United States; fifty years later our railroad system had reached the total of 253,000 miles.

The railroads were financed in various ways — by large grants of lands and money by the government, by European capital, by the sale of stocks and bonds to the public, and by large grants by states and municipalities through which the railroads passed. But many of the investments proved worthless, largely through frauds and dishonest manipulation of land grants. The most notorious of the scandals was that known as the *Crédit Mobilier*.

The high water mark in railroad gambling was reached in the early seventies. Many roads were wrecked by rate wars and crooked financing, and the business of the country was demoralized by rebating and secret rate cutting. A favorite method of the big financiers, among whom were Jay Gould, Russell Sage, and Cornelius Vanderbilt, was to purchase a bankrupt road, water the stock recklessly, and then sell it to a gullible public. The financiers amassed vast fortunes.

Railroad
speculation

often selling all their stock and leaving the railroad with a crushing debt to be managed by others.

The high-financing of railroads, the stock-watering, rebating, and over-charging led to many attempts at state regulation, to the passing of the Anti-Rebate Law of 1887, and finally to the Hepburn Act of 1906. In 1913 a law was passed by Congress providing for the physical valuation of railroads, which had long been a dream of Senator La Follette. The Interstate Commerce Commission with its enlarged powers granted by the Hepburn Law, having power over rate-making, has rendered a great service to the public, and on the whole a vast improvement over the chaotic conditions of the seventies has been achieved.

A marvelous impetus to modern road travel has come with the automobile and the manufacture and sale of this vehicle has grown to astonishing dimensions. The power-driven road vehicle dates back more than a hundred years. But the early auto-driven machines, propelled by steam power, were clumsy and impractical, and after half a century or more of experiment they were thrown aside by the public as a useless invention. In England the opposition to their use on the highways was so great that a law was passed forbidding a speed of more than four miles an hour and requiring that each power-driven machine be preceded by a man waving a red flag.¹

The present era of automobiles had its beginning in the eighteen-eighties, though it is true that the transmission gear, the clutch, the differential, and the pneumatic tire had all been invented before 1850. But nearly forty years were yet to pass before the gasoline engine was perfected, and the future of the automobile became assured. Mr. E. Olds built a self-driven machine in 1887, using steam produced by gasoline.² In 1892 Charles E. Duryea completed an automobile, having developed a spray carburetor and a spark ignition, and Edward Haynes the following year built a gasoline engine of a different type. These were the pioneers of the present automobile era, but each one used freely many inventions of earlier date. It is clear, therefore, that the automobile is a gradual growth, covering many years. About 1895 the "auto-craze" struck the public. For the first time it was realized that the self-propelled car was an invention of great value and in the following twenty years lit-

¹ See the *Scientific American*, June 5, 1915, p. 521.

² The father of the modern automobile was Gottlieb Daimler, a German, who built a successful car in 1883.

erally millions of them were purchased. The great majority of them are used for pleasure and recreation, but the auto-truck and later the farm tractor have come to be of great practical use on the city streets and on the farm.

Almost simultaneously with the automobile came the electric trolley car. The chief inventor of the trolley was Frank J. Sprague, who first installed a city electric line at St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1887, and a year or two later at Richmond, Virginia. The electric current that furnished the power for each car was received from a stationary power plant. With this early beginning the electric trolley was assured for the future. It came into general use with a bound. Cities throughout the country adopted the new system and within a few years the old horse car and the cable car had for the most part passed out of existence. There have also been built many hundreds of miles of interurban trolleys which have secured a large portion of the passenger traffic that formerly went to the railroads, and have greatly enhanced farm values. In recent years the motor bus has gained rapidly as a popular means of city and suburban travel. Some think it will in the near future largely supplant the electric trolley.

The electric
trolley

The beginnings of the flying machine, as distinguished from the navigable balloon, date from 1889. There are many forms of aircraft, the chief of which perhaps is the aëroplane. This machine is propelled horizontally by a powerful motor and it rises by the pressure of the air on its under side, the plane being fixed at a small angle with the air. The chief inventors were Professor S. P. Langley and the Wright brothers. All civilized countries have adopted the flying craft in various forms and they played a great part in the World War in Europe, especially in reconnoitering. Through this invention man, denied the power of flight by nature, has overcome his limitations to a marvelous extent. He can rise to astonishing heights and can sail through the air for thousands of miles. Uses of aviation are growing rapidly. Regular mail service by air and passenger traffic between large cities are being established and the future promises far greater developments.

The flying
machine

IMPORTANT INVENTIONS

As noted on a former page, the period just preceding the Civil War produced wonders in the world of invention. To that age we owe the telegraph, the modern printing press, the sewing

machine, the harvester, and many other improvements of enduring value. The period following was equally fruitful. It gave us the typewriter (first put on the market in 1874), the telephone, 1876, the dynamo, 1877, the Edison multiplex system in telegraphy, and a great number of other useful inventions.

The decade of 1875-1885 was perhaps the most wonderful of all decades in the development of the uses of electricity. One of the marvels of the time was the invention of the incandescent lamp by Thomas A. Edison, "The Wizard of Menlo Park"; another was the arc light by Charles F. Brush, 1878, and many electrical inventions, including the electrical meter, by Edward Weston. One of the most brilliant of Edison's inventions was the phonograph, which appeared in 1877. The linotype machine, 1888, and the monotype, which came a little later, have proved to be of very great usefulness in the publishing of books and periodicals.

Wireless telegraphy was made a practical thing for communication in 1895 by the Italian, Marconi, and he first signaled across the Atlantic in 1901. Other means of communication also have been greatly improved in recent years. The Pupin coil, invented by Prof. M. I. Pupin, has proved a great improvement to the telephone and has made possible telephonic communication over long distances. In 1915, with the aid of this invention, a telephone line was established between New York and San Francisco.

Still more wonderful than the telephone and telegraph is the radio, or wireless telephony. This may be pronounced the most marvelous of all human inventions. Certainly "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

Impressive indeed is the thought that as you sit in your room the electric waves hover about you in countless millions. They come with the speed of light from every broadcasting station in the world. They are invisible and inaudible; but with the proper receiving apparatus you can reproduce the sound that caused the vibration, however distant. So great is the speed of the radio waves that the words of an orator are heard by the listener a thousand miles away before they are heard by the audience before the speaker. It is possible, furthermore, to amplify the sounds of the radio, to multiply them billions of times. The beating of the human heart may be heard across the continent; the ticking of a wristwatch will sound like a trip hammer. On March 4, 1925, the author, in Los Angeles, Cal.,

heard the President's inaugural address as clearly as if in the same room.¹

The time is already at hand when the orator can address whole continents, with the living voice, when the musician can sing or play to a hundred million people at the same instant. The radio will prove to be the greatest unifier ever known. The people of the cities and of the remotest villages and farm houses can listen to the same thing at the same moment.

In few lines of invention has there been greater progress made in recent decades than in photography. The two most striking achievements are the taking of photographs in natural colors, which has reached its present state after half a century of development, and the motion picture invention. The first moving picture entertainment was given in Philadelphia by Mr. Henry Heyl in 1870. Since then the motion picture machines and the films have been standardized and the business of entertaining and amusing the public by means of the "movies" has grown to wonderful proportions and in it are invested hundreds of millions of dollars.

Motion
pictures

Many of the most useful inventions cannot even be named here. The prince of American inventors and perhaps the most prolific inventor of all time is Thomas A. Edison. The patents granted to him exceed 900. Other leading American inventors of our time are Elihu Thomson, Alexander G. Bell, Edward Weston, and George Westinghouse, each of whom has many patents to his credit. Perhaps the most revolutionizing of all modern inventions is the steam engine by James Watt, a Scotsman, and next to it in usefulness stands the telephone. The steam engine transformed the industrial and commercial world and made modern conditions possible; but it is believed that the days of the steam engine are numbered, that the strange, subtle, inexhaustible something in nature that we call electricity, which produces light and heat as well as power, will eventually occupy the whole field.

EDUCATION

Our system of public education in the United States, one of the best in the world, is carried on, with minor exceptions, by the several states. For two or three decades after the War of 1812

¹ It is impossible to name the inventor of radio. Like most great inventions, it was the work of many scientists and the development of years. Lee De Forest, inventor of the vacuum tube, comes nearer, perhaps, than anyone else to being the inventor of the radio. Much progress is also being made in perfecting television by which pictures are to be carried along with the sound waves.

the idea of educating the masses at public expense gained slowly in the public mind and it met with much opposition. "Why," it was asked, "should any man be taxed to educate another man's children?" "What is the need of educating the masses?" But it was clearly seen by the wiser ones that an educated electorate would be the greatest safeguard to the liberties of the people and the continuance of self-government. Moreover, in this land of liberty and opportunity, why should anyone be handicapped by ignorance? Has not every child a right to the rudiments of an education? It was evident that a revival on this great subject was at hand.

Among the great advocates of this reform — educating the masses at public expense — were Horace Mann of Massachusetts, De Witt Clinton of New York, and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. To the voice of these and other reformers was added the voice of labor leaders and of various patriotic organizations. The agitation soon began to bear fruit. New York established a public school system, supported by taxation, before 1830, and Pennsylvania followed in 1834. In the sparsely-settled new-born states of the middle West the struggle for free schools was a hard one. The pioneers were too busy clearing away the forests, building homes, and making roads to give much attention to anything else. But the idea grew; the states one after another yielded to the spirit of the times, and before 1850 nearly all the northern states had established free school systems. In the South there were many private schools and academies, but, except in Kentucky and Missouri, free schools were not established before the Civil War.

The first public schools were for elementary training only; but it was not long before the high school was established, also at public expense; and at about the same time the normal school, for the training of teachers, came into existence, Massachusetts having led the way in 1839 under the leadership of Horace Mann. Teaching came to be recognized as a regular profession. Before the Civil War there were probably not more than one hundred public high schools in the whole country. At present the high school is a fixed institution in all cities and towns of importance and even in many rural districts. Many states have established the township high school. It is usually located near the middle of the township and any pupil having passed through a district school in the township may have free access to the high school. In large cities it is not unusual for a million dollars to be invested in the building of a high school.

The curricula of the public schools have been greatly expanded. Formerly the courses did not go much beyond the "Three Rs." During the last half century many other subjects have been added, not only history, geography, and various branches of science, but also such subjects as agriculture, civics, home economics, and industrial training.

College and university training developed along with primary and secondary education. The churches were the pioneers in building colleges, their chief object being to supply an educated ministry. The number of these private colleges in 1860 was not far below two hundred. They were kept up, except for a small land grant here and there, by personal, private effort, sometimes at much sacrifice in the new communities. The story of their struggles forms an admirable chapter in the history of American education.

The state university, supported by taxation, dates from 1819 when Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia. In this, the child of his old age, Jefferson seemed to take more pride than he did in the fact that he had been President of the United States and had written the Declaration of Independence. Other states soon followed the lead of Virginia until practically all of them were supporting institutions of higher learning, some of which will measure up to the standards of the great universities of Europe.

In 1862 Congress passed the Morrill act, offering each state a large land grant for higher learning, especially in agriculture and the mechanic arts. Some of the states applied this to existing institutions; others founded new ones. The act proved a great stimulus to advanced learning.

Our educational system on the whole will compare favorably with that of any other country. The per cent of illiteracy has been steadily decreasing and, were it not for our negro population in the South and our foreign element,¹ it would be nearly if not quite as low as it now is in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Finland, which hold the world's record.

¹ According to the 1920 census the illiterate native whites were 2%; the foreign born 13%, and the negroes, 22.9%.

The following school statistics are from reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. The number of pupils in the public schools for the school year of 1919-1920 were: kindergarten, 481,266; primary and grammar grades, 18,897,661; high schools, 2,186,862. Total, 21,565,789. Teachers, kindergarten, all women, 10,213; elementary, men, 72,492; women, 520,947; total, 593,439; high school, men, 45,593; women, 83,944; total, 129,537. To these figures must be added in each case about 10% for private schools. The whole number of children in the schools, public and private, aggregates about 24 million — more than one-fifth of the population.

The cost of the elementary schools for the year 1923-24 was \$1,163,374.074, about \$57.12 for each child. Cost of high schools, \$417,207,222, about \$145.25 per pupil. The expenditure for schools for the year was \$9.80 per capita of the whole population.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS

In all parts of the United States was celebrated in 1926 the Sesqui-Centennial of the birth of the nation. The celebration reached its highest point in a great International Exposition held in the historic old city of Philadelphia, opening on June 1 and closing December 1, 1926.¹

The purpose of the Exposition was, not only to enhance the interest of the people in their country and to show the astonishing progress of the people in the arts, sciences, and industries, but, above all, to emphasize to the world the infinite benefit to mankind that has accrued from the development of the great democratic idea embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

The greatest fact in the history of the last century and a half lies not in the vast expansion of industry and commerce, not in the discoveries of science and the invention of machinery, marvelous as they have been; but rather in the growth of democracy and self-government. In nearly all the leading nations of the world this modern period has been devoted to acquiring and extending these divine rights of the common man, as proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence. From that little germ has grown a tree of stupendous dimensions whose branches have spread out to the farthest boundaries of civilization.

The man of the Middle Ages, bound to the soil by the iron fetters of caste, with little privilege, except the privilege of serving

¹ Many foreign nations took part in the exposition. It was held on a tract of 2000 acres including the adjacent navy yard in the southern section of the city. The numerous buildings were chiefly constructed with a steel frame and a stucco coating, tinted in pastel shades, the whole being called the "Rainbow City."

The largest building was the Palace of Machinery, Transportation, Mines and Metallurgy, covering more than eleven acres. Other great buildings were the Palace of Agriculture and Food Products, eight and one third acres; Palace of Liberal Arts and Manufactures, seven and three-fourths acres, and a grand Auditorium with seats for 20,000 people and a pipe organ costing \$150,000. The concrete Stadium is the largest in the world; it was erected by the city, probably as a permanent structure, at a cost of three million dollars. It will accommodate 100,000 people.

A striking feature of the Exposition was the Tower of Light, 200 feet high, surmounted by the Light of Independence, which at night shed its radiance over the entire grounds and could be seen from all parts of the city. It was meant to commemorate the vision of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. In the auroral display the concentration of search lights, the greatest in the history of the world, totaled 6,300,000,000 candle power and was visible from New York, Baltimore, across New Jersey, and many miles at sea.

A gigantic Liberty Bell, seventy feet high and weighing forty-two tons, was suspended across Broad Street outside the grounds. It was illumined by 26,000 hundred-watt electric lights.

The Rainbow City, with its unique architectural designs, its treasures of art and industry from many parts of the world, and its delicately beautiful light effects, presented a fairyland scene never to be forgotten.



e noted with particular care.)

his feudal master, has merged into the freeman of to-day. Two centuries ago nearly every European country was an absolute despotism, the monarch having sole power over taxation and over the lives of his subjects. To-day not a man in Europe can be legally condemned by a royal decree nor taxed a dollar without the consent of his own representatives. Certainly the feudal knight has been unhorsed and the privileged classes have been degraded. The Bourbons have fallen, and the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. The left-over monarchies of to-day are but shadows of the tyrannical kingdoms of the past. In the New World, from Canada to Argentina, and in the Old, from the arctic circle to the Mediterranean, men have acquired self-ownership, have emerged from the darkness of the past and are living in the holy light of liberty.

A striking example of the sweep of democracy and the downfall of autocracy during the last hundred years is shown by comparing the Congress of Vienna, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, in 1815, with the greater Conference of Paris, at the close of the World War, 1919. The Congress of Vienna was made up of emperors and kings and nobles. In the Conference at Paris there was not a crowned head and only one person of prominence who bore a title of nobility. The comparison impresses the mind with the amazing fact of modern democracy.

In this vast democratic movement our own country has played the leading part. Our Revolution inspired the French in their revolt against tyranny and the French led the rest of Europe. During the following century our success in self-government, in spite of our blunders, furnished the peoples of Europe with a steady, continuous, living example and inspired them, after many relapses, to take heart and try again.

If it be agreed that Abraham Lincoln was the most notable world figure of the nineteenth century, the reason lies in the fact that he was on the uppermost crest of that vast wave of democracy that swept over the world, which included the freeing of the slaves in all civilized lands.

May the American of to-day and of the future not fail to realize that this priceless treasure, this great thing we call Liberty, is an elusive goddess and that no people can continue to enjoy its benefits without deserving them. Liberty must be jealously safeguarded; it must be protected by law; its meaning is opportunity, equal rights, and it must inspire coöperation of the masses for the benefit of each and all.

Our Hundred and Fifty Years has been a great period. It has

registered for us as a people many notable achievements and has pointed out still greater duties that lie before us. The American of the future is still in the making. As the Englishman of to-day is distinct from the races of his ancestry, so the American of the future will be in a class by himself. The strains of European blood, like the rivulets that form a river, will blend into one and lose their identity. Here will be blended, as nowhere else in the world, the great races, the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean — here they will commingle in the forming of a new race — the American of the future.

What of the future of America? The question can be answered only through the unfolding of the years and the centuries. As a People we are no doubt on the upgrade. Our system of universal education, the unselfish work of the churches and of many civic and benevolent organizations are molding the minds and hearts of millions. As a whole the American people are intensely patriotic and there is no doubt that the great majority love justice and mean well, and if so, the future is safe. We have great problems yet to be solved and we shall perhaps be no more exempt in the future from blunders and relapses and discouragements than we have been in the past. But we are making progress and as a whole we are steadily advancing in intelligence and in civic and moral virtue, and herein lies the hope of the future. If the people are capable of seeing what is wrong, when things go wrong, the future is secure.

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AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

- 1000 Leif Ericson discovers Vinland (New England).
- 1492 Oct. 12. Columbus discovers the New World.
- 1497 The Cabots discover the continent of North America.
- 1498 Columbus on third voyage discovers South America.
- 1506 Columbus dies at Valladolid.
- 1507 New World named after Americus Vesputius.
- 1513 Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean and Ponce de León discovers Florida.
- 1519-1521. Cortez conquers Mexico. Magellan sails round the world.
- 1524 Verrazano and Gomez explore New England coast.
- 1528 Cabeza de Vaca explores southern United States.
- 1533 Pizarro conquers Peru.
- 1534 Cartier sails to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
- 1541 De Soto discovers the Mississippi River.
- 1565 Founding of St. Augustine.
- 1576 Frobisher discovers northwest passage, Frobisher Strait.
- 1579 Drake explores coast of California.
- 1584 Raleigh sends first expedition to America.
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
- 1604 Acadia settled by the French.
- 1607 May 13. Founding of Jamestown, Virginia.
- 1608 Founding of Quebec by Champlain.
- 1609 Hudson discovers the Hudson River.
- 1619 First assembly meets at Jamestown. Slaves first sold in Virginia.
- 1620 Coming of the Pilgrims in the *Mayflower*.
- 1623 Settlements at New Amsterdam. First settlements in New Hampshire.
- 1630 The great emigration to Massachusetts. The founding of Boston.
- 1634 Maryland first settled by Calvert.
- 1635 Connecticut settled by emigrants from Massachusetts.
- 1636 Founding of Providence by Roger Williams. Harvard College founded.
- 1637 War with Pequot Indians. First negro slaves in New England.
- 1638 Swedes first settle in Delaware.
- 1639 First constitution in America adopted by Connecticut.
- 1643 May 30. New England Confederation formed.
- 1649 Toleration Act in Maryland.
- 1655 Stuyvesant conquers the Swedes in Delaware.
- 1656 Quakers expelled from Massachusetts.
- 1662 Connecticut charter granted.
- 1663 Charter granted to Rhode Island.

- 1663 Charter for the Carolinas granted.
- 1664 Sept. 8. The English conquer New Amsterdam. New Jersey given by King Charles II to his brother, the Duke of York.
- 1667 Fundamental Constitutions drawn up for the Carolinas.
- 1673 Marquette explores the Mississippi.
- 1676 Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. King Philip's War in New England.
- 1681 Penn receives charter for Pennsylvania.
- 1682 Penn founds Philadelphia and makes treaty with the Indians. La Salle explores Louisiana and takes possession for France.
- 1686 Edmund Andros made governor of all New England.
- 1689 Rebellion against Andros; his fall and arrest.
- 1692 Salem witchcraft delusion.
- 1700 Iberville plants colony in Louisiana.
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, ending Queen Anne's War, which began in 1702.
- 1733 Georgia settled by Oglethorpe.
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ending King George's War, which began in 1744.
- 1754 Colonial Congress at Albany; Franklin's plan of union.
- 1755 Braddock's defeat.
- 1756 French and Indian War formally begun.
- 1759 Wolfe captures Quebec.
- 1763 Treaty of Paris; end of the war. Conspiracy of Pontiac.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION

- 1765 Stamp Act. Colonial Congress in New York.
- 1770 "Boston Massacre."
- 1773 Destruction of tea in Boston Harbor.
- 1774 Sept. 5. Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia. Boston Port Bill.
- 1775 April 19. Fight at Lexington and Concord.
May 10. Capture of Ticonderoga. Meeting of Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia.
June 17. Battle of Bunker Hill.
December. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.
- 1776 July 4. Declaration of Independence.
Aug. 27. Battle of Long Island.
Dec. 26. Washington captures Hessians at Trenton.
- 1777 June 14. Flag of stars and stripes adopted by Congress.
Sept. 11. Battle of Brandywine.
Oct. 17. Surrender of Burgoyne.
Washington encamps at Valley Forge and Howe occupies Philadelphia.
- 1778 French-American alliance.
June 28. Battle of Monmouth.
Dec. 29. British take Savannah.
- 1779 Sept. 23. Naval victory of John Paul Jones.
- 1780 May 12. Charleston taken by British.
Aug. 16. Battle of Camden.
Oct. 7. Battle of King's Mountain.

- 1781 Adoption of the Articles of Confederation.
Oct. 19. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
- 1782 Nov. 30. Preliminary treaty of peace.
- 1783 Sept. 3. Final treaty of peace signed.
Nov. 25. British army evacuates New York.
Dec. 4. Washington's farewell to his officers.
- 1786 Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts.

FROM THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR

- 1787 Ordinance of 1787 adopted.
May 14. Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia.
Sept. 17. Constitution finished and signed by the delegates.
- 1788 Rufus Putnam plants first settlement in Ohio.
June 21. New Hampshire becomes the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, securing its adoption.
- 1789 March 4. New government goes into operation.
April 30. Washington inaugurated first President.
- 1790 First census. Population 3,929,214.
- 1791 Vermont admitted to the Union. St. Clair defeated by the Indians.
- 1792 Kentucky admitted to the Union.
- 1793 Jefferson founds Republican (Democratic) party.
- 1794 Wayne defeats the Indians in Battle of Fallen Timbers.
- 1795 Jay's treaty ratified.
- 1796 Tennessee admitted to the Union.
- 1797 John Adams inaugurated President.
- 1798 Alien and sedition laws enacted. Navy department established.
- 1798-1799 Kentucky and Virginia resolutions.
- 1798-1800 Serious trouble with France.
- 1799 Dec. 14. Washington dies at Mt. Vernon.
- 1800 Overthrow of the Federal party.
Capital removed to Washington, D.C.
- 1801 Jefferson becomes President.
- 1802 Ohio joins the Union.
- 1801-1805 War with the Barbary States, North Africa.
- 1803 Purchase of Louisiana.
- 1804 Burr kills Hamilton in a duel.
- 1805-1807 Lewis and Clarke expedition.
- 1806-1807 Burr's conspiracy, trial, and acquittal.
- 1807 Fulton succeeds with the steamboat.
June 22. The *Leopard* fires on the *Chesapeake*.
December. Jefferson's embargo enacted.
- 1808 Prohibition of the foreign slave trade.
- 1809 James Madison inaugurated President.
- 1811 Nov. 7. Battle of Tippecanoe.
- 1812 June 18. War declared against England.
Aug. 16. Hull surrenders Detroit.

- 1812 Aug. 19. The *Constitution* defeats the *Guerrière*.
Oct. 13. Battle of Queenstown Heights.
- 1813 Sept. 10. Perry's victory on Lake Erie.
Oct. 5. Battle of the Thames.
Nov. 9. Battle of Talladega.
- 1814 July 25. Battle of Lundy's Lane.
Aug. 25. The British capture Washington.
Sept. 11. Battle at Plattsburg and defeat of the British on Lake Champlain.
December. Hartford Convention.
Dec. 24. Treaty of Ghent.
- 1815 Jan. 8. Battle of New Orleans.
America secures indemnity and treaties from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.
- 1816 Indiana admitted to the Union. Admission of Mississippi, 1817; of Illinois, 1818; of Alabama, 1819; of Maine, 1820; of Missouri, 1821.
- 1817 James Monroe becomes President.
- 1818 War with the Seminole Indians.
- 1819 Purchase of Florida from Spain.
First steamship, the *Savannah*, crosses the Atlantic.
- 1820 The Missouri Compromise.
- 1823 Dec. 2. Monroe Doctrine promulgated.
- 1825 Inauguration of John Quincy Adams. Opening of the Erie Canal.
June 17. Lafayette lays corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument.
- 1826 July 4. Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.
Panama Congress.
- 1828 Building of the first passenger railway begun at Baltimore.
- 1829 Andrew Jackson becomes President.
- 1830 Fifth census. Population 12,866,020.
- 1832 Nov. 19. Nullification by South Carolina. Jackson vetoes bank charter.
Black Hawk War.
- 1833 Jackson removes bank deposits. Compromise tariff adopted.
- 1836 April 21. Battle of San Jacinto.
Wilkes's Antarctic expedition.
Admission of Arkansas.
- 1837 Inauguration of Van Buren.
Patent of the telegraph by Morse.
Great panic. Admission of Michigan.
Burning of the *Caroline*.
- 1841 March 4. William Henry Harrison inaugurated President; dies April 4,
and John Tyler becomes President.
Howe invents the sewing machine.
- 1844 First telegraph line in America, between Baltimore and Washington.
- 1845 James K. Polk becomes President. Florida and Texas admitted into the
Union. Death of Andrew Jackson.
- 1846 Beginning of the Mexican War. Fight at Palo Alto.
Admission of Iowa. Walker tariff enacted. Wilmot Proviso introduced
in Congress.
- 1847 Feb. 23. Battle of Buena Vista.
March 29. Capture of Vera Cruz by General Scott.

- 1847 Conquest of California.
September. Fall of the City of Mexico.
- 1848 February. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
Discovery of gold in California.
Wisconsin enters the Union.
- 1849 Zachary Taylor inaugurated President.
- 1850 Admission of California. Death of Calhoun.
July 9. Death of President Taylor. Millard Fillmore President.
Clay Compromise enacted.
Census shows population of 23,191,876.
- 1852 Death of Clay and Webster.
- 1853 Inauguration of Franklin Pierce.
- 1854 May. Kansas-Nebraska bill enacted.
Commercial treaty with Japan.
- 1857 Inauguration of Buchanan.
March 6. Dred Scott decision.
- 1858 Admission of Minnesota.
First Atlantic cable laid.
Lincoln-Douglas debates.
Sept. 18. Mountain Meadow Massacre, Utah.
- 1859 Admission of Oregon.
John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.
- 1860 Population 31,443,321.

THE CIVIL WAR AND OUR OWN TIMES

- 1860 Dec. 20. Secession of South Carolina.
- 1861 Secession of Mississippi on Jan. 9; of Florida, Jan. 10; Alabama, Jan. 11;
Georgia, Jan. 19; Louisiana, Jan. 26; Texas, Feb. 1; Virginia, April
17; Arkansas, May 6; North Carolina, May 20; Tennessee, June 8.
Feb. 4. Confederate government organized.
March 4. Lincoln inaugurated President of the United States.
April 14. Fall of Fort Sumter.
July 21. Battle of Bull Run.
Nov. 8. Capture of Mason and Slidell.
Admission of Kansas.
- 1862 Feb. 16. Surrender of Fort Donelson.
March 9. Duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*.
April 6-7. Battle of Shiloh.
April 16. Slavery abolished in District of Columbia.
April 25. Farragut captures New Orleans.
July 1. Battle of Malvern Hill; last of the seven days' battle before
Richmond
Aug. 30. Second Battle of Bull Run.
Sept. 17. Battle of Antietam.
Dec. 13. Battle of Fredericksburg.
- 1863 Jan. 1. Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation.
Jan. 2. Battle of Murfreesboro.
Admission of West Virginia.

- 1863** May 2. Battle of Chancellorsville.
 July 1-3. Battle of Gettysburg.
 July 4. Surrender of Vicksburg.
 Sept. 19-20. Battle of Chickamauga.
 Nov. 19. Lincoln's address at Gettysburg.
 Nov. 24-25. Battle of Chattanooga.
- 1864** May 6. Battle of the Wilderness.
 May 11. Battle of Spottsylvania.
 June 19. The *Kearsarge* sinks the *Alabama*.
 Aug. 5. Battle of Mobile Bay.
 Sept. 2. Sherman captures Atlanta.
 Oct. 19. Battle of Cedar Creek.
 Nov. 15. Sherman begins his march to the sea.
 Dec. 15-16. Battle of Nashville.
 Admission of Nevada.
- 1865** April 1. Battle of Five Forks.
 April 3. Evacuation of Richmond.
 April 9. Surrender of Lee at Appomattox.
 April 14. Assassination of Lincoln; Andrew Johnson President.
 April 26. Surrender of Johnston's army.
 Dec. 18. Thirteenth Amendment ratified.
- 1866** July 27. Second Atlantic cable completed.
- 1867** May 2. Reconstruction bill passed over veto.
 Purchase of Alaska.
 Admission of Nebraska.
- 1868** Feb. 24. President Johnson impeached by the House.
 Trial in the Senate fails.
 July 21. Fourteenth Amendment adopted.
- 1869** Inauguration of U. S. Grant.
 May 10. Pacific Railroad completed.
- 1870** Population 38,558,371.
 March 30. Fifteenth Amendment ratified.
- 1871** November. Great fire in Chicago.
- 1873** February. Congress demonetizes silver.
 Financial panic.
- 1876** Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.
 Admission of Colorado.
 Invention of the telephone.
 Custer's army destroyed by the Indians.
- 1877** Inauguration of R. B. Hayes.
 Great railroad strike.
- 1878** Electric light perfected.
 February. Bland-Allison silver bill passed.
- 1879** Jan. 1. Resumption of specie payments.
- 1880** Population 50,155,783.
- 1881** James A. Garfield inaugurated President.
 July 2. Assassination of Garfield. Dies September 19. Chester A. Arthur becomes President.

- 1883 Letter postage reduced to two cents.
- 1885 Grover Cleveland becomes President.
- 1886 Oct. 6. Statue of Liberty unveiled, New York.
Presidential Succession Law enacted.
- 1889 Benjamin Harrison becomes President.
April 22. Oklahoma opened to settlers.
North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington admitted into the Union.
- 1890 Population 62,622,250.
Idaho and Wyoming admitted.
McKinley tariff enacted.
Sherman silver law passed.
- 1891 Chilians assault American sailors at Valparaiso.
- 1893 World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.
- 1894 Wilson tariff law enacted.
- 1895 Dec. 17. Cleveland issues his Venezuelan message.
- 1897 William McKinley becomes President.
July 24. Dingley tariff becomes law.
- 1898 Feb. 15. Destruction of the *Maine* at Havana.
April 25. Congress declares war against Spain (existing from April 21).
May 1. Battle of Manila.
July 1-3. Battle of San Juan.
July 3. Battle of Santiago.
July 7. Annexation of Hawaii.
Aug. 12. Peace protocol signed.
Dec. 10. Treaty with Spain signed at Paris.
- 1899 May 18. Peace Conference meets at The Hague.
Samoan treaty made by the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.
- 1900 Allied Powers enter China to quell Boxer disturbances.
Civil Government established in Alaska.
Sept. 9. Great disaster at Galveston, Texas.
- 1901 Jan. 1. The Hague Arbitration Court organized.
May 3. Civil Government established in the Philippines.
Sept. 6. President McKinley shot by an assassin. Dies on Sept. 14.
Theodore Roosevelt becomes President.
Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo.
- 1902 Cuban Republic established.
May 12. Great Anthracite strike in Pennsylvania begins.
- 1903 Feb. 14. Cabinet Department of Commerce and Labor created.
March 17. Panama Canal Treaty with Colombia ratified by the United States Senate. Rejected Aug. 17 by Colombian Senate.
July 4. Pacific Cable completed.
Oct. 17. Alaskan Boundary Tribunal in London decides in favor of the United States.
Nov. 6. The United States recognizes the new Republic of Panama.
Nov. 18. Canal Treaty with Panama signed by Secretary Hay. Ratified by Panama Dec. 2; by the United States Senate, Feb. 23, 1904.
- 1905 March 4. Roosevelt's Second Inauguration.

- 1906 Russo-Japanese Peace Conference at Portsmouth, N. H.
1907 Financial Panic.
Second Hague Conference.
1908 American Fleet sails round the World.
1909 Taft inaugurated President.
August. Payne-Aldrich Tariff enacted.
1913 March 4. Wilson inaugurated President.
16th and 17th Amendments added to the Constitution.
October. Underwood Tariff enacted.
December. Federal Reserve Banking Law enacted.
1914 Panama Canal opened.
Government Railroad in Alaska begun.
April. Vera Cruz occupied by American Troops.
July-August. Great War in Europe begins.
American Neutrality proclaimed.
1915 May 7. Sinking of the *Lusitania*.
1916 President Wilson calls out National Guard for service in Mexico.
1917 February 1. Germans begin Submarine Warfare.
April 6. United States declares War on Germany.
May 4. American Warships reach English Waters.
Great Preparations for War.
December 7. United States declares War on Austria-Hungary.
1918 Great Movement of American Troops to France.
January 8. President Wilson's Fourteen Points.
March 21. Great German Drive begins on Western Front.
March 29. General Foch made Commander of the Allies.
July 18. Tide of War turns against the Germans.
September 12. Capture of St. Mihiel by Americans.
September 26. Battle of Meuse-Argonne begins; continues 47 days.
November 11. Armistice signed by Germany.
1919 June 28. Peace Treaty signed at Paris.
July 10. Treaty with League of Nations presented to United States Senate.
Defeated in November and again in January, 1920.
1920 Esch-Cummins Railroad Bill becomes Law.
January 16. Prohibition Amendment goes into Operation.
Woman Suffrage Amendment adopted.
1921 Arms Conference meets in Washington.
1923 Aug. 2. Death of President Harding.
1925 Coolidge inaugurated President.
1926 Senate votes to join the World Court.

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Other helpful works are Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, and by the same author, *The Illinois Country*; Alvord and Bidgood, *The First Exploration of the Trans-Alleghany*; Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*; Faust, *German Element in the United States*; Ford, *Scotch-Irish in America*; Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*; Winsor, *The Westward Movement*.

NATIONAL PERIOD PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

Bassett, *The Federalist System*, and Channing, *The Jeffersonian System* (American Nation Series); Johnson (Allen), *Jefferson and His Colleagues*; Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*; McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*.

On the period of the War of 1812, Mahan, *Sea Power and the War of 1812*, 2 vols.; Paine, *The Fight for a Free Sea*. An excellent brief account is found in Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (American Nation Series).

On the military and naval operations are Breckinridge, *History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain*; Johnson, *History of the War of 1812-1815*; McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country*; and Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*.

Among the biographies of public men of this time especially recommended are Gay, *Life of James Madison*; Schurz, *Henry Clay*, 2 vols.; and Stevens, *Albert Gallatin*.

Of the Jacksonian period, excellent single volume treatises are MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (American Nation Series); Bowers, *The Party Battles of the Jackson Period*; and Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson*. A valuable résumé is available in Schlessinger, *Political and Social History of the United States (1829-1925)*; and Burgess, *The Middle Period*.

On nullification and state rights are Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina*; Houston, *A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina*; and Powell, *Nullification and Secession*.

The political theory of the time is discussed in Merriam, *A History of American Political Theories*; and Schlessinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*.

On the early history of Texas and its relations with the United States are Garrison, *Westward Extension* (American Nation Series), and by the same author, *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence*.

The Monroe Doctrine and international relations of this time are treated by Reddaway, *The Monroe Doctrine*; Thomas, *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*; and Paxson, *Independence of South American Republics*. More extended treatments of foreign relations are to be found in Hart, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*; Latané, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and South America*.

On the foreshadowing of the Civil War are Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (American Nation Series); Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860*; Greeley, *American Conflict*, Vol. I; Smith (T. C.), *Parties and Slavery* (American Nation Series); Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*; Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*; Ripley, *War with Mexico*; Grant, *Personal Memories*; Garrison, *Westward Extension* (American Nation Series); Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*; Stephens, *War between the States*; Davis (Jefferson), *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols.

Among the valuable biographical works which show the growth of divergent views on state rights and other political issues are the following: Gilman, *James Monroe*; Morse, *Life of John Quincy Adams*; *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Ford; Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 2 vols.; Parton, *Andrew Jackson*; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*; Hunt, *Life of Calhoun*; Von Holst, *John C. Calhoun*; Curtis, *Daniel Webster*; Lodge, *Daniel Webster*; and McMaster, *Daniel Webster*.

Other biographies relating to this period are Hart, *Samuel Portland Chase*; Woodburn, *Thaddeus Stevens*; Bancroft (Frederic) *Life of W. H. Seward*; Phillips, *Life of Robert Toombs*. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates are given in full in Vol. III of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, edited by Sparks.

Additional biographies are Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris*; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*; Morse, *Alexander Hamilton*, 2 vols.; Stevens, *Albert Gallatin*; Adams, *Albert Gallatin*; Parton, *Aaron Burr*; Gay, *James Madison*; Morse, *John Quincy Adams*; King, *Rufus King*; Magruder, *John Marshall*; Adams, *John Randolph*; Drake, *Tecumseh*; Von Holst, *John Brown*; Von Holst, *John C. Calhoun*; Curtis, *James Buchanan*, 2 vols.; Curtis, *Daniel Webster*; 2 vols.; McMaster, *Daniel Webster*; Schurz, *Henry Clay*, 2 vols.; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*; Brown, *Andrew Jackson*; Shephard, *Martin Van Buren*; Bancroft, *Martin Van Buren*; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*; Wright, *Winfield Scott*.

THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The most comprehensive work covering this period is that of Rhodes, *History of the United States (1850-1896)*, 8 vols. This author has prepared a briefer study in one volume, *History of the Civil War (1861-1866)*. Oberholtzer, *History of the United States Since the Civil War*, 5 vols., begins with reconstruction. Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, relates to

the Civil War. Other works of a general and scholarly character are the volumes of the American Nation Series: Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*; Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, and by the same author, *The Outcome of the Civil War*; and Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*. An earlier but reliable work of Burgess includes three volumes, *Civil War and the Constitution*, 2 vols., and *Reconstruction and the Constitution*.

Many of the following works were written from a contemporary knowledge of the events of this period and they have peculiar interest for the reader. Greeley, *The American Conflict*, 2 vols.; Dodge, *Bird's Eye View of Our Civil War*; Johnson, *Short History of the War of Secession*; Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War*; Ropes, *Story of the Civil War*, 3 vols.; McPherson, *Political History of the Rebellion*; Comte de Paris, *Military History of the Civil War*, 4 vols.; Draper, *History of the American Civil War*, 3 vols.; Stephens, *War between the States*, 2 vols.; Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols.; The Century Company, *Battles and Leaders*, 4 vols.; Seward, *Diplomatic History of the War for the Union*; Schwab, *Confederate States of America*; Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*; Brown, *The Lower South in American History*; Porter, *Naval History of the Civil War*; Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, of W. T. Sherman, and of P. H. Sheridan; Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations*; Semmes, *Service Afloat*; McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story*; Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, 2 vols.; McCullough, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*; Long, *The American Navy*, 2 vols.; Herbert, *Why the Solid South*; Grady, *The New South*.

Other helpful volumes are Adams, *Studies, Military and Diplomatic*; Dodd, *Statesmen of the Old South*; Eckenrode, *Jefferson Davis: President of the South*; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*; Rhodes, *Lectures on the American Civil War*, and by the same author, *History of the Civil War* (in one volume).

Various biographies relating to this period are Morse, *Abraham Lincoln*; Schurz, *Abraham Lincoln*; Tarbell, *Abraham Lincoln*; Storey, *Charles Sumner*; Van Horne, *George H. Thomas*; Bigelow, *Samuel J. Tilden*, 2 vols.; Stovall, *Robert Toombs*; Callender, *Thaddeus Stevens*; Johnson and Black, *A. H. Stephens*; Cooke, *Robert E. Lee*; Dabney, *Thomas J. Jackson*; Badeau, *U. S. Grant*; Chesney, *U. S. Grant*; Schuckers, *Salmon P. Chase*; Hart, *Salmon P. Chase*.

RECENT PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Excellent condensed works of a more general character are Beard, *Contemporary American History* (1877-1913); Haworth, *History of Our Own Times*; Lingley, *Since the Civil War*; Paxson, *Recent History of the United States*; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*; Rhodes, *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations*; Shippee, *Recent American History*.

Special phases of the period are treated in Abbot, *Problems of the Panama Canal*; Bennett, *History of the Panama Canal*; Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time*, 2 vols.; Bryan, *The Tale of Two Conventions*; Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain*, 3 vols.; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*; DeWitt, *The Progressive Movement*; Dunn, *From Harrison to Harding*, 2 vols.; McElroy, *Life of Grover Cleveland*, 2 vols.; Fish, *American Diplomacy*; Latané, *America as a World Power* (American Nation Series); Lodge, *The War with Spain*; Ogg, *National Progress*; Kemmerer, *The ABC of the Federal Reserve System*; Roosevelt, *Autobiography*; Weir, *Conquest of the Isthmus*.

On the life and administration of Woodrow Wilson and the period of the Great War are Dodd, *Woodrow Wilson and His Work*; Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War*; White, *Woodrow Wilson*; McMaster, *The United States in the World War*; Baker (R. S.), *Woodrow Wilson and the World Settlement*; Hendrick, *The Victory at Sea*; Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*; Hendrick, *Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page*; Beamis and March, *America's Part in the World War*; House and Seymour, *What Really Happened at Paris*; Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations*; Clarke, *America and World Peace*; Fisher, *League of War*; Harris, *What the League of Nations Is*.

Additional works on foreign relations and the broader aspects of recent American history are Adams (R. G.), *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States* (1828-1925); *Leading American Treaties* edited by Hill; Powers, *America among the Nations*; Reuter, *Anglo-American Relations during the Spanish-American War*; Simons, *Social Forces in American History*; Thomas, *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*; Tokutomi, *Japanese-American Relations*; Wallace, *The Passing of Politics*, and by the same author, *The Trend of History*.

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Brief works of a general and helpful character are Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*; Moore, *An Industrial History of the American People*; Noyes, *Forty Years of American Finance*; Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States*; Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*; Wells, *Industrial History of the United States*.

The subject of economic waste in the United States is graphically presented by Stuart Chase, *The Tragedy of Waste*; that of conservation by Van Hise, *Conservation of Natural Resources*.

Among the excellent works on immigration are Commons, *Races and Immigrants in the United States*; Fairchild, *Immigration*; Hall, *Immigration and Its Effect in the United States*; Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*.

On the problems of labor and industry are Carleton, *The History and Prob-*

Items of Organized Labor; Groat, *Organized Labor in America*; Adams and Sumner, *Labor Problems*. The standard history of organization of labor is that of Commons, *History of Labor in the United States*, 2 vols.

On industrial combinations and on railroads are Bauer, *Effective Regulation of Public Utilities*; Clark and Clark, *The Control of Trusts*; Ely, *Monopolies and Trusts*; Jenks, *The Trust Problem*; Johnson, *American Railroad Transportation*; Jones, *The Trust Problem in the United States*; Kirkbride, Sterrett, and Willis, *The Modern Trust Company*; Splawn, *The Consolidation of Railroads*; Stevens, *Industrial Combinations and Trusts*; and Van Hise, *Concentration and Control*.



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